August 10, 1951

Mrs. W. J. Moulder
Fellowship House of Knoxville
3100 Orlando St.
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Moulder:

Many thanks for your kind letter of July 25.

We are entering a subscription to NEW SOUTH for Fellowship House. It costs $1.50 a year. Here is a bill.

I will be looking forward to Mrs. Wilcox's visit, and I hope we can work out useful things to do.

The Fisk Institute is always a special pleasure.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

FELLOWSHIP HOUSE of KNOXVILLE

Jules

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1951
Southern Regional Council

July 25, 1951
3100 Orlando St.
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

We all very much enjoyed your presentation at the Institute at Fisk, and I trust you also received some memberships.

The president of our group, Mrs. Jack Wilcox, has indicated she would be in Atlanta from Highlands soon to see you. I told her you had mentioned the possibility of our doing some volunteer clerical work. Like everybody else, we have no money.

In the meantime, I should like to give our Fellowship a subscription to New South. Will you so enroll us and send the bill to me.

With every good wish,

Rebecca Albers Moulder

Rebecca Albers Moulder
(Mrs. W. J.)
Corresponding Secretary

Subscriptions, comp.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Refer to: AG

PROCESSING DEPARTMENT
EXCHANGE AND GIFT DIVISION

JAN 16 1952

RECEIVED
JAN 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

Gentlemen:

May we at this time remind you of your letter of 12-31-48 in which you generously accepted our suggestion that you furnish the Library of Congress with bound volumes of the periodical published by you?

The Library file lacks the volumes indicated below. Free mailing labels are enclosed which may be used to forward such volumes as are now complete.

Sincerely yours,

Nathan R. Einhorn
for Alton H. Keller
Chief, Exchange and Gift Division

New south.
v. 5, and all subsequent bound volumes

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sent
2/22/52

Subscribers

Florida Southern College

LAKELAND, FLORIDA

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

LUDD M. SPIVEY, *President*

February 6, 1952

Gentlemen:

I appreciate your courtesy in sending our college library the pamphlets issued by your organization. If we are now on your mailing list, please continue to include us. If we are not on your list, please add the name of our library. The address is: E. T. Roux Library, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida. We subscribe to Wilson's Vertical File Service Catalog, in which we have found listings of your pamphlets.

This college has a student body of nearly 2,000 and a faculty of 100. We have one of the few citrus schools in the country, the only Department of American Culture in the South, a Bio-Research Laboratory and a fine Department of Education. Our students come from every state in the Union and from several foreign countries. Our students are eager to be informed regarding the latest developments in the respective fields which you represent. Our Information File is one of the major assets of our library. Your publications will add materially to our resources for the students and faculty. Also, our people are always anxious to know more about your activities from the standpoint of future employment possibilities.

It may interest you to know that our library is the only one in the world to be designed by Frank Lloyd Wright. Thousands of visitors come annually to see our Wright-designed campus.

Thank you for your linterest in our library. We look forward to hearing from you from time to time.

Cordially,

Owen Sumner

(Miss) Oween Sumner
Librarian

Thank you for sending Race & Law Enforcement

SRC - New South
Subscrs.

February 12, 1952

Mr. Robert Griffin, Jr.
Editor, Florida Flambeau
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Mr. Griffin:

Many thanks for your letter.

I send you separately the last four or five issues of NEW SOUTH, and we will put you on our subscription list (for free) till the end of this college year. We don't really have any arrangement for free mailings, being too broke. So I hope if your successor wants it, he will write us again and make some special deal.

That's fine about the police for Tallahassee. It would help your own education later on to make friends with some of the new Negro policemen when they're on the force and find out wherein their special usefulness lies.

We are especially hopeful that our police pamphlet (the one in the blue cover) will be widely used. We want committees of local people to take it to see the chief or the sheriff.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Florida Flambeau

Published For and By the Students of F. S. U.

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

RECEIVED FEB 11 1952 Southern Regional Council

February 8, 1951

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I have been meaning to write you ever since your talk On the Southern Regional Council, January 8th in the Methodist student house.

As editor-in-chief of my college paper I may be able to help the SRC with their aims. I am wondering if the Florida Flambeau could be added to your mailing list whereby we may reprint interesting some of the fine work you are doing. The school won't let me pay for a subscription out of the newspaper budget.

I am enclosing a clipping from the Tallahassee Democrat, the local newspaper in Tallahassee. It certainly hit the spot after the talk on your work. Progress is being made!

Any information or projects I can assist you with in this area, please don't hesitate to write.

Again, I enjoyed meeting you,

Yours truly,

Robert Griffin, Jr.

Robert Griffin, Jr.
Editor, Florida Flambeau
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla.

February 13, 1952

Miss Barbara Mower
126 E. Livingston Avenue,
Orlando, Florida

Dear Miss Mower:

Miss Pat Vinson of Emory University has asked that we send you some information about the Southern Regional Council.

The enclosed pamphlet, "What Kind of South Do You Want?" will tell you of the Council's organization and work. With is I am sending copies of two issues of New South, our monthly publication, and a list of all the Council's publications.

We cordially invite you to membership in the Council. If you would like more information or any of our publications, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks
encl.

Subs

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

☐ **A Sustaining Member.** (The Council's main support.) Dues $10.00.

☒ **A Member.** (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Dues $3.00.

☐ **A Member jointly with husband or wife.** (Both have full membership rights and jointly receive a copy of all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Joint dues $4.00.

(Note: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate [non-voting] Members.)

☐ **A Contributor** to SRC's operation funds.

Dues for one year are enclosed ..... $ 3.00

Contribution is enclosed in the amount of ..... $

Subscription to New South as non-member ..... $

Total Enclosed ..... $ 3.00

K. S.

NAME Miss Pat Vinson

STREET Box 549

CITY Emory University STATE Georgia

OCCUPATION Student

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name Miss Barbara Maurer

Street 126 E. Livingston Ave.

City Orlando State Florida

TO DO THESE THINGS

and more, the Southern Regional Council needs YOUR support. Here are three things you can do to help:

1 Join SRC and work actively with other members in your community

2 Contribute to SRC's operating funds

3 Get your friends to work with you and SRC

What They Say About The Southern Regional Council—

"The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not indulge in tom-tom beating, parades or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's — or from the nation's concern."

— Hodding Carter

"The sort of organization which makes . . . progress possible, and which therefore deserves the support of all Southerners."

— Richmond TIMES-DISPATCH

"The most widely respected interracial group in the South."

— Asheville TIMES

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."

— NEW YORK TIMES

"The Southern Regional Council is an able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

— Ralph McGill

"A voice from the informed and moderate South."

— CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."

— CHATTANOOGA TIMES

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

— THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

"One of the best sources for materials on the South today is the publications of the Southern Regional Council. . . . Its inexpensive publications provide information on every aspect of life in Southern United States."

— CURRENT EVENTS

Subs

February 13, 1952

Dr. & Mrs. Robert M. Dinkel
Route 7, Box 526
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Dr. & Mrs. Dinkel:

Miss Anna Seaburg has asked that we send you some information about the Southern Regional Council.

To tell you of the Council's organization and purpose, I send you the pamphlet, "What Kind of South Do You Want?" Membership in the Council also includes a year's subscription to the publication New South. I enclose copies of two of the recent issues, along with a complete list of the Council's publications.

The Council has a number of members in and around Greensboro. We would like very much to have you both join with them and us in the task of building a better South for everybody.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks
encl.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED FEB 6 1959 Southern Regional Council

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

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☒ **A Member.** (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Dues $3.00.

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☐ **A Contributor** to SRC's operation funds.

Dues for one year are enclosed ..... $ 3.00

Contribution is enclosed in the amount of ..... $.

Subscription to New South as non-member ..... $

Total Enclosed ..... $

NAME (Miss) Anna Seaburg

STREET 905 McGee Street

CITY Greensboro, N. C. STATE

OCCUPATION Former YWCA worker -- now just a volunteer in several causes!

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name Dr. and / Mrs. Robert M. Dinkel

Street Route 7, Box 526

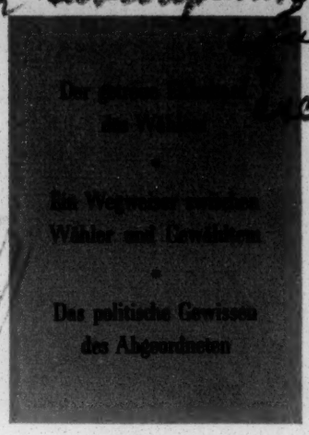
City Greensboro, N. C. State

The Dinkels came to Greensboro from Minnesota. He was in business here, still is, but since getting his Ph.D. from U. of N. C., is teaching sociology at Guilford College. Mrs. D. was president of League of Women Voters here for 2 yrs. Was active in Women's Int'l League for Peace and Freedom when they lived in Washington (during the war years, I belive). Both are very liberal, inc. on the race issue.

Germ. Voters Soc
or subscriptions
exchange

DER WÄHLER

Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Wählergesellschaft



RECEIVED
FEB 26 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr.
George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council Inc.
63, Auburn Avenue, NE,
Atlanta Ga.
U.S.A.

FRANKFURT AM MAIN
BEETHOVENSTRASSE 65

IHR ZEICHEN	IHRE NACHRICHT VOM	UNSER ZEICHEN	
		Mo/R	February 11 1952

Dear Sir,

At the request of Mr. Konrad Mommsen, member of the Board of the Deutsche Wählergesellschaft (German Voters' Society) we have forwarded to you in the last year, free of charges, our Review DER WÄHLER (" The Voter "). - We hope that you have taken interest in the study and lecture of our Review and should be pleased if now you could make up your mind to subscribe in future to our Periodical.

The annual subscription is amounting to DM 4.4o plus DM -.8o for postage = DM 5.2o (for 8 numbers).

We beg to join an envelope for your order and kindly request you to remit the small subscription-amount occasionally by Post-office Order.

In the meantime we are, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully
J. Schmitz
(J. Schmitz)

envelope

Fernsprecher 79556 Geschäftszeit 13.30-19.30 Uhr, samstags 9-13 Uhr Postscheckkonto Frankfurt am Main 7657

Subscriptions complimentary

2/27/52

AS--

Marion Wright would like the following persons added to the complimentary mailing list:

Dr. George H. Aull
Clemson College, South Carolina

Mr. George A. Buchanan, Editor
Columbia Record
Columbia, South Carolina

HCF

MKRS
a
2-29-52

German Civil Lib Union

DEUTSCHER
BUND FÜR BÜRGERRECHTE
- Geschäftsführung -

FRANKFURT AM MAIN,
CRONSTETTENSTRASSE 2
TELEFON 52269

19.2.52

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. S. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council Jnc.
63, Auburn Ave, NE
Atlanta GA .

Sehr geehrter Mr. Mitchell !

Wir verdanken Jhre Adresse unserem Vorstandsmitglied Konrad Mommsen. Auf Grund seiner Empfehlung nehmen wir an, dass Sie an der Arbeit unseres Bundes für Bürgerrechte und der ihm angeschlossenen Gesellschaften in Deutschland Jnteresse haben. Um Sie über diese Arbeit zu orientieren, werden wir Jhnen die nächsten Nummern unserer Zeitschrift "Recht und Freiheit" kostenlos übersenden. Wir würden uns freuen, wenn Sie später unsere Zeitschrift abonnieren würden.

Herr Mommsen hat uns ausserdem aufgefordert, uns mit zwei Bitten an Sie zu wenden:

1.) Wir wären Jhnen dankbar, wenn Sie die Jhnen übersandten Zeitschriften an Jhnen nahestehende Organisationen, Jnstitute, Bibliotheken etc. oder Freunde weitergeben würden, die ein Jnteresse an unserer Arbeit haben können. Wir sind seit einem Jahr Mitglied der Jnternational League for the Rights of Man und möchten gern, dass die interessierten Kreise in den USA laufend etwas über unsere Arbeit erfahren.

2.) Nach Mitteilung von Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, Chairmann des Board of Directors der Jnternational League for the Rights of Man, dürfen amerikanische Steuerzahler ab 1.1.52 Zuwendungen an uns von dem zu versteuernden Einkommen abziehen. Wir wären Jhnen zu grossem Dank verpflichtet, wenn Sie überlegen würden, welche Stiftungen oder Einzelpersonen bereit sein könnten, unsere weitere Arbeit durch Zuwendungen zu unterstützen. Es wäre sehr liebenswürdig, wenn Sie uns in dieser für uns sehr wichtigen Frage Vorschläge machen könnten.

Unsere hiesige Aufbauarbeit ist durch namhafte Subventionen seitens der American High Commission ausserordentlich gefördert worden. Diese Fonds werden jedoch in diesem Jahr nicht mehr zur Verfügung stehen. Wenn auch Aussichten bestehen, in zunehmendem Umfange Gelder aus deutschen Quellen zu erhalten, so werden wir doch für Unterstützungen in den nächsten Jahren nicht nur dankbar sein, sondern ihrer zur Jntensivierung unserer Arbeit dringend bedürfen. Denn es braucht naturgemäss eine

b.w.

jahrelange Anlaufzeit, bis die Bedeutung einer unparteilichen und nicht einem Spezialinteresse dienenden Arbeit, wie der unsrigen, in Deutschland gebührend gewürdigt wird.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

Oncken

(Dr. Oncken).

Translation.

We obtained your address through the courtesy of our Board Member, Mr. Konrad Mommsen. In view of his recommendation we are convinced that you are interested in the activities of the German Union for Civil Liberties and the other Civil Liberties Associations affiliated to the German Civil Liberties Union. In order to inform you about these activities, we intend to send you a number of copies of our monthly publication "Justice and Liberty" (Recht und Freiheit). We would gladly appreciate your subscription to this publication.

Furthermore Mr.Mommsen has encouraged us to approach you with two of our problems:

1) We would be very grateful to you, if you would forward these publications to organizations, institutions,libraries, etc. which are known to you as well as to your friends who may be interested in our work. For more than one year we are member of the International League for the Rights of Man, and we wish to keep all American groups concerned informed about the work.

2) According to an information received from Mr. Roger N. Baldwin the American taxpayers may after January 1, 1952 deduct from their taxable income any contributions to us. We would be much obliged to you, if you would consider which organizations or individuals might be willing to support financially our future activities. It would be very kind of you to make some suggestions in this extremely important matter.

Our constructive task in Germany has been supported by considerable contributions from the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. These funds, however, will be no more available in the coming year. While there are increasing opportunities to obtain funds from German sources, we still would be not only very grateful but also would depend largely on your assistance during the next years in order to be able to intensify our

activities since it appears natural that a rather long initial period is required, until the significance of such activities standing beyond the political parties and not serving individual interests is duely recognized.

BEREA COLLEGE
SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Subscribers

MEMORANDUM TO Southern Reg. Council:

We have yet to receive any of your publications - and we need them.

Roscoe Giffen

New South
Nov.
Dec.
Jan.
Feb.
Sent 3/14/57
KS.

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1959
Southern Regional Council

March 14, 1952

Mr. & Mrs. Roscoe Giffin
22 Jackson
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Giffin:

Thank you very much indeed for letting us know that you have not been receiving your copies of NEW SOUTH. I have investigated and found that no addressograph plate has been filed for you but have made sure that one will be within a day or so. Under separate cover I am sending you copies of the November, December, January and February issues of NEW SOUTH. The March issue has not yet been sent out and we will be sure that you get yours.

Thanks again for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

memb. c

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED FEB 29 1952 Southern Regional Council

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

☐ **A Sustaining Member.** (The Council's main support.) Dues $10.00.

☒ **A Member.** (Has full membership rights and receives all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Dues $3.00.

☐ **A Member jointly with husband or wife.** (Both have full membership rights and jointly receive a copy of all publications and reports issued by SRC.) Joint dues $4.00.

(Note: Persons living outside the South are enrolled as Associate [non-voting] Members.)

☐ **A Contributor** to SRC's operation funds.

Dues for one year are enclosed ..... $ 3.00

Contribution is enclosed in the amount of ..... $

Subscription to New South as non-member ..... $

Total Enclosed ..... $ 3.00

K.S.

NAME Reverend Walter Melfi

STREET St John's Church Box 216

CITY Naval Base STATE South Carolina

OCCUPATION Catholic Priest

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name Mr John J. Duffy, Jr
7 Council St.
Street Charleston 21, S.C.

Name Dr L.I. Pickering
5 Maverick St
Street Charleston 26, S.C.

City Mr Walter Duane
Rt 8 Box 583
Charleston, S.C.

State Reverend R.N. Roach
St Peter's Church
34 Wentworth St
Charleston 9, S.C.

all sent 3/17/52 KS

TEAR OUT ALONG THIS LINE AND MAIL

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

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Subscription to New South as non-member ..... $ _____

Total Enclosed ..... $ 3.00

NAME Bethlehem Community House

STREET 1401 College St.

CITY Chattanooga 3 STATE Tenn.

OCCUPATION Social work - settlement

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name Lillian Kelly

Street 1401 College St.

City Chattanooga 3 State Tenn.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Contribution is enclosed in the amount of ..... $

Subscription to New South as non-member ..... $

Total Enclosed ..... $ 3.00

K.S.

NAME Mrs Norma Radin

STREET 1007 W. 23 ST.

CITY Austin STATE Texas

OCCUPATION Housewife

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

DR.

Name DUANE PRICE

Street 7004 ST. CHARLES AVE

City NEW ORLEANS State LA.

RECEIVED FEB 25 1959 Southern Regional Council

sent 3/17/59 K.S.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

RECEIVED FEB 25 1952 Southern Regional Council

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☐ **A Contributor** to SRC's operation funds.

Dues for one year are enclosed ..... $ 14.00

Contribution is enclosed in the amount of ..... $

Subscription to New South as non-member ..... $

Total Enclosed ..... $ 14.00

K.S.

NAME Mr. & Mrs. Ralph Richards

STREET 312 Orangewood Ave.,

CITY Clearwater, STATE Florida

OCCUPATION Mr. Richards — Attorney

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name Mr. William Nodine

Street 1403 North Fort Harrison Ave.

City Clearwater State Florida

Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Caldwell,
473 East Shore Drive,
Clearwater Beach,
Clearwater, Florida.

Sent 3/17/52 K.S.

TEAR OUT ALONG THIS LINE AND MAIL

mmb c

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAR 4 1952 Southern Regional Council

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Contribution is enclosed in the amount of ..... $

Subscription to New South as non-member ..... $

Total Enclosed $3.00

K.S.

NAME Bill Hinely

STREET Box 998

CITY Emory University STATE Georgia

OCCUPATION Student

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name Cliff Berry

Street Box 854

City Emory University State Georgia

Sent 3/17/52 KS

~~[illegible]~~ approved.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Contribution is enclosed in the amount of ..... $ K.S.

Subscription to New South as non-member ..... $

Total Enclosed ..... $ 3.00

NAME G. T. Dowdy

STREET P. O. Box 971

CITY Tuskegee Institute STATE Ala

OCCUPATION Teacher Head Ag. Econ Division Tuskegee Institute Ala

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name Ernest Owens

Street 187 W. Duncan St

City Columbus State Ohio

sent 3/19/57 KS!

~~mail~~ crp.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Contribution is enclosed in the amount of . . . . . $ K.S.

Subscription to New South as non-member . . . . . $

Total Enclosed . . . . . $

NAME E. C. Gilliam

STREET P. O. Box 791

CITY Tuskegee Institute STATE Ala

OCCUPATION Instructor in agronomy

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name E. C. Gilliam

Street P. O. Box 791

City Tuskegee Institute State Ala

New member packet sent 3/19/52 K.S.

Memb.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Believing in the principles and aims of the Southern Regional Council, I would like to become: (check appropriate square)

RECEIVED
MAR 27 1952
Southern Regional Council

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Dues for one year are enclosed ..... $ 3.00

Contribution is enclosed in the amount of ..... $

Subscription to New South as non-member ..... $ K.S.

Total Enclosed ..... $

NAME William E. Nodine

STREET 1403 N. Ft. Harrison Ave.

CITY Clearwater STATE Florida

OCCUPATION Attorney at law

Please send information about the Southern Regional Council to

Name D P McGreachy III

Street Union Theological Seminary

City Richmond State Virginia

Inf. sent
3/27/52
K.S.

TEAR OUT ALONG THIS LINE AND MAIL

SRC—NS 2—3

April 29, 1953

Miss Susie P. Foster
Box 1012, College Station
Fredericksburg, Va.

Dear Miss Foster:

We are so glad to have you as a subscriber to NEW SOUTH.

We will start it as from now, but I send you this year's back issues.

When you accumulate a dollar and a half, you should send it on to us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC-MS

May 5, 1953

Mr. John Otterbacher
The Glenmary Missioners
Glendale, Ohio

Dear Mr. Otterbacher:

That was mighty kind of you to renew your subscription to NEW SOUTH and to write so cordially. I took particular pleasure in being with your group. Give me another chance sometime, and I will be right back.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

THE GLENMARY MISSIONERS
(Home Missioners of America)
GLENDALE, OHIO

May 3, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 433
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

While sending in my subscription for the coming year for the New South, I take the opportunity to send you my personal note of appreciation for the fine illuminating talk you gave us recently here at Glenmary. I certainly hope this will not be your last appearence here. I am confident that we all gained by your talk.

I also congratulate you for the Award given to you by the Catholic Committee of the South. I am certain it was well deserved.

May God bless you for and in your work of rejuvenating the South under God.

Sincerely in Christ,

John Otterbacher

John Otterbacher

RECEIVED
MAY 5
Southern Regional Council

SRC + NS 3

June 16, 1953

Rev. James P. Kelly
The Glenmary Missioners
Glendale, Ohio

Dear Father Kelly:

I did hope you and Father Bishop got safely out to the airport. It was a special pleasure to have you for that visit.

We will put you down for three years as a subscriber to NEW SOUTH and will hope that the Council can last a whole three years! Many thanks for your kind check for five dollars.

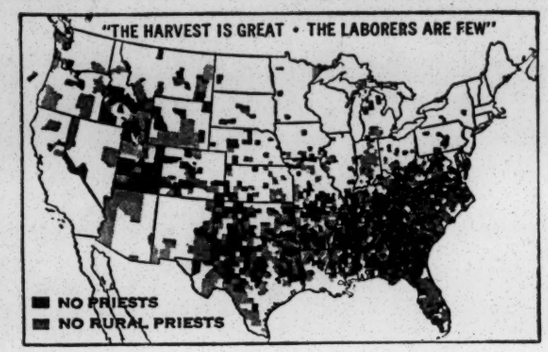
I am not just sure which pamphlets I gave you, but I suppose they would be the one about the self-survey and a copy of the Greenville, South Carolina, results. Here are fresh copies. Observe that Shreveport has now newly completed a similar survey, which Father Gremillion had much to do with.

Put me down as a friend of the Glenmary Missioners for good and all.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec



THE GLENMARY MISSIONERS

Legal Title: The Home Missioners of America

Glendale, Ohio

June 5, 1953

RECEIVED
JUN 8
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Auburn and Ivy Sts.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fr. Mitchell:

You were most gracious to Father Bishop and myself when we stopped in at your office last week. We are glad that Providence gave us those three hours at Atlanta, and it must have been Divine Providence, because we hadn't forseen it at all.

I've made notes of what you told us and I also have notes from your talk in Glendale a month or two ago. Unfortunately, the two pamphlets you gave us have been mislaid but I still have hopes of finding them. I've written to Hertz to see if we left them in the car we rented. If this doesn't turn them up, I may ask you again for a copy.

I'd like to be on the list for your magazine, "The New South," and am enclosing a check to help defray the expenses of sending it to me.

The South has problems, but I know that with men like yourself, willing to devote themselves to the cause, these problems will be solved. Some must sacrifice that all may enjoy that degree of security and frugal comfort most conducive to a godly life.

We pray that God may bless you and your work abundantly.

Yours sincerely,

James P. Kelly

Reverend James P. Kelly
THE GLENMARY MISSIONERS

P.S. I just heard from Hertz that they didn't realize the value of the pamphlets and discarded them. One set for the two of us will suffice as Father Bishop and I are here together. Many thanks.

SRC ~~Policy Statement~~

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Marion, N. C.

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MRS. E. U. ROBINSON
Franklin, Tenn.

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New South; Policy Statement Toward the South of the Future

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MRS. J. FLETCHER MCLEOD
700 Terrace Ave.
Montgomery, Ala.

Chairman of Public Relations
MRS. J. ROY JONES
5618 Colonial Drive
Columbia, S. C.

Dec. 27 - 1951

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Thank you for your courteous letter. Please send 250 copies of The Policy reprint to Mrs. John Hoyle, c/o Mrs. E. U. Robinson, First Methodist Church Atlanta, Ga. (marked - please hold) about Feb. 23

We will enclose a copy in each delegate's registration envelope.

Very sincerely,

(Mrs. E. U.) Ruth C. Robinson

Done FC

2/21/52

June 10, 1946

New South

Dr. Dorothy Dickins
Mississippi State College
State College, Mississippi

Dear Dr. Dickins:

At last we are about ready to publish the health issue of New South. Our editor, Mr. Ray Warwick, has boiled down your manuscript and revised it considerably. We plan to call it, "Wanted: Better Health for the South", and to illustrate i. with pictographs as we did with the March issue which was written by Rupert Vance. I am enclosing a copy of the manuscript as Mr. Warwick has revised it. Of course, when it is printed, it will contain heads and subheads as well as the pictographs. I hope you will have time to run over it right away and send it back to us with any comments you would like to make.

Would you prefer that the title page read "By Dorothy Dickins" or "Based on a study by Dorothy Dickins"?

We have asked Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon-General of the U. S. Public Health Service, to write a foreword. I am reasonably sure that he will do it, if he has time.

Looking forward to hearing from you and with all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

✓m 6/10/46

June 10, 1946

New South

Dr. Thomas Parran
Surgeon-General
United States Public Health Service
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Parran:

I wonder whether you can find time to do us a favor. We are devoting the June issue of our monthly publication, New South, to the subject, "Wanted: Better Health for the South." It is based on a manuscript prepared by Dr. Dorothy Dickins at Mississippi State College. We would like very much to have a brief introduction from your pen. We would appreciate it immensely if you could write about a page by way of a foreword on the importance of better health and the significance of this particular study.

I am enclosing a copy of the manuscript. Of course, when it is printed it will be interspersed with heads and subheads and will be illustrated with pictographs. I am enclosing a copy of our March issue which was written by Dr. Rupert B. Vance. The June issue will be made up in similar fashion. As you will note, Governor Ellis Arnall contributed the foreword to the March issue.

We shall be ready to go to press soon, and, of course, we should like to have the foreword as soon as possible. Thanking you for your cooperation and looking forward to hearing from you soon, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosures

✓m 6/10/46

UNITED STATES
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

OFFICE OF THE
SURGEON GENERAL

WASHINGTON 25

RECEIVED
JUN 20 1946
Southern Regional Council

June 18, 1946.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

In Dr. Parran's absence from the office, receipt is acknowledged of your letter of June 10th requesting him to write a brief introduction for the June issue of your monthly publication "The New South."

Dr. Parran has been away from the office for several weeks due to an acute eye infection and only returned to the office for a short time yesterday.

He is leaving later this week to attend the sessions of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to organize a World Health Organization being held in New York.

Because of the heavy pressure of these and other official duties, he finds it is entirely impossible for him to write this foreword. He asked that we express his deep appreciation and regrets.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Moak

Administrative Assistant.

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

New South

June 25, 1946

Governor R. Gregg Cherry
State Capitol
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Governor Cherry:

I am writing to ask whether you would be willing to write a brief introduction for the next issue of our magazine, New South. It will be entitled Wanted: Better Health for the South, and it was written by Dr. Dorothy Dickins of Mississippi State College.

I am enclosing a copy of the March issue of New South, entitled Wanted: The South's Future For the Nation, which was written for us by Dr. Rupert B. Vance, of the University of North Carolina. The introduction was contributed by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia.

I am also enclosing a copy of the health manuscript which was prepared by Dr. Dickins. The publication will be similar to the Vance pamphlet and will be illustrated with pictographs.

Since North Carolina leads the South in so many respects we are anxious to have the introduction written by you. I sincerely hope that you will honor us by contributing the introduction.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl. - 2

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ANNOUNCES

The June, 1946, Issue Of

NEW SOUTH

WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH

By Dorothy Dickins
Head of Home Economics Research
Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station

If you are at all interested in the welfare and progress of the South you will want to read Wanted: A Healthy South, a readable, illustrated short study of the health problems of the people of the South and what must and can be done about them.

This 30-page, attractively illustrated booklet, with three-color cover, surveys the causes, as well as the conditions, of Southern health. It is especially useful for study or community action groups.

Prices

Single copy	5 copies	25 copies	100 copies
25 cents	$1.00	$4.00	$15.00

Or perhaps you would prefer to subscribe to New South for a full year, beginning with the June issue. Or even better, perhaps you would prefer to become a member of the Southern Regional Council and receive all our publications. Membership is $2.00 a year and includes a subscription to New South and all other SRC publications. We enclose a little leaflet, "The South Is Yours", which tells what the Southern Regional Council is and what it does, and which provides a form for membership application.

.....

Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

☐ I enclose ____ for ___ copies of the June issue of NEW SOUTH.

☐ I enclose $1.00 for a year's subscription to NEW SOUTH beginning with the June issue.

☐ I enclose $2.00 for membership dues for the year 1946.

Name _____

Address _____
Street

_____
City Zone No. State

1+B

New South

The South is now looking forward to a great economic expansion that will raise living standards and make possible the development of a better life for all Southerners. Sometimes, in fact, we think so much in terms of this economic development that we tend to forget what it is for: we think of factories, modern farms, greater profits and higher wages. But all these things--economic prosperity itself--have no meaning except in terms of people: unless the South's development serves the well-being of all our people it is useless. Prosperity, if it is to mean anything, must bring to every man, woman and child of the South the things that make ~~to~~ the good life possible: better jobs, higher incomes, security, a good home, a thorough education, good health.

This last gain--good health--is a real problem in the South of today, and it is important in two main ways: we need good health for all our people so they can help to work and build the better South we want; and we need the better South, and the higher incomes that go with it, in order to get better health.

Nobody--not even the most wooden-headed champions of the as-is South -- would try to tell us that good health is a bad thing, or that bad health is a good thing. Everybody is for good health. It's another story, however, when we try to do something about it --if we try to get a Federal health bill to take care of everybody, if we try to set up in our own state a health program that will do the job, or if we try to work out a better program on the county or city level. Then somebody starts worrying about how much it will cost.

How anyone can decide for or against good health on the basis of what it costs is hard to understand. Everybody knows that his own good health is probably the most important thing in his life. And if he thinks it all the way through he knows that his own health is tied to the health of his community. Germs have a way of getting around. Besides, nothing in this world counts but people; if we know that, then we want good health for everybody, so everybody can enjoy a full life and do his part in the work of the world.

But there is an answer even for these "practical" people who ask about the

cost: Instead of worrying about how much good health costs, let's think about how much poor health costs. Let's be "practical," hard-boiled, and think in terms of money, just for a moment. Let's think of the Nation as a factory that produces men and women. The South is a very important branch of this factory: from 1930 to 1940 the Southeast alone contributed more than 30 percent of the Nation's increase in population, and the Southwest contributed 7.9 percent more of the Nation's total gain; the entire South, in other words, supplied almost 40 percent of the United States' population increase in that ten-year span.* So the South is a big branch of this factory that produces men and women. But sometimes costs in this Southern factory have been reduced too low to permit the production of top-quality men and women; in many instances we have produced "seconds".

What is a man or a woman worth to the South? That is an outrageous question to most of us who believe in Democracy, for we know that a man or a woman is in the best sense worth more than all the money in the world. But this question can be answered even for "practical" people. Part of the answer is: What has gone into the production of that man or woman? A good home? A proper education? Trained medical care? A good, balanced diet? Or was it a poor home, little schooling, poor medical care or none at all, and "meat, meal, molasses"?

The South's wealth, as well as the Nation's wealth, depends upon the labor and productive work of all the people. Just as poverty has injured the health of the South, so has poor health retarded the South's growth to prosperity. When producers die before their time, money as well as life is lost; the earlier the death, the greater the financial loss. Louis I. Dublin, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, has estimated what men of different ages and incomes are worth, in terms of money. For instance, he estimates that a man 24 years old, with an income of $1,000 a year -- at the age of his maximum earning capacity --is worth $10,750. From a simple figure like this we can see that the many deaths caused by

* See Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation (Southern Regional Council), p. 24

disease -- tuberculosis, for example -- have cost the South hundreds of thousands of dollars. That's just in terms of money. What it has cost us in terms of lost abilities, personalities, hopes and dreams can never be told.

In other words, without even counting the more important human values, the South pays the cost of poor health indirectly in the loss of manpower and productive human efficiency; and it also pays -- directly-- through relief and welfare programs to help the victims of poor health.

So let's face the cost -- especially the human cost -- of poor health in the South. Let's study the doctor's report on Mr. and Mrs. Average Southerner, learn what treatment they need, and what can be done about it.

— o —

Fifteen years ago the South's death rate was higher than the national average. Today it is lower. So, in a way, we might say that the health of the South is much better. But there are other measurements of health, besides the over-all death rate, that show the health of our region to be worse than the Nation as a whole. When we break down the death rate into causes of death we find serious shortcomings in the South's health.

For instance, infant deaths and deaths caused by pregnancy and childbirth in the South are higher than the rate for the Nation. Forty two percent of the 7,267 women who died in the United States in 1942 from causes directly due to pregnancy and childbirth were Southerners.

If we study the figures on the ten leading causes of death in the United States we find that death from syphilis, tuberculosis, pneumonia and ~~all other forms of~~ influenza, nephritis (kidney disease) and premature birth were higher in the South than in the Nation as a whole.

There are two other causes of death common to the South which are not among the chief causes but are important because of their dominance in our region; they are pellagra and malaria. In 1942, of the 1,513 deaths from pellagra in the United States, 1,373 occurred in the 13 Southern states; and of the 861 deaths from Malaria, 761 occurred in the South.

Deaths from diseases of the heart, cancer, intracranial lesions and diabetes were lower in the South than in the Nation. This does not necessarily mean that Southerners are less susceptible to these diseases; it may only mean that Southerners die of the region's more predominant diseases before they contract the others.

Certain diseases are more common in specific occupational and social groups. Since the South has a very large farm population, as well as a very large Negro population, we would be wise to give special study to these groups, especially since both suffer a large part of the burden of the South's poor health. Perhaps, by studying these two groups closely, we can mark the main causes of the South's high death rates, and then lay plans for improving their health; and thus, in turn, improve the health of the South as a whole.

Some people believe that just living in the country makes better health, but it really depends on how you live in the country, whether you have a decent standard of living, good diet, proper medical care. The reports of Selective Service examinations of 18-year-olds show that more farm boys were rejected for physical defects than boys from any other groups. In fact, their rejection rate was so high it could be compared only with the conditions of emergency relief workers.

Maternal and infant death rates are highest in most rural areas. By rural areas we mean not only farm sections but also small towns, which often have worse health conditions than the farm districts. In fact, infant mortality rates for both whites and Negroes are highest in our small towns.

There is much than can be done to change this, because the diseases that medical science is best able to control and prevent are the ones that are highest in rural areas. Death rates for typhoid fever, diphtheria, malaria and pellagra are much higher in rural areas. Pneumonia takes a higher toll in the country and the small towns than it does in larger cities.

It is almost impossible to discuss any problem of the South without comparing the facts and figures on the white and Negro groups. This is the unfortunate, but

inevitable, result of a pattern of discrimination that deliberately deprives part of our population of a fair share of the benefits of modern life and opportunities for self-improvement. It is not only un-democratic, but from the "practical" point of view it is also a handicap to the entire region and all its communities, both white and colored; for we are all "in this thing" together, no matter how much we try to deceive ourselves. Nothing drives home this fact more clearly than a comparative study of the health of white and Negro groups in the South: for as we said before, germs have a way of getting around; germs know no color line.

For example: the 1942 death rate for whites in the 13 Southern states was 19 percent below the national average, but the death rate for Southern Negroes was 18 percent above the average. Estimates made from the 1940 population census show that white people have on the average a life expectancy 11 years longer than Negro people.

Infant death rates for 1942 show the same trend: the rate for Negroes was about 57 percent higher than it was for whites. About 30 percent of the births in the South in 1942 were Negro, but some 50 percent of the maternal deaths occurred among Negro mothers. The Negro mother is more liable to death from causes directly due to pregnancy and childbirth than is the white mother.

In fact, if we check the comparison in the leading causes of death for 1942 we find that in the South syphilis, tuberculosis, pneumonia and ~~other forms of~~ influenza, nephritis and premature birth caused a greater proportion of deaths among Negroes than among whites. This was especially true of syphilis, tuberculosis and pneumonia.

Let's run over a few more facts on this:

Tuberculosis in the South in 1942 killed three times as many Negroes, in proportion, as it did whites. Selective Service records show that a greater percentage of Negro draftees were rejected for tuberbulosis than white draftees.

Pneumonia and ~~other forms of~~ influenza killed proportionately three times as

many Negroes as whites in the South in 1942. Death from pellagra and malaria was more common among Negroes than whites.

Syphilis killed about seven times as many Negroes as it did whites in the South in 1942. Selective service records from 12 of the 13 Southern states (Kentucky did not keep separate figures for each race) show this: 39 out of every 1,000 white draftees were rejected for syphilis; 294 out of every 1,000 Negro draftees were rejected for syphilis. And syphilis causes a rise in the rates of stillbirths, premature births, infant mortality and heart disease.

The rates for all of the leading causes of death, except cancer and diabetes, were in 1942 higher for the Southern Negro than for the Southern white. This is not merely a problem for the Negro; it is a problem for all of us in the South, for every community in the region.

— o —

Now, the doctor has examined Mr. and Mrs. Average Southerner, white and colored: his report is not so good. The record is especially bad in what are called the preventable diseases, those that medical science has learned to control, prevent or cure. Why is this so? If these diseases can be prevented, why aren't they?

That brings us to some of the causes, direct and indirect, of the South's poor health record. It also brings us back to what we said at the outset about the economic development and prosperity of the South -- for the benefit of <u>all</u> our people. For the cause of most of this record of sickness and death can be summed up in one simple sentence:

Disease walks with poverty.

One of the biggest factors in the poor health of Southern rural people, white and colored, is a low standard of living: not enough money for proper medical care, for a balanced diet, for decent housing. In short, the South is poor, and so our people are not as healthy as people in the rest of the Nation, not as healthy as they could and should be.

The Consumer Purchases Study, a nation-wide survey of family living in 1935-36, gives a good idea of just how low this income is. (Incomes are higher today than they were then, but so are prices and the general cost of living, and the margin of income above bare subsistence expenses is still not very much for these people.) Here is what the study showed up in the South: among whites, 26 percent of city families, 45 percent of small town families, 49 percent of farm-operator families and 84 percent of sharecropper families had a living worth less than $1,000 a year; among Negroes, 86 percent of city families, 91 percent of small town families, 84 percent of farm-operator families, 96 percent of sharecropper families had less than $1,000 a year. These figures included not only c cash income, but also the value of home-produced food and fuel and the rental value of housing.

So we see that Negro families and sharecropper families (both white and colored) stand far too low in income to maintain a proper standard of living. What makes this even more serious is the fact that low-income families are sick more often than families with higher incomes. The National Health Survey made in 1935-36 showed that families on relief averaged 17.4 days of sickness (for each member of the family) in one year; families not on relief, but with incomes under $1,000 a year, lost 10.9 days of sickness per family-member per year; but in families with incomes of $3,000 to $5,000 a year the average time lost by each member of the family because of sickness was only 6.5 days a year.

Thus, the people with the lowest incomes, who can least afford to lose time from work, actually lose more days out because of sickness than any others; and they lose this valuable time partly because they do not earn enough to afford a standard of living that helps guard against sickness.

Ignorance also walks with poverty, and disease walks with ignorance, too: in fact, the three go together. A study of syphilis and gonnorrhea rates in Washington, D. C., in 1939 makes this clear. The rate for these diseases for

people with incomes of less than $1,000 a year was 34.6 per 1,000 population, compared to only 6.4 per 1,000 for those in the $1,000 to $3,000 a year group and 4.7 for those earning over $3,000. There was an extremely high rate of syphilis in the low income-groups for white and Negro. For instance, the under-$1,000 group made up only 18.6 percent of the white population and yet it made up 43 percent of the white syphilis cases; the under-$1,000 group made up 77.7 percent of the total Negro population and contributed 86.6 percent of Negro syphilis cases. In higher income groups, white and Negro, the conditions were reversed. Both Negroes and white persons in the higher income groups had much lower syphilis and other disease rates.

Low income, then, seems to be the main cause of poor health in the South, as everywhere else, because it is the barrier to the basic things needed for good health. No other factor among these things has so great an effect as the food we eat. Studies of food consumption made by the Consumer Purchases Study showed that the typical Southerner's diet is worse than that of the rest of the people of the Nation. In this study, diets were rated as "good", "fair" and "poor." In the study, the diets of 30 percent of the families of the Southeast were scored as fair; 45 percent of the family diets in the North and West were fair. The diets of 30 percent of families in all these areas were rated good or excellent. But a rating of poor was given to 40 percent of Southeastern families, compared with only 25 percent with poor diets in the North and West.

Now, what groups in the South had the poor diets? Negroes, sharecroppers and unskilled workers -- groups with the lowest incomes. The study showed that there were almost twice as many Negro families as white families with poor diets. (Broken families, very large families, and families on relief were not included in this study.) The statistics suggest that many Negroes and a number of whites in the South are suffering from malnutrition.

Medical studies have shown the bad effects of poor diet. We saw how

infant and maternal death rates are higher in the South than anywhere else in the Nation. Poor diet has much to do with this. Dr. F. F. Tisdall in the January, 1945, issue of the Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly reported a study that drives this fact home. The study included 210 pregnant women, all of whom had been on poor diets up to the time of pregnancy. Ninety women in the group were given additional foods, including daily allotments of an egg, 30 ounces of milk, an ounce of cheese, 4½ ounces of tomatoes, an orange, a half ounce of wheat germ plus some vitamin D. The other women were continued on their poor diets. (None of them at any time showed signs of any deficiency disease.)

Now, of the 120 women who stayed on the poor diet, seven had miscarriages, four stillbirths, and nine premature births. For the 90 who received additional foods, there were no miscarriages or stillbirths and only two premature births.

The pre-natal rating by the obstetrician showed that 26 percent of the women in the poor-diet group had a bad record as compared to only nine percent when the diet was improved. In convalescence their records followed a similar pattern: 11.5 percent had a poor record, compared to only 3.5 percent when the diet was improved. Fourteen percent of the babies borne by the poorly-fed mothers showed a bad record during the first two weeks, but none of the babies borne by the well-fed mothers showed a poor record. So far as could be determined the babies in both groups received the same care after they left the hospital, but in the first six months three babies from the poor-diet group died, one of prematurity, two of pneumonia. The babies of the poorly-fed mothers had a greater proportion of each of the principal illnesses that occur during the first six months of life.

And what can be said of the relation of poor diet to tuberculosis, pneumonia and nephritis? Studies show that poor diets may account, at least in part, for lower resistance to these diseases. One such study, by Dr. Elizabeth Chant Robertson, tested rats from the same litter by separating them into two groups.

One group received a diet lacking the food substances to be tested; the other group received the same diet, but plus the missing element. After the rats lived on these diets for a time they were infected with disease organisms and the number of survivors was noted. When the diet lacked vitamin A, only 40 percent of the rats survived the disease; 79 percent of the rats on adequate diet survived. When the B complex element was reduced, only 20 percent survived, compared to 72 percent of those with sufficient B complex. A shortage of minerals and animal protein showed similar results.

The effect of diet in some diseases may not be clearcut, but in pellagra, a nutritional deficiency disease caused by a shortage of niacin, it is very plain. Now, we have seen that most of the national total of deaths from pellagra are confined to the South, but death rates do not really give a complete indication of the number of people who suffer from pellagra or "near pellagra." In fact, pellagra is not a disease that generally causes acute illness or death; probably only 15 percent of the people who have pellagra ever consult a doctor about their condition; and many do not even know what their ailment is, since there may be no outward signs of the disease, such as skin lesions, but only a feeling of discomfort. It is usually the poor man who is hit by this disease, because lean meat -- one of the more costly foods — is the best source of niacin.

Housing is another factor in health. Inadequate and unsanitary houses are breeding spots for disease. The 1940 census shows that the South, especially the rural South, has the worst housing in the Nation. Houses in the South are smaller, although families are larger; more of our houses are in need of repair and fewer of them have running water and sanitary toilet facilities than homes in the rest of the United S tates. Crowding is greater among farm families than city families in the South. The 1940 census showed that 38 percent of white farm families and 54 percent of Negro farm families in the South had more than one person per room.

Poor toilet and water facilities in the rural South probably account, at least in part, for the fact that more than half of the Nation's total of deaths from dysentery and a third of the deaths from diarrhea were confined to the thirteen Southern states. Again, the 1940 census showed that 26 percent of Negro farm families and 15 percent of white farm families in the South had no water supply within 50 feet of their houses. Twenty percent of the Negro farm families and 11 percent of the white farm families had no toilet or privy. Village and urban families were better off on this score: only two percent of white families in urban communities, who owned their houses, had no running water; but even in the urban areas the figures on Negro home owners showed 16 percent without running water. It's interesting to note that the record among home owners was somewhat better than among renters in the urban groups; for among those who rented the rates were four percent and 19 percent, respectively, without running water.

The low-income rural family is at a disadvantage in this, for in the country a water and sewage disposal system costs more than it does in the city, where city-wide water and sewer systems are established. Inadequate sewage disposal is a danger to the water supply: a chief source of typhoid fever is polluted water. This explains the greater proportion of typhoid fever cases among rural as compared to urban areas and among Negroes as compared to whites.

Window screens to keep out disease-carrying flies and mosquitoes are another housing factor for health protection. A rural farm housing survey showed that only about one-fourth of white families and less than five percent of Negro families in the rural South had houses with screens in good condition. Since the survey was made, however, many farm homes in the South have been properly screened through cooperation of the Works Progress Administration and the state boards of health. But there are still many homes in the South without proper screens.

A main cause of poor housing, as of poor diet, is low income. As the income of our people, both white and Negro, is raised they will purchase more adequate housing with modern facilities for health protection. For instance, the Consumer Purchases Study showed that among renting families in Southern cities with incomes of $500-$749 a year, white families paid $92 rent, and Negro families $83; in the $750-$999 a year income group, white families paid $123 rent, Negro families $86. The fact that Negroes spent less for rent than whites in the same income group might indicate lack of understanding about the importance of good housing; but probably the chief reason is that Negroes have less opportunity for renting good housing than whites, because of the limitations of segregation.

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The low income which keeps many Southern people from getting the good diets and adequate housing that are so important in the revention of disease also stands in the way of their getting proper medical care once they fall ill. "Medical service is a purchasable commodity," writes Rupert B. Vance in his new study of the South, All These People; "and the level of medical science no less than the distribution of doctors and nurses depends to a large extent on the economic level of the community."

Doctors and nurses, hospitals and clinics are concentrated in the same centers where high income and high standards of living are concentrated. The South, with its large groups of low-income farm and Negro population, has a severe disadvantage in this fact. The paradox, then, is that where the health of the people is worst there also is the greatest shortage of doctors and facilities for medical care. An approved standard is one doctor to every 700 people, and the national average in 1940 was one doctor for every 751 people, but in more than one-third of the counties in most of the Southern states there is only one doctor for every 3,000 people.

Poor people put off going to the doctor as long as they possibly can, because it costs money. In the National Health Survey, 22 percent of the people in families on relief or with a family income of less than $1,000 who were disabled for a week or longer had no medical attention; for persons with a family income of $5,000 or over the rate was 11 percent, and the duration of illness was much longer for persons on relief and those with incomes of less than $1,000. For disabling illness lasting only one or two days, 48 percent of the persons with lowest family incomes were attended by a physician; among those with the highest incomes 79 percent were treated by a doctor.

In a study made by Dr. Isabella C. Wilson in 1938 of "Sickness and Medical Care Among the Negro Population in a Delta Area of Arkansas", including 226 Negro families with a membership of 902 persons, average expenditure for medical services was $14.42 per family and $3.61 per person. Expenditures for physicians' services were 37.2 percent of the total amount; for unprescribed medicines, 10.8 percent; for hospital services, 2.9 percent; for dental care, 3.8 percent; for practical nursing services, 0.4 percent; for graduate nursing, 0.8 percent; and for midwifery services, 2.4 percent. Forty-nine and one-half percent of the families had a doctor's services; 8 percent, dental services; 0.4 percent, graduate nursing services in the home; 0.4 percent, practical nursing services in the home; 3 percent, hospital services; and 5.3 percent, midwifery services. Ninety-two percent of all the families reported the use of unprescribed medicines; 43 percent, prescribed medicines; 5.8 percent, herb remedies; 24.8 percent, homemade remedies; and 0.4 percent, witchcraft.

The Consumer Purchases Study indicated that there was a tendency in the South for medical care expenses for low-income groups to be lower in the country than in the city. This was more marked in the Negro than white group. There are several factors in this: medical services being more expensive to rural people are used less;since fewer medical services are available, there is less under-

standing of their importance. That this is not due to a smaller amount of illness in rural areas is shown in a study of 7,434 canvassed white families in fourteen states, 1928-31, made by the Public Health Service: 85 illnesses per hundred persons per year were reported for rural areas as against 80 illnesses per hundred persons for large cities.

Another finding from an analysis of expenditures for medical care of small city, village and farm families included in the Consumer Purchases Study is that village and farm Negro families spend relatively less of their income for medical care than do village and farm white families. The average expenditure of white village families with incomes of $500-$749 was $41; of Negro village families, $33; of white operator families in North and South Carolina, $40; in Georgia and Mississippi $26; and of Negro operator families in North and South Carolina, $23; in Georgia and Mississippi, $18.

One factor for lower expenditures for medical care by the rural Negro is, no doubt, less recognition of the need for medical services on the part of the Negro. Another, and certainly important factor, is availability of medical services to Negroes. In many counties of the South, we have seen that there are more than 3,000 persons to one physician. Doctors in such areas are often forced to restrict their practice. Even though the white rural family might have the same low income as the Negro rural family, the former are more likely to get services from a busy physician; for studies of income and consumption of families in the low-income classes have indicated that relatively more of the white than of the Negro families had resources enabling them to spend considerably more than the year's income for family living. In other words, the low-income white family can more often raise money to meet an emergency illness than can the low-income Negro family and is, for this reason, more likely to get such medical services as are available.

One illustration of the difference in kind of medical services which whites

and Negroes purchase is the percentage of births attended by physicians and midwives. Practically all white women are attended by physicians while the majority of Negro women are attended by midwives. These midwives are usually Negro women who have had limited training from state boards of health. However, these midwives cannot be considered a substitute for a physician, either for the period during pregnancy or at childbirth.

Many families of low economic status in the South consult county departments of health. However, all counties in these Southern states do not have full-time health departments, since a substantial part of the funds must be provided by the county for a full-time health department. Often the county that needs the full-time service most does not have it. Medical services available to individuals in a county with a full-time health department are quite limited.

The South is also short on hospital facilities and nurses. The professional standard is 4.6 beds per thousand population. None of the thirteen Southern states met this standard in 1939. From estimates made of data from the 1943 census of hospitals it would seem that the standard was being met in every state except one. This increase in hospital facilities was, however, due almost entirely to expansion of federal hospitals and is probably only temporary in nature. The ratio of trained nurses to population is also lower in the South than in the Nation.

The rate of occupancy of hospital beds is lower in the South than in the Nation. (Figure XII). Southern states would without doubt show a higher rate of occupancy if additional funds were available for hospitalization of members of poor white and Negro families. Also, education may be needed in certain areas to overcome prejudice against "going to the hospital."

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Education, too, is an important factor in the problem of the South's health; and this, like all the other problems, is related to the region's low

economic level. The South's level of education is the lowest in the Nation.* More general education, as well as specific health education, is needed to teach the Southern people the facts about diet and housing so that, even with a higher economic living-standard, they may not continue to neglect the rules of good health.

Illiteracy was second only to syphilis as a cause of rejection of Negroes for military service; it was tenth in causes of importance for rejection of white men. An average of 81.5 Negro men out of every thousand were rejected for educational defidiency, compared with an average of 10.4 for white men.

Tennessee had the largest percentage of white registrants rejected because of educational deficiencies, 19.2 percent, while Alabama had the highest rejection percentage of Negroes for educational deficiencies, 30.7 percent. The United States average of rejection for educational deficiencies was 5.2 percent for white men and 17.8 for Negro men.

The important question here is what lack of educatiom means in terms of health. In the first place, it means limited ability to understand the printed and spoken word, a greater reliance on tradition than science. Cultural practices are more difficult to break down in a group with little schooling. Beliefs, such as in charms around the neck, in teething collars, that it is the will of God that women suffer in delivery, that measles, mumps, boils, whooping cough, are not only inescapable, but also beneficial to children who recover, that evil results from vaccination and inoculation of man and beast are often found in the little schooled. Recognition of the value of, and a desire for, good health facilities may, to a considerable degree, be created by education, but such education is almost inevitably lacking in the localities without such facilities.

The nutrition problem is first of all a problem of too little cash spent

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* See
Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation (Southern Regional Council, Inc., 1946), p. 21

for the right kinds of foods or low food production. Second, it is a problem of education --ignorance of the foods that make up a balanced diet or poor food habits. Some Negroes as well as whites fail to get an adequate diet, for all these reasons.

When food consumed in families of the Consumer Purchases Study was worth from about 20 to 30 cents per person per day, three percent of those in white households and 10 percent in Negro households had diets graded as good; 29 percent in white households and 24 percent in Negro households had diets graded as fair; and 68 percent in white households and 66 percent in Negro households had diets graded as poor. In other words, when Negro and white families spent the same amounts of money for food or had diets of the same money value, Negroes got as good quality, if not somewhat better, than did whites.

But average food expenditures per person per family tended to be somewhat lower for urban Negroes than for urban whites even in the same income group. Rural Negroes tended to raise less food than did rural whites. These conditions helped to make the food consumption of Negroes poorer than that of whites even at the same income levels.

Less cash expenditure for food by the urban Negro family may have been due to less knowledge of the importance of diet. Negroes were less likely to purchase milk, eggs, and fresh fruit than were whites.

Negro farm families of the Southeast included in the Consumer Purchases Study produced on the farm a smaller proportion of their food than did white farm families in similar areas and tenure groups. White farm operator families of North and South Carolina with incomes of $250-$499 produced 60 percent of the food they consumed, while Negro farm operator families in the same location and with the same income produced 55 percent. The proportion for white and Negro sharecroppers at the same income level in these two states was 53 and 45 percent, respectively.

There was greater difference in the white and Negro sharecroppers' food production than in the white and Negro operators' food production. Why should the white cropper produce more food for family consumption than the Negro cropper? Does the landlord encourage or assist to a greater extent his white sharecroppers? This hardly seems likely. Perhaps the white family had had more assistance from educational agencies. Perhaps the white family could better understand the nutrition literature available. Perhaps the white family has more of a traditon for food production for home consumption than did the Negro.

Negroes have been taught by their tradition of poverty to get along on little. Perhaps this custom of many Negroes in the South to get along on little is one of the things that must be changed before we can fully conquer the food-health problem.

There was more difference in the proportion of home-produced food consumed by operators and sharecroppers of the same race than by white and Negro operators, or by white and Negro sharecroppers. Farm operators, both white and Negro, produced relatively more of their food supply than did sharecroppers. Low food production on the part of sharecroppers means more cash paid out for food, yet not as good diet, because food produced at home consists of milk, butter, pork, eggs, vegetables, fruits.

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We have already discussed what a man or woman is "worth" to the South, and that in turn means what their health is worth to the region in terms of production and the development of prosperity -- for if the South is to progress it must make the best possible use of the energies and abilities of all its people. So there should now be no question about the need for the South to improve the health of its people, for practical as well as for human reasons. Poor health and even poor diet alone have direct effects on the efficiency of workers.

Industry in general has recognized that a certain amount of absenteeism,

fatigue, and general ineffectiveness on the job are related to poor diet and has provided eating facilities in many cases for its workers. At the hearings before a subcommittee on Education and Labor in the United States Senate it was reported that accidents in one electrical plant were reduced 30 percent by the serving of basic food snacks between regular meals. Production increased 8 percent, while errors were cut four percent in another plant where milk and fruit were served between meals. An Alabama milling firm reported a 10 percent production increase due to a nutritional program. Still another company revealed a 30 percent decrease in accidents after its 1,500 employees had been given free milk and a 5-minute recess.

Much of the "good-for-nothingness" laid at the doorstep of the Negro and poor white is the result of his diet; with better feeding his work efficiency would improve.

Dr. Tom D. Spies, Director of the Hillman Hospital, Nutritional Clinic at Birmingham, Alabama, reported recently at a University of Cincinnati dinner that 800 weak and sickly whites and Negroes had been cured by the science of nutrition. Of the 800, 41 went into the armed forces, 101 into agriculture, 299 into industry, and 359 into domestic service. In other words, we have numerous examples of how good food can help the weak to become strong, the sick to become well.

All these facts show clearly that the approach to improving health of the Southern people must be a broad one. Family incomes must be increased. More medical facilities, doctors, dentists, nurses, hospital beds, clinics, must be made available. Plans for easy payment for medical care must be worked out. Malnutrition, inadequate and unsanitary housing need further attention. Public health facilities must be increased. Intensive programs of health education are needed. Local communities must set up nurseries and recreation centers for children of working mothers. More and better schooling must be given both

youths and adults in order that they may better understand the significance of health and how it might be attained.

Since the health problem is in part economic, any program for increasing incomes will result in better health. An increase in health facilities in the South, such as more physicians, dentists, hospitals would result in better health for all the population. An increase in the number of physicians and dentists means building up medical schools in the South, and offering fellowships to promising white and Negro students.

There is especially a need for greater opportunity and more facilities for training Negro physicians, dentists, and nurses. The 1940 census ~~showed~~ listed less than 4,000 Negro doctors and surgeons in the United States and most of these were in cities of the South or in cities outside the region. The supply of Negro dentists was half that of Negro doctors and surgeons and they, too, were located in urban areas, many outside the South.

More medical schools in the South for white and Negro would not only mean that more young men and women in this area would study medicine, but that more doctors would locate in the South, for there is a tendency to locate in the state in which the medical education is received. Then, too, a good medical school acts as a center of learning for physicians in the vicinity.

One possibility for the poorer Southern rural community would be to center attention on improving transportation facilities to a nearby community with good medical facilities. The suggestion has been offered, and some experiments have been made, that an ambulance equipped for emergency surgical work be attached to hospitals located within a working distance of communities which lack hospital facilities. Such an ambulance might be sent with a physician and a nurse to the home of the patient, where emergency operations or treatment could be given.

Medical care expenses are of the type that cannot be budgeted by the individual family since they are not predictable. For this reason prepayment

by groups is an easier and more efficient method of paying for health services than postpayment by individuals. In studies made by the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, it was found that farm families in the Southeast were more favorable to the principle of medical care prepayment plans than farm families in other regions and that Negro farm families were more favorable to such plans than were white farm families. This was no doubt because, under the postpayment plan by individuals, many white farm families and a great many Negro farm families in the South cannot purchase adequate medical care.

Voluntary sickness insurance plans such as the Blue Cross plans and prepayment medical care plans established under private group clinics have done much to lighten the burden of hospital and medical care expenses for the middle income group in cities. The plan sponsored by the Farm Security Administration for its clients (which is the most widespread prepayment medical care plan for farm people) meets only a part of the total need for medical care, though it has brought a real measure of security to families who have participated.

There is no prepayment plan that can bring the cost of complete medical care within range of ability of low income families to pay -- low income families such as many Southern farm and Negro families. If medical services for such groups are to be adequate, they must be in part tax supported.

Providing health facilities, such as physicians, hospitals, and nurses, without education as to the need for and the use of these facilities means little. Therefore, better health for Southern people means health education by health education specialists. It means health education by local leaders, trained to do the job. It means health taught in public schools, especially in the first four grades where so many of the children of low income families of the South are enrolled.

The Public Health Departments in all of the Southern states carry on health education programs, but do not have sufficient funds to do the job

adequately. Recently a number of fellowships for graduate work in health education have been made available: for example, the Mississippi Delta Council, in cooperation with the State Board of Health, secured from the Rockefeller Foundation a fund of $80,000 to train forty health educators, twenty white and twenty Negro, to work in the Delta area. The fund was allocated in the form of scholarships offering nine months'school work and three months' field work. In such trained personnel as these rest many possibilities for improving health in the South.

Agriculturists and nutritionists must be provided in large numbers to help with food and nutrition programs. Many farm and village families (especially those in the low-income groups) know little about producing and conserving food for the family. Many men consider food production and conservation women's work. Men as well as women must be taught this job of food production and conservation. Homemakers in cities as well as in small towns and on farms need to know foods constituting an adequate diet and methods of conserving these foods in cooking.

Another possibility for improving the nutritional status of Southern people is by enrichment of staple foods. According to the March, 1945, Nutrition News Letter, legislation for enrichment of white flour and white bread, and in some cases of margarine and degerminated cornmeal and grits, had been passed in six states in the South. Recently the South Carolina Experiment Station and Extension Service enlisted many grist mills of that state in a whole-grained cornmeal enrichment program.

According to Dr. C. A. Elvehjem, corn contains anti-niacin properties which result in pellagra unless unusually high levels of niacin are put in the dietary from other sources. Degerminated cornmeal and pearl grits are even more likely to induce pellagra than is whole cornmeal. The fact that Southern people, and especially low income Southern people, are large consumers of corn-bread and grits makes expansion of the corn enrichment programs in the South most important.

Another means of improving health of Southern people is by encouraging industries to initiate nutrition programs.

There is much that can be done by various groups in a community to improve the health of its population. For example, a survey of sewage disposal, screening, and water supplies might be made. If findings warrant, request could be made to the Public Health Service for assistance of sanitary engineers. It is on the basis of such requests that boards of health are able to get funds for work of this type. County boards of supervisors might invest in well drilling equipment, making deep wells available at cost. However, low income rural families of the South would not benefit greatly from such a program, unless allowed a period of time to pay for it at low interest rates.

Community groups might well establish nursery schools and recreation centers for white and Negro children. This is especially important in communities where mothers of young children work away from home.

State and County Public Health Departments of the South have done much to improve the health of low income groups in the South. In fact, much of their effort has been in this direction. To do a more complete job, increased facilities are needed: full time health departments in every county and adequate housing for these departments.

With sufficient funds and the right kind of community cooperation, it would be possible now for the Public Health Service to greatly reduce, if not wipe out, syphilis, tuberculosis, and malaria. Recently rapid treatment methods have been worked out for treatment of syphilis. Diagnosis of tuberculosis before the clinical disease occurs at all is now possible through the use of X-ray. DDT promises to be of much assistance in further reducing malaria. These three diseases take heavy toll among low income groups.

As surely as health is necessary for work, so surely is it a saving to spend for health. We can afford the cost of better health. In fact, we can less afford the higher price of sickness which we know how to prevent. We must resolve to spend productively for health.

July 11, 1946

Dr. Dorothy Dickins
Mississippi State College
State College, Mississippi

Dear Dr. Dickins:

I am afraid that I neglected to acknowledge your letter of June 14 before I turned it over to Ray Warwick. Let me thank you very much for your suggestions. I believe that Mr. Warwick has incorporated most of them into his revision of Wanted: Better Health for the South.

As usual, the type-setting was a little slow, but the whole job is finally ready for printing. Mr. Warwick is at the printers' now putting the final O. K. on it. We hope that the magazine will be out sometime next week.

Dr. Parran was not able to write an introduction. We asked Governor Cherry of North Carolina, but I am afraid he is away from the state as we have not yet heard from him. I suppose we'll have to go ahead without any introduction, but after all, that is not serious.

Very best wishes, and thanks again for your splendid work.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

MISSISSIPPI
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
STATE COLLEGE, MISS.

DEPARTMENT OF HOME ECONOMICS

June 14, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am delighted with the manuscript, "Wanted: Better Health for the South." Tell your editor, Mr. Warwick, that he is really good.

I would prefer that the title page read, "By Dorothy Dickins."

I have made a few changes in the manuscript, one on page 22 to conform with more recent work by Dr. Elvehjem (reported last month). Other suggestions are as follows:

(1) page 3. I believe we should include a statement about why death rate in the South is lower than the nation. Is it because we have relatively more young people in the South? It seems slightly contradictory to state that our death rate is lower than the nation, then to immediately launch into a discussion of higher percentages of causes of death from certain diseases in the South. Perhaps we should lead up to this a little more.

(2) page 5. The first two or three lines on top of page might be deleted. I realize that Negroes are discriminated against, but my figures show that so are whites in the same economic situation and type of area. We have pointed out discrimination in housing and I believe it would be unwise here, especially at the first of the bulletin to make this type of statement. Let the figures tell the tale.

(3) page 5. The statement is made that germs know no color line, then immediately death rates of whites and Negroes are given. This seems contradictory. It seems that germs do know a color line. I think the point that germs get around might be made a special topic, as this is a strong appeal to many Southern whites for improving health of Negroes. Illustrations might be used: One's Negro nurse may give the children tuberculosis, typhoid, or influenza germs.

(4) page 19. Maybe we have missed an opportunity here of contrasting what 800 well, vigorous people mean to Alabama in terms of wealth, with 800 sickly wards of the state, people who are not only non-producers, but require medical services, nursing attention, etc.

It might be well to have some one in Public Health Service familiar with health statistics read the manuscript. Any more changes you want to make will be OK with me. I'm really pleased with it.

Most cordially

Dorothy Dickins

Dorothy Dickins, Head
Home Economics Research

July 22, 1946

Miss Dorothy Dickins
Mississippi Experiment Station
State College, Mississippi

Dear Miss Dickins:

We are a little late in sending your copy of Wanted: A Healthy South because we had a typographical error in the early runs on the pamphlet. As you will see, your name was misspelled on the title page, and a good number of copies were printed before we caught the error.

However, we managed to correct this on the last run, and we have a fairly large number of copies bearing your correctly spelled name.

I myself must take the blame for this mistake, because I read proof on the job and failed to catch it until it had gone to press. I hope you will forgive me for playing "the dickens" with your name.

We are sending you one copy of the New South edition which bears the incorrect spelling, and ten copies of the pamphlet version (which made up the greater part of the entire printing) in which your name is correctly spelled. Also, we intend to fill all orders in Mississippi for the pamphlet with the corrected version.

Counting on your forgiveness, I am

Sincerely yours,

RAY WARWICK
Director of Public Relations

RW:jm
Separate cover

dTM 7/22/46

July 23, 1946

Rev. E. W. Dixon
44 Clingman Avenue
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Dixon:

Thank you for your check for $2.00 covering your 1946 dues in the Southern Regional Council. A receipt is attached hereto.

Dr. Johnson is out of the city for a few days. We shall be delighted, however, to have you publish in your newspaper the articles from our booklet WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH, giving credit, of course, to the Southern Regional Council and NEW SOUTH.

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer

The Church & Southland Advocate

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July 21, 1946

RECEIVED
JUL 23 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

GC $2.00

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Enclosed you will find check for my subscription or annual fee to the New South. Being over-taxed with work, I am delayed in sending payment on time.

The booklet entited "Wanted A Healthy South" is so impressive to me that I would like to publish its articles in my newspaper. If you will permit me to do this, please let me know by return mail. Thanks.

Yours truly,

E. W. Dixon

E. W. Dixon

EWD/gc

Enclosure

MISSISSIPPI
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
STATE COLLEGE, MISS.

DEPARTMENT OF HOME ECONOMICS

Jane Nausath

July 24, 1946

Mr. Ray Warwick
Director of Public Relations
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Warwick:

I am delighted over the leaflet. You have done a "swell" job with it.

It is such a common thing for my name to be misspelled that I am really accustomed to it. I should have called your attention to it, as most stenographers take it upon themselves to "correct" the spelling. Yes, I do forgive!

Most cordially

Dorothy Dickins

Dorothy Dickins, Head
Home Economics Research

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

The following letter was enclosed in a copy of Wanted: A Healthy South and sent to the Director of the State Health and State Welfare organizations in the 13 Southern States. July 25-1946

Dear Sir:

The Southern Regional Council is pleased to present you with a copy of its latest pamphlet, Wanted: A Healthy South, a study of the region's health problems.

We welcome your comments on this booklet, as well as suggestions for making the best use of it in distribution. We hope to get it into the hands of as many interested, active Southerners as possible, and we would welcome your support in this effort.

We are able to furnish the pamphlet in bulk lots for use by health departments, welfare departments and educational groups at a rate of ten cents per copy. If you feel that you can make good use of it through your organization, we shall be glad to fill your order for any number of copies.

Sincerely,

Ray Warwick

Ray Warwick
Director of Public Relations

File

STATE OF ALABAMA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
421 SOUTH UNION STREET
MONTGOMERY 5, ALABAMA

LOULA DUNN
COMMISSIONER

August 3, 1946

New South

Mr. Ray Warwick
Director of Public Relations
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Warwick:

We wish to thank you for the copy of Wanted: A Healthy South, a study of the region's health problems.

This pamphlet is most interesting, and I am sure that staff members will wish to give careful consideration to this booklet. We are placing it in the library of the State Department.

Sincerely yours,

Loula Dunn
Commissioner

August 16, 1946
(Dictated August 14)

Mr. Mark Ethridge
Editor, Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mark:

Our committee got together here last night and discussed further the problems which we explored in our meeting last week. One of our decisions was to urge you to send a man down here to look into the background of the recent political campaign, as you suggested you would be willing to do.

Please let us know when your representative might come, so that we can line up all of the help we can.

I thought our meeting last week was very successful, and you certainly contributed a great share to its success. I particularly enjoyed the conversation at the hotel, during which you told us about you experiences in Europe.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

August 16, 1946

Mr. John Harden
Secretary, Governor's Office
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Harden:

We are very grateful for the introduction which Governor Cherry has prepared for our health issue of New South. It was necessary for us to proceed with the printing of the July issue of New South before the introduction arrived, but it is very likely that we shall need a second printing, and we shall certainly include Governor Cherry's introduction in case there is a second printing.

With grateful appreciation and best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:MP

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RALEIGH

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1946
Southern Regional Council

August 8, 1946

R. GREGG CHERRY
GOVERNOR

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

At the direction of Governor Cherry I am handing you herewith an introduction for the coming issue of your magazine as recently requested. I am also returning the carbon on an article by Dr. Dorothy Dickins. Governor Cherry is honored to serve the NEW SOUTH in this capacity.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

John Harden

John Harden
Private Secretary

JH/n

INTRODUCTION

One of the most pressing problems in the South today is taken up in Dr. Dorothy Dickins' revealing survey of health conditions in the South. Dr. Dickins emphasizes a point that few realize, that the industrial progress and new-found prosperity that the South is just beginning to realize can be not only seriously hampered but actually halted by the poor health of its people.

There is no more decisive period in the history of the section than the present, when all southern states are joining in to build a more enlightened and productive state. Better schools and better roads are sure high roads to advancement, but the third -- and the most important -- high road is better health for our people. The progress of a country or a section depends on the energy and productability of its natives. Take away their vitality, barter their health for a new public building, and you reduce their prosperity in direct proportion.

Productivity?

During the war when medical examinations of our young men revealed the extreme malnutrition of the supposed cream of our civilization, we were alerted to the problem but unable to make any strides toward improvement of our health status because we were a country at war. The time has finally arrived when we can delay no longer. Now is the propitious time, for the thousands of war veterans pouring back into civilian life have an unprecedented awareness of health. We are all health conscious as never before, and we must utilize that consciousness to lay the foundation for a balanced and humane program for more adequate medical care for our people.

R. Gregg Cherry
Governor of North Carolina

Raleigh, August , 1946

September 19, 1946

Miss Mary E. Weathersby
Mississippi State College
State College, Mississippi

Dear Miss Weathersby:

Thank you for your letter of September 17. We shall be glad for you to reproduce any of the charts you wish from our pamphlet entitled, "Wanted: A Healthy South".

Under separate cover we are sending with our compliments two copies of the pamphlet. We appreciate your interest in this publication, and we are glad that you are going to exhibit it at the Mississippi State Fair.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:MJ

Send 2 copies Wanted: A Healthy South

EH
9/19/46

MISSISSIPPI STATE COLLEGE
STATE COLLEGE, MISSISSIPPI

September 17, 1946

HOMEMAKING EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
GRADUATE SCHOOL

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson,

Dr. Dorothy Dickens has given me a copy of the bulletin, Wanted: A Healthy South. I think it has some excellent material in it and I believe that it will be used widely by people in the educational field. The division of Vocational Education of the State Department of Education in Mississippi is preparing an exhibit to be used at the State Fair the first week in October. We would like permission to reproduce the chart on page 15. We also expect to have a copy of this bulletin on display as a part of our exhibit. I will appreciate it if you will let me hear from you in the near future.

Very truly yours,

Mary E. Weathersby

Mary E. Weathersby
Head, Homemaking Education
Department

MISSISSIPPI STATE COLLEGE
STATE COLLEGE, MISSISSIPPI

September 26, 1946

HOMEMAKING EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
GRADUATE SCHOOL

RECEIVED
SEP 30 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson,

Thank you for permission to reproduce the chart and also the copies of the phamplet entitled Wanted: A Healthy South.

Sincerely yours,

Mary E. Weathersby

Mary E. Weathersby,
Head, Homemaking Education
Department

BOARD OF CONTROL FOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION
316 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

February 27, 1950

C O P Y

Dr. R. F. Poole, President
The Clemson Agricultural College
Clemson, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Poole:

We are forwarding your February 24th letter to the Southern Regional Council as they are handling orders for "Wanted: A Healthy South."

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Director

JEI:s
cc: Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

SRC - Wanted Healthy South

Dear President Poole,

John Ivey sent on over to us your letter of February 24, asking for twelve copies of Wanted, a Healthy South.

We have shipped the twelve, xxthey and enclose a statement for them.

We would be glad to supply 75 more at the rate for a hundred, which would be 11.25 for seventy-five.

Miss Dicken's pamphlet has been very popular.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure, Price List

THE CLEMSON AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

CLEMSON, SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 24, 1950

RECEIVED
FEB 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

BD. OF CONTROL FOR SOU. REG. EDUCATION
STAFF ROUTING
RECEIVED
FEB 27 1950
ROUTE TO BS

Dr. John E. Ivey, Jr., Director
Board of Control for Southern Regional Education
318 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Ivey:

Our School of Education is interested in the 32-page bulletin, "Wanted: A Healthy South", by Dorothy Dickens. Please advise if we may obtain 12 copies. Please advise the price if we should desire later to purchase 75 copies. The material will be used in connection with one of the education courses.

Sincerely yours,

R F Poole

R. F. Poole, President

RFP:D

CC: Mr. John B. Gentry
Associate Professor of Vocational Education

Ann Henderson

Mr. Guy B. Johnson

May 9

c/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson -

Thank you very much for the suggestions you made for sources for material on Negro doctors, and especially for the paper which you very kindly sent. I appreciate your trouble in giving me this information. Enclosed please find the paper, which you requested be returned to your files.

I also was much interested in your pamphlet, "Wanted: A Healthy South", and have given it to the library here at Sweet Briar.

Thank you again, very much.

Sincerely,

Ann Henderson

Sweet Briar College, Virginia

January 30, 1945

Speech Pamphlet

Dr. Rupert Vance
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Rupert:

I got so tied up in business affairs when I was there last week that I didn't get back to your office to try to pin you down on the proposition of writing a pamphlet for us based on your new book.

And so to get something down in black and white:

1. Are you willing to write such a pamphlet?

2. What is the very earliest date you could have it ready?

We usually figure on a 32 page pamphlet, but I think that this one deserves more space. We would like to include several pages of graphs and maps. If we figure on the basis of a 40 page text exclusive of title page, illustrations, etc., the manuscript would need to be about 16,000 words. Is that enough room to play in? I think the pamphlet should not be a literal summary of the book, but should be built around six or eight catchy sub-titles under which the major parts in the book could be grouped.

We can offer a small honorarium of $150.00. It isn't much but it might help to pay the extra income tax which it will cause you.

Very best wishes to you all from the Johnsons.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON

GBJ:j

March Pa Soc

February 19, 1945

Dr. Rupert B. Vance
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Rupert:

I will break all my usual speed records and reply almost immediately to your letter of February 14.

I am glad you are going to do the pamphlet. May 1 or May 15 will be fine. I shall look forward to receiving your list of topics and some of the proof of your book.

Best wishes to all of you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

February 14, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

You know me well enough not to judge my interest in your proposal by speed of my reply. Actually I have just gotten the presidential address off to the editors and I am still slightly groggy.

I would be very glad to do a pamphlet on the southern people and I think your offer is ~~more than~~ generous enough. The publisher promises, with his fingers crossed, to have the book out by April 1. The binder, however, may hold this date up as much as a mohth. Under these conditions, I wonder if you feel that the first or the fifteenth of May would be a good date to shoot at? I might do it sooner, but I hate to put it down in black and white, spring being what it is.

I like your idea of basing the pamphlet on about six or eight subtitles, and I think that is the first thing I want to tackle. Suppose I work on this, select some topics and send them in for your approval. I would hate to trouble you, but I might even send along some of the proof for your estimate of the kind of treatment that would serve best.

Good wishes to you all from all the Vances. We miss you a lot.

Cordially yours,

Rupert B. Vance
RUPERT B. VANCE
Research Professor

RBV:h

SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY
Provided for in the Constitution 1776; Chartered 1789; Cornerstone Laid 1793; Opened 1795

October 29, 1945

Dr. Rupert B. Vance
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Rupert:

Your letter and manuscript arrived just as I was getting off on a trip to Washington. Thanks a lot for a fine piece of work. I think that we will not need to do much to it, except to step it down a little. Our editorial man, Ray Warwick, is very good at that, so if you have no objection, we will turn him loose on it.

We will want to use some maps and figures, but we will not know just which ones until we get our teeth into the manuscript a little deeper.

I enclose a check for $150. I know that it does not begin to cover the wear and tear involved in preparing the manuscript, but it is at least an expression of the appreciation of the Council for your splendid cooperation.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

GBJ

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

October 18, 1945

Rec'd 10/20/45

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

It's been so long since I agreed to do the pamphlet on ALL THESE PEOPLE that I shouldn't be surprised if you have forgotten it altogether. Finally, however, I have been able to complete a first draft, and I enclose it for your criticisms.

The manuscript now runs to 36 pages. You will have to tell me whether this is too long or too brief. The question of what to leave out and what to emphasize has been a very difficult one. Accordingly, I am going to enclose both the table of contents and a carbon of the comments that appeared in the last issue of Population Index.

There are several sections that can be cut out, and I hope you won't hesitate to make suggestions along that line. Almost every analysis of regional and state figures has a map to support it. Could you tell me how many and which ones you would like to use, if any?

With these two questions answered, I think it can be revised in any direction you like. There does remain, however, the matter of style. It has been suggested that this could be, or at least ought to be a step-down to about the tenth-grade level of comprehension. I am not sure that I can do it, but I would be willing to try, if you think I should.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Rupert B. Vance

RUPERT B. VANCE
Research Professor

RBV:g
Enclosures-3

P. S. I can send you another carbon if that would help your editorial job.

November 9, 1945

Dr. Rupert B. Vance
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Rupert:

Thanks for your note of November 7. We have been so busy getting ready for our annual meeting next week that we have not been able to dig into your manuscript very much yet. If we do any cutting or editing, we will send you a copy for your approval.

I forgot to say when I wrote you recently that we would find a carbon copy useful in working on the manuscript.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Nov. 7, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dear Guy

Thanks for your good letter about the pamphlet on all These People. Thanks also for the check. We've had proof on the dust cover but I don't think the books will be back from the binders before the last of December.

If there is anything I can do help in doing - cutting down the size or wordage let me know. Whenever your editor is ready we'll go over the charts and work.

All our good wishes to you and Gregory

Sincerely

Rupert B. Vance

Wanted speech - Talk

March 7, 1946

Dr. Rupert B. Vance
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Rupert:

The Vance issue of New South is in press and we think it will be out within ten days. I hope you will like it.

We shifted the first part of your manuscript to the end on the theory that the average reader gets a little scared of statistics unless you slip up on him gradually. We have also introduced some sub-heads and are using about a dozen pictographs. On the whole, however, we have not done much violence to the original manuscript, and I think you will like the lay-out. The cover will be in colors and there will be an introduction by Ellis Arnall. We expect a page proof in a few days. I shall send you a copy and if you spot anything bad please call me on the phone. Our number is Walnut 7963.

We are going to do some special promotion of the March New South, and we are expecting it to make quite a hit. We will make a pamphlet of it by pulling out the New South page headings and putting on a different cover. In this way we will have something that can be distributed for several years without its appearing to be dated.

Ray Warwick has got the AP interested in using a series of three short, special articles based on your manuscript. Will you give him permission to do the three articles, subject to your O.K.? Each article will carry an appropriate title, followed by the words "By Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina, Copyright by Southern Regional Council." The AP will probably release them on three consecutive Sundays. Please let me have your reaction to this as soon as you can.

Very best wishes to all of you from the Johnsons.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

March 15, 1946

Would touch up

Dear Dr. Vance:

Here are page proofs of your pamphlet, which are ready to go to press as soon as we have your okay.

You will note that I have rearranged the parts of your Ms, not because there was anything wrong with the form, but just to put it into a running order more likely to appeal to average readers -- with early emphasis on needs and development and less emphasis on the population discussion. I hope it suits you. And I hope you approve of the illustrations and the use of some statistics from other sources.

Will you please check over the proofs as soon as you can and, if they are okay, let us know by telegram. If you have a few corrections, please send those by telegram too (collect, of course), so that we may start printing Monday morning at the latest.

Thanks very much. We are proud of your study and we think it's going to win a wide interest.

Ray Warwick

3-23-46
New South

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

For immediate release

Atlanta, March 23 -- "The South is a strategic area" in the Nation's approach to the high-level production and employment "necessary to keep the economic mechanism functioning," writes Rupert B. Vance in a new study of the South published here today by the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

The entire Nation has a stake in the South's development, says Dr. Vance, adding that "we need a realization on the part of the Nation and the South that high standards of living, increased income and higher wages are necessary to balance our production-consumption budget at a higher level. Economic progress in the South is essential to further national progress..."

Pointing out Leon Henderson's statement that for the South to attain a normal American standard of living would create a market worth ten billion dollars a year to the Nation, Dr. Vance says that "The Nation and the South need to agree that the region can do the greatest possible service by increasing its income and expanding its markets."

The 32-page, illustrated pamphlet, "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," is a broad, enlightened study of the South's economic problems and the resources which, properly developed, could give the region a standard of living in line with that of the rest of the Nation.

Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, in an introduction to the pamphlet, says that the study "is of utmost value to an understanding of the problems of the section, which must be solved if the Nation's economy is to develop to the interest of all Americans.... Every Southerner and every American should read it."

"In 1940 the eleven states of the Southeast contained over 28,250,000 people-- 21.5 percent of the population of the continental United States," Dr. Vance writes. "With more than one-fifth of the Nation's people the region comprised 17.4 percent of the Nation's area and was estimated to contain 11.5 percent of its accumulated wealth. Together with the Southwest, the Southern Region accounted for 28.9 percent of the Nation's people, 36.3 percent of its area and an estimated 16.7 percent of its wealth."

In separate chapters on agriculture, industry, education and population growth -- the Southeast, "seedbed of the Nation," provided more than 30 percent of the Nation's total population increase in the 1930's -- Dr. Vance analyzes the South's poverty as a problem to be solved not only for the sake of the region, but for the good of the Nation as a whole.

Despite its emphasis on the South's problems, the study is not pessimistic.

Dr. Vance points out that the demands of war accelerated the South's already developing trend toward industrialization and forced much of Southern agriculture into lines that need to be followed if the region is to progress.

"In the future development of the South agriculture will continue to play a dominant role," he states. "Expansion in food production and livestock is still the basic need of our agriculture..." The South could use one million more milk cows, 2,250,000 more hogs, 23,000,000 more hens for egg production and 2,500,000 more beef cattle to supply an adequate diet for its farm population alone, Dr. Vance says.

But the facts about Southern farming are "in some respects most encouraging," he says, "for it shows that the war carried us in the direction we need to take."

Industrial employment, however, will in Dr. Vance's judgment offer the main relief of "pressure on the land" -- for "it may be that too many people depend on the land for a livelihood." The problems and prospects for industrial development in the South are directly related to the farmer's future. Here again the handicap of low income is a factor. The Southeast's average industrial wage in 1939 was only $760, "less than two-thirds of the national average and only 58 percent of the average wage in the Middle States and Far West."

"The rise in the level of wages in the South has not kept pace with the region's increased value of output and number of workers... Over a period of twenty years the average worker in the Southeast has turned out a product valued at two-thirds to three-fourths of the national average, has added somewhat less to the value of materials by manufacturing them, and has received still less in average wage."

The solution to the South's "surplus" of manpower, Dr. Vance says, lies not only in greater industrialization but in the development of a "more complex economy." "It is the complexity and diversity of a rich economy that the more backward states need, and the development of manufacturing appears the first logical step to the development of such an economy."

Pointing out that low wages and a "one-crop system of industry are characteristic of the opening phases of industrialization," Dr. Vance says this condition should be accepted "only as a transitional phase." He adds that when the South has increased its purchasing power "through increasing its productive powers, the Nation too will benefit."

The low status of the South's education has a two-way bearing on the South's economic position, Dr. Vance implies, pointing out that the region's low income is a main cause of educational deficiencies and that better education is needed to develop future trained workers for the complex economy the region needs for its progress.

"None of this discussion," he writes, "should imply that the South is not continuing its movement toward industrialization. It may suggest, however, that the means will differ somewhat from those once advocated. Artificial inducements... in the form of free factory sites, tax exemption and outright subsidy have not proved their worth.... They were not needed in the war program and it is doubtful if they will long continue."

"Much controversy can be avoided in the future development of the South by the realization that the region has to make no drastic choices on the all-or-none basis. We do not have to choose all-out-migration, all-out-industrialization, nor even all-out-diversification to the exclusion of staple crops. The principle to be served is one of balance...."

Dr. Vance is Kenan Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina. A native of Arkansas, he has written several works on the South, including "Human Factors in Cotton Culture," "Human Geography of the South", and "The South's Place in the Nation." "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation" is based on his new book, "All These People," recently published by the University of North Carolina Press.

(Warwick 3-22-46)

Dixie Progress Vital to Nation, Study Shows

By MARGARET SHANNON

The South is a strategic area in the nation's approach to high-level production and employment necessary to keep the economic mechanism functioning, Dr. Rupert B. Vance, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, declares in a study published here by the Southern Regional Council.

"Economic progress in the South is essential to further national progress," he contends in a pamphlet entitled "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation."

Pointing to Leon Henderson's statement that a normal standard of living for the South would create a market worth $10,000,000,000 a year for the country, Dr. Vance says that "the nation and the South need to agree that the region can do the greatest possible service by increasing its income and expanding its market."

Agriculture will continue to play a dominant role, Dr. Vance says, and expansion in food production and livestock remains the basic need. The South could use 1,000,000 more cows, 2,250,000 more hogs, 23,000,000 more hens for egg production and 2,500,000 more beef cattle to supply an adequate diet for its farm population alone.

But the sociologist believes industrial employment will offer the main relief to pressure on the land, for "it may be too many people depend on the land for a livelihood."

The Southeast's average industrial wage in 1939 was $760, less than two-thirds the national average, Dr. Vance reports. Nor has the rise in the level of wages in the South kept pace with the region's increased value of output and number of workers.

He advocates not only greater industrialization but also development of a "more complex" economy. Low wages and a "one-crop system" of industry are characteristic of the opening phases of industrialization and should be accepted, "only as a transitional phase," he adds.

The low status of education has a two-way bearing on the section's economic position, Dr. Vance writes. Low income is a main cause of educational deficiencies, and better education is needed to develop future trained workers for the complex economy needed.

March 26, 1946

Mr. W. F. Caldwell
News Editor
The Associated Press
Atlanta Journal Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Caldwell:

This note should serve as the authorization you asked for in distributing the series of articles by Rupert B. Vance which I delivered to you yesterday.

The Southern Regional Council gives the Associated Press full permission to publish any part or the entirety of "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation." This includes the reproduction of illustrations from the pamphlet published by us.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

RAY WARWICK
Director of Public Relations

RW:jm

3-46

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

EDITOR:

The Southern Regional Council is happy to send you a copy of the special March issue of New South, containing what we consider one of the best pamphlet studies of the South ever published -- WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION by Rupert B. Vance.

We enclose also a copy of a story released to the wire services which is a fairly complete summary of the pamphlet. We believe that many of your readers will be interested in Dr. Vance's pamphlet and we hope you may be able to devote some space to it in your forthcoming issue.

Permission to reprint parts or all of this pamphlet may be obtained by writing to us. Such permission will be granted to those who apply on a first-come, first-serve basis.

We would appreciate it if you would send us a copy of the issue in which announcement or review of Dr. Vance's study appears.

Sincerely yours,

Ray Warwick

RAY WARWICK
Director of Public Relations

RW:jm
Enclosures

(This is the first of a series of four articles prepared especially for The Associated Press from "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," pamphlet recently published by the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Rupert B. Vance, a native of Arkansas, is Kenan Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina and has written several important works on the South. The Southern Regional Council pamphlet is based on Dr. Vance's book, "All These People," just published by the University of North Carolina Press.)

By Dr. Rupert B. Vance

Copyright, 1946, by Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.

In 1940 the eleven states of the Southeast contained over 28,250,000 people, 21.5 percent of the population of the continental United States. With more than one fifth of the Nation's people the region comprised 17.4 percent of the Nation's area and was estimated to contain 11.5 percent of its accumulated wealth. Together with the Southwest, the Southern Region accounted for 28.9 percent of the Nation's people, 36.3 percent of its area and an estimated 16.7 percent of its wealth.

The Southeast's per capita income is usually about 60 percent of the Nation's. Estimated income in 1940 ranged from $198 per person in Mississippi to $818 in Connecticut, a spread that seems hardly justifiable unless one part of the country is devoting itself to the accomplishment of unneeded tasks in an unskilled manner. The Far West and the Northeast attained an average income of $692 and $685 per person but with a national average of $546, the Southeast fell to $317 per capita, below both the Southwest and Northwest.

More than anything else the future of the South depends on the development of resources and capacities that are as yet largely unrealized. The region

has natural resources and human resources. These forms of wealth are primary, but their development depends upon the building up of technological, institutional and capital resources. This is an ecomomic and cultural task in which the nation is as vitally concerned as the region itself.

The National Industrial Conference Board has pointed out that during the war the South was in process of the most important industrial growth in its history. This growth gained headway before the war. It was accelerated by the war program.

The great problem that faces this section is to retain a fair proportion of its wartime gains and to devote these industries to the spread of general well-being in the region. There will be inevitable post-war retrenchments; not all of the South's expansion will survive.

However, the South has basic resources for further industrialization in a nation that will develop and maintain a more complex economy:

1. Proximity to the already highly industrialized areas of the Northeast and Middle States and to potential developments in South America.
2. Agricultural resources in climate, growing season, and land supply for a great variety of crops ranging from truck, fruit, livestock, and forest products to already developed staples such as cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco.
3. Mineral resources of coal, iron, oil, gas, sulphur and non-ferrous minerals, with stone and building material of all kinds.
4. Adequate transportation facilities in its developed railroad network and public highway systems.
5. Low land values and site values as compared to more congested areas.
6. Large groups of basically sound and capable population, in need only of training, education and more adequate services to become a skilled labor supply.

7. Large groups of potential consumers for all goods and services, awaiting only better productive organization and increased purchasing power to become the country's best new market.

The rural South has the largest population increases of the Nation. It has tried to accommodate this increase on the land. In 1930 it was figured that, if every farm boy growing to maturity in the South tried to enter farming there would be three applicants for every farm left vacant by death or retirement of its operator. This indicates the need for further migration and industrialization. The South must improve the quality of its agriculture while decreasing the number of people dependent on the land.

The South can expect for a long time to remain a major agricultural area. Nevertheless, any list of its main problems, such as those given here, shows that most are related to the region's agricultural background:

1. Loss of soil resources by leaching and erosion.
2. The gradual loss of a large share of world cotton and tobacco markets.
3. Threatened loss through mechanization, crop reduction and improved practices of agriculture's capacity to employ population at former rates.
4. The numbing effect of tenancy on the South's agriculture.
5. Inadequacy of the South's rural educational facilities to prepare farm children to meet needed changes.
6. The South's lack of capital, economic organization, patent rights, etc., to finance needed development in new fields. The South appears to be still in the stage of a Colonial Economy.

The Nation and the South need to agree that the region can do the greatest possible service by increasing its income and expanding its markets. Leon Henderson once said that for the South to attain a normal American standard of living would create a market worth ten billion dollars a year to the Nation.

To agree on this goal both the Nation and the region should rid themselves of certain complexes. The Nation should come to realize that, in the

long run, further industrialization of the South will aid, not injure, the national well-being. The South in its turn should recover from its low-wage complex and realize that a rising level of wages will create greater markets and increased well-being. This, it should be realized, applies also to the Negro, who has the lowest level of living of any large group in America.

(This is the second of a series of four articles prepared especially for The Associated Press from "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," pamphlet recently published by the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Rupert B. Vance, a native of Arkansas, is Kenan Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina and has written several important works on the South. The Southern Regional Council pamphlet is based on Dr. Vance's book, "All These People," just published by the University of North Carolina Press.)

By Dr. Rupert B. Vance

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In the future development of the South agriculture will continue to play a dominant role. The South must make the best possible use of science in all its phases, if it is to make the best possible use of its agricultural resources.

While the Southern soil has shown its capacity with the aid of fertilization to produce many varieties of plants and animals, it has not yet shown its economic capacity to produce them at a profit in competition with other areas.

Many farm experts believe farms are too small in the Southeast to be efficient. Not only have Southern farmers been forced to crop small acreages too intensively, but recent emphasis on the lack of livestock and forest products suggests that they need additional acreage to build up permanent pastures and wood lots. This is true of the so-called family-sized farm, too.

In many areas of the Nation farms are large enough to satisfy these conditions. Over half, 53.7 percent, of the farms in the Southeast are under 50 acres, and over three-fourths, 76.7 percent, are under 100 acres.

Despite recent progress, unutilized land, inadequate use of labor, unbalanced crop systems and low farm incomes make continued adjustment necessary.

From 1930 to 1940 significant changes occurred under the influence of the agricultural depression and the Federal farm programs. Farms have decreased in number and increased in size; farm ownership has increased, tenancy has decreased. The amount of idle crop land also decreased. Fewer farmers, larger farms and higher proportions of owners tend to furnish our farm people more adequate incomes.

The war brought the South a great opportunity to develop its agriculture along more desirable lines. Increased production of human foods, stock feed and livestock products during war took the direction essential for long-range rehabilitation of our crop system. Cotton offers a main problem that cannot be solved merely by more efficient production. The agricultural program had the effect of increasing cotton yields. A reduction from 1930 to 1940 of 43.8 per cent in the cotton acreage of seven states has meant only a 25.6 percent reduction in cotton bales produced. Better care of the crop, heavier applications of fertilizer, elimination of the poorest lands from production helped to increase yields per acre by 37 percent. Cotton production may have to undergo further curtailment, giving way to other crops.

Expansion in food production and livestock is still the basic need of our agriculture, but there are sound reasons why this is difficult. The inability of most soils in the South to produce satisfactory pasture is the basic physical barrier to livestock expansion.

The cost in labor and materials for establishing pasture is often greater than the initial value of the land on which the pasture is built. There is the danger of drought which may kill a newly established pasture area. Feed production is difficult. Where corn yields on the average only 12 bushels per acre, it requires 10 acres of corn per year to feed one pair of mules. In other sections of the country, notably Iowa, two acres in corn are sufficient.

Heat and parasites also offer difficulties for the livestock grower. Sows on the open range breed in the wrong season for the best feeding routines; losses are usually large among hogs running on peanuts without supplemental feeding. It takes about three years to make substantial gains in the number of cattle. The attempt to increase dairy stock or provide one or two cows for small farms is hampered by the practice of large dairies that kill heifer calves for veal.

The long-run adjustments which have been advocated in farm production would be impossible were it not for the large and unsupplied needs for food in the region. These needs are found not only in cities and towns; they exist on the farms themselves. To supply an adequate diet for the farm population of 13 Southern States would require over a million additional cows for milk, two-and-a-half million more beef cattle. About 13 million additional acres of pasture would be required to care for these increased livestock numbers. Moreover, to supply the urban South with adequate diets would further increase these figures.

This outline of the opportunities, difficulties and trends of agriculture in the South is in some respects most encouraging. The war carried us in the direction we need to take. Whether we decide to feed ourselves, the world, or both, we must continue in that direction. It may be that too many people depend on the land for a livelihood. There are many tenants who own no part of the soil they till and whose rewards are low. Relief for these problems depends in part on the expansion of tenant aid and tenant purchase programs.

In the main, however, the relief of pressure on the land depends on industrial development. If the level of industrial activity is high, so that a continued flow of workers from farms to industries is possible, wages of farm laborers will be higher, tenants will have greater opportunities, and the size of farms and farm incomes should increase. This would be in addition to gains

that can be achieved by increased production of food, feed crops, livestock and livestock products.

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By Dr. Rupert B. Vance

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When population presses too heavily on a region's resources there is danger that it will encroach on its store of natural wealth. It was in quest of higher standards of living that the South first turned to industrial development. Its beginnings were on a low level, but the degree of industrialization has increased over the recent decades.

The rise in the level of wages in the South has not kept pace with the region's increased value of output and number of workers.

The South remains the region of the "differential wage." In 1939 the Southeast's average wage in manufacturing was $760, less than two-thirds of the Nation's average and only 58 percent of the average wage in the Middle States and Far West. The average industrial wage ranged from $1,512 in Michigan to $592 in Mississippi. The highest average wage paid in the Southeast, $986 in Kentucky, ranked only thirty-fourth in the Nation.

The Southeast, with 21 percent of the population and the lowest per capita income, received 11.3 percent of the Nation's wage income, 19 percent of the entrepreneurs' income, and only seven percent of the income from investments. The dominant Northeast, with 30 percent of the population, received 41 percent of the Nation's wage and salary income, 26 percent of the entre-

preneurs's income, and 56 percent of the interest, rent, and dividends. The Southeast has the income distribution characteristic of the colonial economy.

Industrialization has often been discussed as a means by which nations have come to support larger populations at higher levels of well-being--a method of so utilizing resources that man has moved from an economy of scarcity to one of potential abundance. In this sense, industrialization has been offered as the solution for the ills that population pressure has visited on agricultural countries like India and China.

This solution has been suggested for the South but unlike China and India, the region finds itself already integrated as part of a highly industrialized economy.

Over a period of twenty years the average wage earner in the Southeast has turned out a product valued at two-thirds to three-fourths of the national average, has added somewhat less to the value of the materials added by manufacturing them, and has received less still in average wage. This phenomenon is related to the South's surplus of human resources. Because of a labor supply greater than the demands of southern agriculture, industry finds cheap wage rates. It is, however, the highly competitive industries and those of low productivity that are forced to seek areas of low wage costs. Such industries have not greatly increased the skills of the population and are not likely to raise the general wage level until they find greater competition for the labor supply. The Southeast thus not only needs to increase its industrialization; it needs to broaden and diversify the pattern.

In a country characterized by free enterprise, great natural resources, and one of the highest rates of mobility of capital and labor yet known it might be assumed that regional pockets of poverty, wherever developed, would be cleared out within a generation by migration of workers to points of

opportunity or by the migration of industrial capital to areas of cheap resources and low wage levels.

The South's income differentials cast doubt on the assumption that such equalization is in process. Southern incomes have risen along with national averages but the South's level of well-being is not rising at the higher rate necessary to equalize conditions within any attainable future. Many millions of Southern youth have migrated to seek their chances in the cities and to add to our industrial congestion. Differential fertility continues to replace them faster than Southern agriculture and industry can absorb them at present levels of development. For the South to solve its problem entirely by migration would add to the congestion of more populated areas. To migration must be added the development of a more complex economy.

It is not that the less complex economies are concerned simply with the employment and wage payments afforded by manufacturing. The proportions in manufacturing in a complex economy are not especially large nor are industrial wages always the highest. It is the complexity and diversity of a rich economy that the more backward states need, and the development of manufacturing appears the first logical step to the development of such an economy. No one has determined the precise ratio of auxiliary services needed by manufacturing, but they include many in the higher level of professional and technical services as well as in clerical, trade, transportation, and others in the distributive groups. Compared with the range of specialized occupations and skills found in New York, the occupational structure of a state like Mississippi borders on the primitive.

Low wages and a one-crop system of industry are characteristic of the opening phases of industrialization. This condition should be accepted only as a transitional phase to whose passing both the region and the Nation are committed. When the region has increased its purchasing power through increasing its productive powers, the Nation too will benefit by its passing.

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By Dr. Rupert B. Vance

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In discussing the future we want for the South it should be possible to state a common goal, so that we can see the subsidiary issues simply as means to an end upon which we are agreed. If our experiences with depression and war have meant anything, they have increased our determination to conserve, develop and make more generally useful those two great sources of the good society, our natural wealth and our human wealth.

For the total population, higher standards of living are required not only to save human resources from deterioration by malnutrition, poor housing, and the inadequate satisfaction of cultural needs, but to insure the level of activity necessary to keep the economic mechanism functioning. In the long run it must be realized tha t the Nation can balance its budget and carry its fiscal burden only by stabilizing the national income at a high level--possibly in the case of the United States at approximately one hundred and forty billion dollars annually.

The Southeast is a strategic area in this approach, for its population, suffering from real and concealed unemployment, low productivity and low income, has a per capita consumption of the goods and services produced by our industrial economy that is lower than any region in the Nation. Thus the region's need to

balance production and consumption at high levels fits in with desirable national goals.

It is something of a paradox to say that in the South we need fuller utilization of physical resources for the benefit of the present generation balanced with fuller conservation for the benefit of future generations.

It is a fuller, not a lesser, use of our physical resources that we must strive for in the South simply because of our need to achieve a higher standard of living. It must be emphasized, moreover, that not full use but abuse is the enemy of conservation.

Plans for future development in the South will thus attempt to provide for greater utilization and conservation by building up the resource base and increasing the flow of energy and resources. Restoration of soil fertility and further extension of soil conservation practices are necessary to provide a continuous flow of agricultural production; further extension of scientific forestry in private and public holdings is necessary to provide for the continuous production of timber resources. Continuous operation of forest resources and multiple use appear entirely feasible. The South's greatest problem in the field of conservation of resources is that of soil erosion--a loss that unchecked would threaten the whole basis of the economy.

None of this discussion should imply that the Southeast is not continuing its movement toward industrialization. It may suggest, however, that the means will differ somewhat from those once advocated. Artificial inducements to increased industrialization through municipal subsidies in the form of free factory sites, tax exemption and outright subsidy have not proved their worth in the region. They were not needed in the war program and it is doubtful if they will long continue.

Low wages, moreover, will come to count less than increased productivity. A certain normal growth of industrialization continued throughout

the depression and was accelerated under defense and is no doubt to be expected in the future. The South can reasonably expect to continue to process its raw materials in meeting the rising demand of its own regional markets. In certain products, it has shown its ability to manufacture for the Nation, and with further equalization of class freight rates it should have the chance to expand these markets. Increased facilities for financing regional industry and small business may be indicated here.

The question of the South's industrialization has created more controversy than any other phase of regional development. Here again we need a realization on the part of the Nation and the South that high standards of living, increased income and higher wages are necessary to balance our production-consumption budget at a higher level. The economic advance of the South is essential to further national progress. This will include greater technical capacity and higher levels of economic organization and resource-use both in agriculture and industry.

Much controversy can be avoided in the future development of the South by the realization the region has to make no drastic choices on the all-or-none basis. We do not have to choose all-out-migration, all-out-industrialization, NOR even all-out-diversification to the exclusion of staple crops. The principle to be served is one of balance. While we seek to improve agriculture, we shall also seek to make the best use of industry and of migration opportunities. The goal to be sought is higher utilization of resources and higher standards of living for our total population, regional and national. It is these trends that the war effort has accelerated, and it is these gains that any post-war reconstruction should seek to conserve.

Expanding economic opportunity thus becomes the major population policy for the region and the Nation. If we had to state our major interest in seven words, it would be:

"Wanted--the Nation's future for the South." Or, to put it another way:

"Wanted --The South's Future For the Nation."

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ANNOUNCES

The March, 1946, Issue of

NEW SOUTH

"WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION"

By Rupert B. Vance
University of North Carolina

With An Introduction By Governor Ellis Arnall, of Georgia

This publication is a condensation of Dr. Vance's latest book, All These People; The Nation's Human Resources in the South, which has just been published by the University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill, N. C. It is a simple but forceful discussion of the problems and potentials of the South's human and natural resources. It is a must on your reading list.

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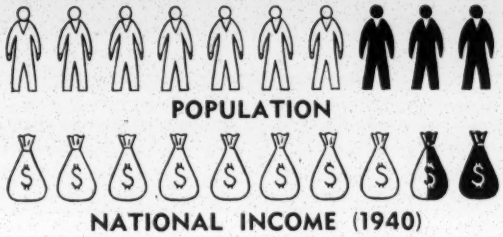
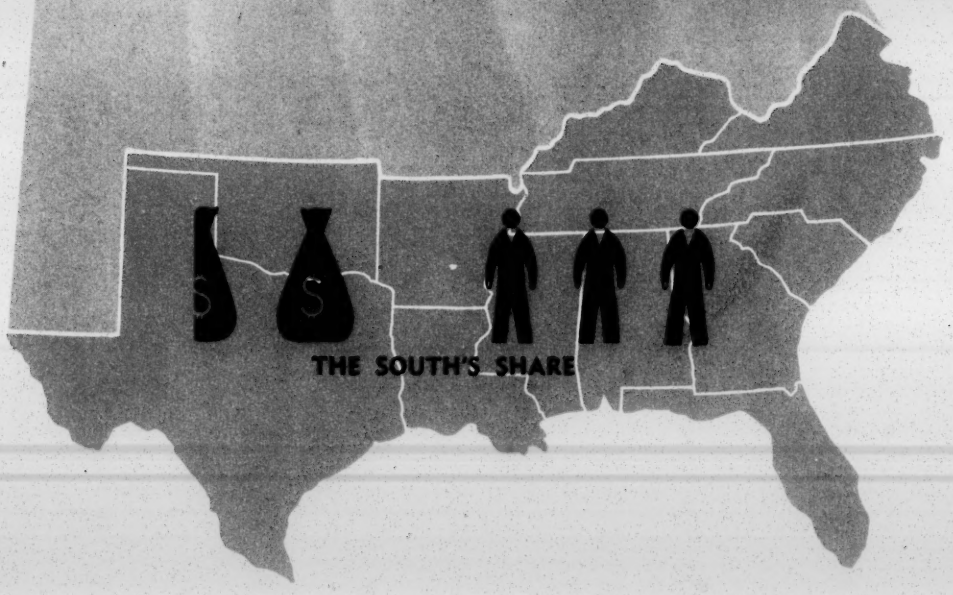


Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation

By Rupert B. Vance



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By Rupert B. Vance

Introduction by
Governor Ellis Arnall
of Georgia

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RUPERT B. VANCE, Kenan Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina and long-experienced student of the South, is a native of Arkansas. He has written several works on Southern problems, including *Human Factors in Cotton Culture, Human Geography of the South, The South's Place in the Nation* and *Regional Reconstruction for the South.* This pamphlet is condensed from his latest work, *All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South,* which is based on the study of the Southern people undertaken by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina. Of his latest book he says: "This study was begun in the depths of the depression, when it seemed that if America had overproduced anything, it was good, standard Americans. The South with its surplus manpower was regarded as the 'Nation's Economic Problem No. 1.' It was carried on in the war period when every atom of manpower counted for national survival. It looks forward to a future when the men, women and maturing youth of the South may again be 'surplus.' " *All These People* is published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Introduction

THIS STUDY *of the South by Dr. Rupert B. Vance is of the utmost value to an understanding of the problems of the section, which must be solved if the Nation's economy is to develop to the interest of all Americans. Throughout the South today there is a feeling that the old era of this section's exploitation is at an end and that a new prosperity with an accompanying series of social gains will develop in our region.*

This is justified by the recapitulation of the human and natural resources of which the South and Southerners have such an abundance. The elimination of the freight rate discriminations, the expansion of industries based upon our agricultural and mineral resources, the development of greater technological skill among our people, the inevitable expansion of Latin American trade utilizing our Southern ports, are factors that justify considerable optimism.

There is no problem in the South that does not have its origin in the poverty and exploitation of the section. Injustices, instances of racial friction, inadequate opportunities for education and lack of opportunity for economic advancement are all attributable to the low income of the people of our section. This is not only a matter of concern to the South but a matter of concern to every American, if our country must break the shackles of tradition of Imperial-East and Colonial-South-and-West, if we are to avoid the economic chaos and stratification of classes inevitable in a society where industry and financial power are concentrated in a single section.

Dr. Vance's study is stimulating and suggestive: every Southerner and every American should read it.

Atlanta, March 7, 1946.

ELLIS ARNALL
Governor of Georgia

Have and Have-Not

Problems and Potentials of the South

IN 1940 the eleven states of the Southeast contained over 28,250,000 people — 21.5 percent of the population of the continental United States. With more than one-fifth of the Nation's people the region comprised 17.4 percent of the Nation's area and was estimated to contain 11.5 percent of its accumulated wealth. Together with the Southwest, the Southern Region accounted for 28.9 percent of the Nation's people, 36.3 percent of its area and an estimated 16.7 percent of its wealth.

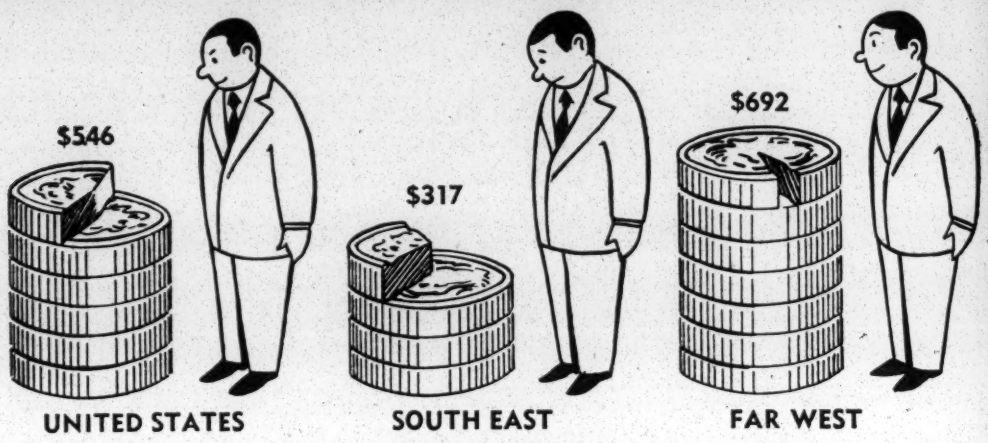
Although the question of social objectives is highly controversial, one conclusion can be generally accepted. This is simply that society should survive. Among the objectives that will enhance the survival-value of any economy there are two that stand out clearly: (1) The full utilization of human and material resources; and (2) the logical and fairly equitable distribution of incomes. By "fairly equitable distribution" we do not mean equal distribution of wealth and incomes but a range which, in addition to reflecting individual contributions to the total welfare, allows for a continuation of the economy at a level high enough to secure the objectives of full utilization of resources and thus of survival.

The weight and seriousness of this problem is no longer evaded. In 1936, John Maynard Keynes wrote: "The outstanding faults of the economic society in which we live are its failure to provide for full employment and its arbitrary and inequitable distribution of wealth and income. . . It is certain that the world will not much longer tolerate the unemployment which, apart from brief intervals of excitement, is associated—and in my opinion inevitably associated — with present day capitalistic individualism."[1]

Our Income Is Low

No region can reasonably object to a geographic division of labor that adjusts production to resources, meets the needs of the Nation, and returns an equitable flow of income to the regional and occupational groups involved. It is this last criterion that our regional and occupational hierarchy fails to meet. The Southeast's per capita income is usually only 60 percent of the Nation's average. Estimated income in 1940 ranged from

1. John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, pp. 372, 381.



OUR INCOME IS LOW

This contrast in per capita incomes (1940) reveals one of the basic problems of the South. Each coin equals $100. The South's low per capita income is figured as part of the national average, shown at the left, and is one reason why the U. S. average is not greater. Compared with the Nation's most prosperous region, the Far West, the Southeast's is small indeed.

$198 per person in Mississippi to $818 in Connecticut, a spread that hardly seems justifiable unless one part of the country is devoting itself to the accomplishment of unneeded tasks in an unskilled manner. The Far West and the Northeast attained an average income of $692 and $685 per person, but with a national average of $546 the Southeast fell to $317 per capita below both the Southwest and Northwest. Every state with a per capita income below $350 was Southern except North Dakota. While such disparities have natural antecedents in historical and economic causes, they find less justification in social values and social theory. The maldistribution of income continually threatens the functioning of our economic system, while malnutrition and low standards continually threaten the replacement of adequate human resources.

Income in our economy goes over into purchasing power whose circulation in the medium of money performs a two-fold function: (1) It helps to keep the economic mechanism going by continually calling forth supplies of goods and services, and (2) it replenishes human resources whose biological efficiency and cultural adequacy result from the wise consumption of such goods and services. These inequalities should not be considered exclusively in terms of regional grievances, although possibly there is no economic theory competent to silence such attitudes. More important, they should be considered as injuries to our on-going economic system.

We Have the Resources

More than anything else the future of the South depends on the development of resources and capacities that are as yet largely unrealized. The region has natural resources and human resources. These forms of wealth are primary, but for their development they depend upon the building up of technological resources, institutional resources and capital

resources. The creation of these secondary forms of wealth, as Howard W. Odum has pointed out, are matters of organization, skill and previous experience. This is both an economic and a cultural task in which the Nation is as vitally concerned as the region itself.

The question is often asked: Did the war accelerate this development? One answer was recently given by the National Industrial Conference Board, an independent research agency. It pointed out that during the war the South was in process of the most important industrial growth in its history. This growth gained headway before the war; it was accelerated by the war program. Important sectors in this expansion were located all over the South: shipping in the Norfolk and Gulf areas; expansion of power and aluminum in the TVA area; heavy industry in Birmingham; textiles, rayon and nylon in Virginia and the southern Piedmont; refining and chemical industries plus synthetic rubber in the oil producing areas; pulp, paper and lumber products; minerals and the processing of metals — all increased throughout the region.

The great problem that faces this section is to retain a fair proportion of these wartime gains and to devote these industries to the spread of general well-being in the region. There will be inevitable post-war retrenchments; not all of the South's expansion will survive. There are many reasons, however, to believe that the South has basic resources for further industrialization in a nation that will develop and maintain a more complex economy after the war. For brevity, they may be listed in order:

RETAIL SALES REFLECT LOW LIVING STANDARDS

Our low income shows up in this comparison of retail sales per capita in 1939, a fairly normal postwar year. In the Southeast there was only $193 in retail sales for each man, woman and child in the region. In the Far West people had more than twice our purchasing power.

TOO MANY FARMERS?

Southern farms alone cannot provide for the South's growing population. "In 1930 it was figured that if every farm boy growing to maturity in the South tried to enter farming there would be three applicants for every farm left vacant . . ."

1. Proximity both to the already highly-industrialized areas of the Northeast and Middle States and to potential developments in South America.
2. Agricultural resources in climate, growing season, and land supply for a great variety of crops ranging from truck, fruit, livestock, and forest products to already developed staples such as cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco.
3. Mineral resources of coal, iron, oil, gas, sulphur and non-ferrous minerals, with stone and building material of all kinds.
4. Adequate transportation facilities in its developed railroad network and public highway systems.
5. Low land values and site values as compared to more congested areas.
6. Large groups of basically sound and capable population, in need only of training, education and more adequate services to become a skilled labor supply.
7. Large potential groups of consumers for all goods and services, awaiting only better productive organization and increased purchasing power to become the country's best new market.

Can We Live on the Land?

The rural South has the largest population increases of the Nation, and it has tried to accommodate this increase on the land. In 1930 it was figured that if every farm boy growing to maturity in the South tried to enter farming there would be three applicants for every farm left vacant by death or retirement of its operator. This indicates the need for further migration and industrialization. What the South should do is to improve the quality of its agriculture while decreasing the number of people who must be supported on the land. Both service in the armed forces and employment in war industries offered material aid here; they introduced many rural youths to an industrial discipline they had never known before.

The South can expect for a long time to remain a major agricultural area. Nevertheless, any list of its *main problems,* such as those given here, will show that most are related to the region's agricultural background:

1. Loss of soil resources by leaching and erosion.
2. The gradual loss of a large share of world cotton and tobacco markets.
3. Threatened loss, through mechanization, crop reduction and improved practices, of agriculture's capacity to employ population at former rates.
4. The numbing effect of tenancy on the South's agriculture.
5. Inadequacy of the South's rural educational facilities to prepare farm children to meet needed changes.
6. The South's lack of capital, economic organization, patent rights, etc., to finance needed development in new fields. The South appears to be still in the stage of a colonial economy.

The South's Gain is the Nation's Gain

The Nation and the South need to agree that the region can do the greatest possible service by increasing its income and expanding its markets. Leon Henderson once said that for the South to attain a normal American standard of living would create an annual market worth ten billion dollars to the Nation. This is a duty the South owes the whole Nation. It is a simple exercise in arithmetic to show that as a 140 billion dollar income country we will have a much better chance to meet the obligation of our war debts than as an 80 billion dollar country. As the section with the lowest incomes, the South has the duty of meeting the deficit by raising its income to more normal levels. To agree on this goal, both the Nation and the region should rid themselves of certain complexes. The Nation should come to realize that, in the long run, further industrialization of the South will aid, not injure, the national well-being. The South in its turn should recover from its low-wage complex and realize that a rising level of wages in the area will create greater markets and increased well-being. This, it should be realized, applies also to the Negro, who has the lowest level of living of any large group in America.

Farmer in the Well

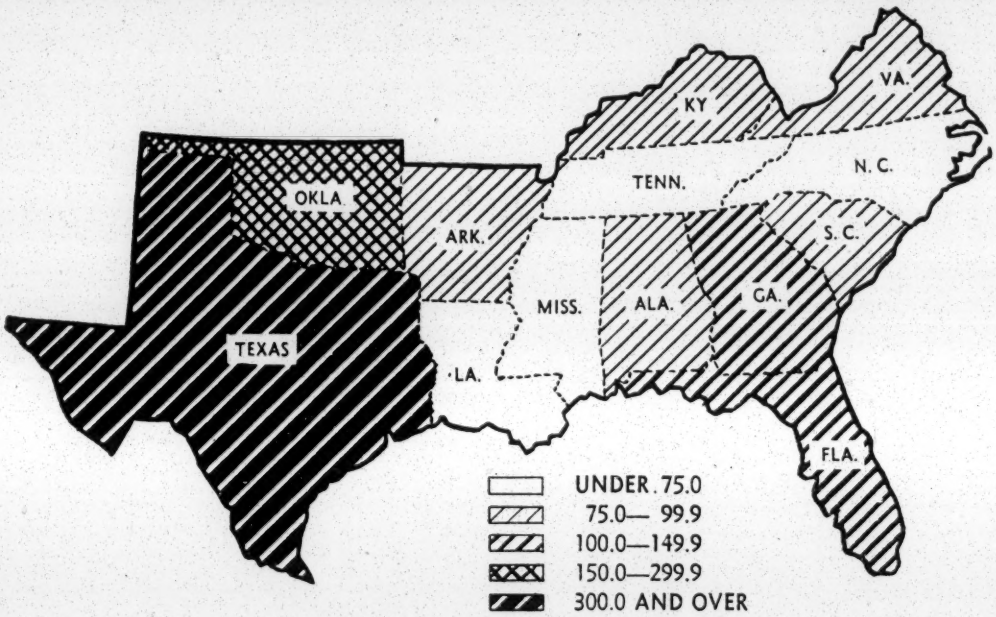
A Look at Agriculture and Its Future

In the future development of the South agriculture will continue to play a dominant role. It occupies a position of critical importance, offering problems and opportunities for those who farm and those who seek to direct the forces of scientific research in increasing the wealth and welfare of the region. These conditions pose basic questions for the developing science of land utilization which, we assume, is the connecting link between the physical and the human factors in agriculture. It is a fallacy to think of either farming or land use analysis as simple procedures to be worked out by rule of thumb. Many factors must be considered from the point of view of the national wealth and welfare in land-use studies. The South must make the best possible use of science in all its phases, if it is to make the best possible use of its agricultural resources.

Aside from the overshadowing importance of cotton and tobacco, it is certain that no region of the Nation is able to produce a greater variety of farm products than the South. Its wide range of soil types, of rainfall and temperature afford opportunities for widespread diversification in the development of agricultural resources. In general it can be said that, while the Southern soil has shown its biological capacity with the aid of fertilization to produce many varieties of economic plants and animals, it has not yet shown its economic capacity to produce them at a profit in competition with other areas. The South has gone furthest in the exploitation of crops in which, by reason of climate, it has a monopoly. The region has tended on the other hand to underproduce economic plants and animals that can be grown well in other areas. Each of its staples — cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar cane — was discovered and developed early in the region's history, and the devotion to their culture has become deeply embedded in the Southern economy. Each of these commercial staples is characterized by high gross values per acre; each demands large amounts of labor and each has high costs of production.

Is the Small Farm Too Small?

Many farm management people feel that farms are too small in the Southeast to be efficient business units, making the best use of their labor, land and necessary overhead investment. Not only have Southern farmers been forced to crop small acreages too intensively, but the recent emphasis on their lack of livestock and forest products suggest that they need additional acreage for the extensive utilization needed to build up permanent pastures and wood lots. Such criticisms of prevailing practices are not to be silenced by reference to the family-sized farm. It is precisely the



"FAMILY-SIZE" FARMS ARE TOO SMALL

Many farm experts think farms in the Southeast are too small to be efficient. This includes the so-called "family-size" farm, which should be large enough to take care of family growth. This map shows the average acreage of farms in 1940. More than half the farms of the Southeast are less than 50 acres.

family-sized farm that should be large enough to give scope to the labor of growing sons and to allow for normal overlapping of the generations in handing down the patrimony. Usually the farmer's son will want to marry and settle down before the farmer is willing or able to retire. Unless the farm enterprise is large enough to absorb his labor, he will seek to become established in another occupation and will not return to the farm when it becomes vacant. For continuity of the generations, the size of the family farm should thus be much larger than is generally assumed.

In many areas of the Nation farms are large enough to satisfy these conditions. Over half, 53.7 percent, of the farms in the Southeast are under 50 acres, and over three-fourths, 76.7 percent, are under 100 acres.

Recent Changes in Southern Farming

Despite recent progress in agriculture in the Southeast, unutilized land, inadequate utilization of labor, unbalanced crop systems and low farm incomes make continued adjustments necessary. From 1930 to 1940 significant changes have occurred under the influence of both the agricultural depression and the Federal farm programs. Some of these changes are beneficial and many can be expected to exert a long-range influence. Farms have decreased in number and increased in size, the number of farm owners has increased at the same time that tenants have decreased. The amount of idle crop land also decreased. Fewer farmers, larger farms and higher proportions of owners tend to furnish our farm people more

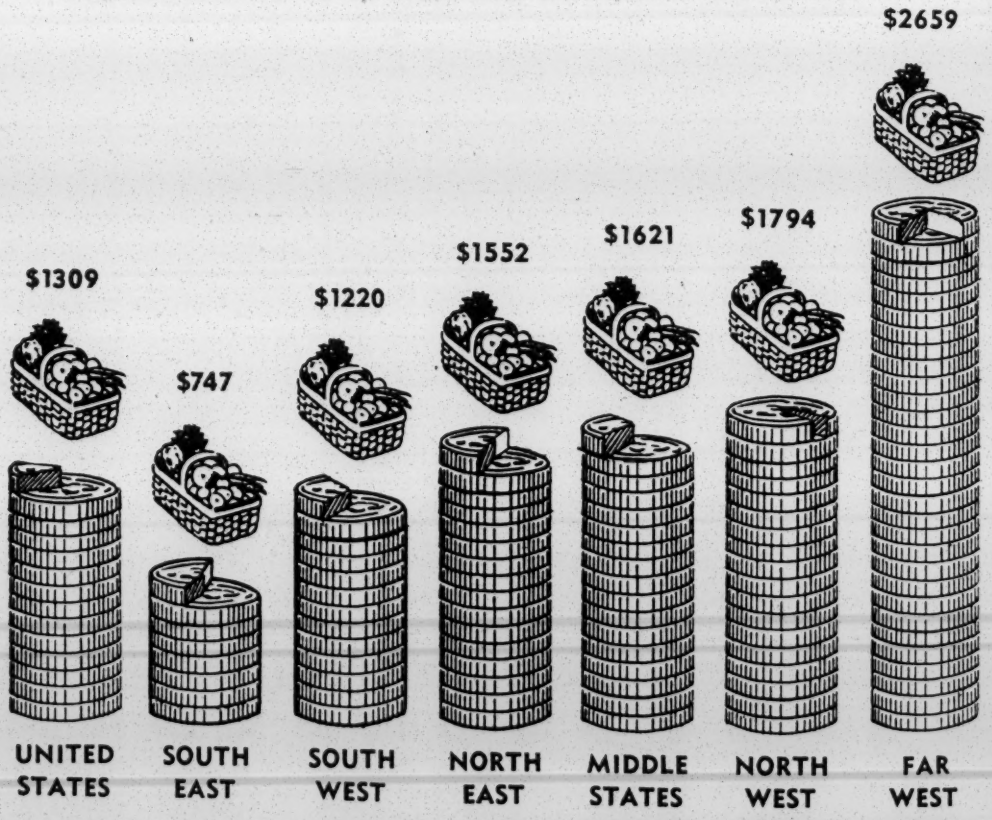
adequate incomes. In this same period, it will be found, our farmers have made pronounced shifts in production. The introduction of farm machinery has not proceeded as far in the Southeast as in some other states, but it served to reduce the number of work stock and thus released considerable acreages of corn, hay and oats for feeding other livestock. Not all the lands released from cotton have been put to the wisest possible use, and it is here that the region may hope to learn from the war effort.

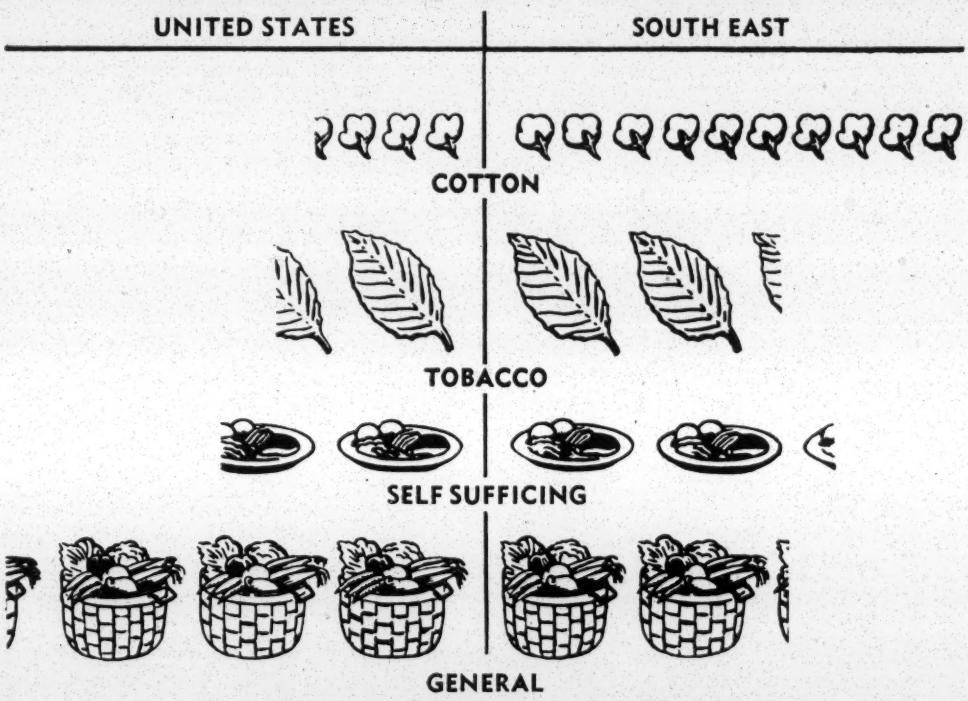
The war brought the South a great opportunity to develop its agricultural resources along more desirable lines. Increased production of human foods, stock feed, and livestock products during war took the direction that is essential to the long-range rehabilitation of the region's crop system. While quotas, soil conservation methods, and subsidies of the agricultural programs have all tended toward diversification, they lacked the impetus given by war demands. Market conditions for the products of the kind of agriculture the South should follow had never been more favorable.

The task of changing Southern agriculture poses some practical problems that should be understood not only by farmers but by all forces concerned with sound economic development in the area. Here cotton offers

SOUTHERN FARM INCOME IS LOW

Here's how the average Southern farm measures up to those of other regions in the value of farm products (1939). This shows the value of products sold, traded and consumed per farm — only $747 a year for the average Southeastern farm compared with $1,621 for the Middle States and $2,659 for the Far West.





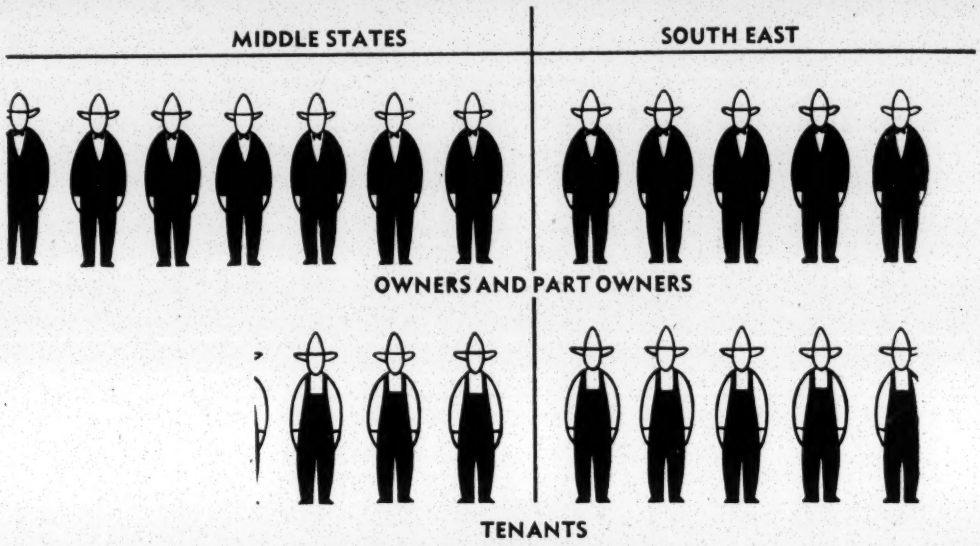
WHAT KIND OF FARMS DO WE HAVE?

Too much cotton, not enough diversified crops — that's one reason for our low farm income. Here's a comparison of types of farms for the Southeast and the Nation as a whole. Each symbol represents five per cent of all farms in each region. Only the types predominant in the Southeast are shown here. A large part of the U. S. total is listed under "animal specialty," "dairy" and "cash grain," types seldom found in the Southeast.

the main problem, one that cannot be solved merely by more efficient production. The agricultural program has had the net effect of increasing cotton yields beyond anything yet achieved. Thus a reduction from 1930 to 1940 of 43.8 percent in the cotton acreage of seven states has meant only a 25.6 percent reduction in cotton bales produced. Better care of the crop, heavier applications of fertilizer, and the elimination of the poorest lands from production have helped to increase yields per acre by some 37 percent. This definite gain in productivity has meant a net increase from cotton for many farmers even with the reduced acreage. Cotton production may have to undergo further curtailment, giving way to other crops.

Basic Problems

Expansion in food production and in livestock is still the basic need of our agriculture but there are sound reasons why this is difficult. The inability of most soils in the Southeast to produce satisfactory pasture is the basic physical difficulty blocking livestock expansion. The cost in labor and materials for establishing pasture land is often greater than the initial value of the land on which the pasture would be built. In addition there is the danger of drought which may kill a newly-established pasture



NOT ENOUGH FARM OWNERS

Farm tenancy has decreased somewhat since 1930, but the ratio of tenants to owners in the Southeast in 1940 was still too large, as this picture shows. Each picture represents 10 per cent of all farmers in each specified region. In the Southeast there are almost as many tenants as owners or part-owners. In the Middle States there are about seven owners or part-owners to about three tenants. However, from 1930 to 1940 tenancy in the Southeast decreased from 55.8 per cent to 49.2 per cent and the reduction continued through the war years.

area. Feed production is also difficult. Where corn yields on the average only 12 bushels per acre, it takes 10 acres of corn per year to feed one pair of mules. In other sections of the country, notably Iowa, two acres in corn are sufficient. In the Southeast heavier fertilization will not increase corn yields to the extent that it increases cotton yields. Heat and parasites also offer difficulties for the livestock grower. Sows on the open range breed in the wrong season for the best feeding routines, and losses are usually large among hogs running on peanuts without supplemental feeding. It takes about three years to make substantial gains in the number of cattle. Here the attempt to increase dairying stock or provide one or two cows for small farms is blocked by the practices of large dairies that persist in killing heifer calves for veal. Unless improved methods for the distribution and sale of heifer calves are worked out, it will continue to be difficult for small farmers to secure milk cows.

We Need More Food

The long-run adjustments which have been advocated in farm production would be impossible of attainment were it not for the presence of large and unsupplied needs for food in the region. These needs are found not only in cities and towns; they exist on the farms themselves. Farm diets in the South are greatly deficient in dairy, poultry, and beef products. To supply a minimum adequate diet for only the farm population of the thirteen Southern states would require over a million additional cows

for milk, two-and-a-quarter million additional hogs, 23 million more hens for egg production and two-and-a-half million more beef cattle. About 13 million additional acres of pasture would be required to care for these increased livestock numbers. Moreover, to supply the urban South with adequate diets would further increase these figures.

We speak of the low purchasing power of our people, but large amounts of milk, eggs, cheese, butter, fruits, vegetables, and fresh meats are brought into the region from considerable distances, paying heavy freight and distribution costs in the process and often deteriorating in quality. Agricultural planning, the Federal farm assistance programs and the Agricultural Extension services are all devoted to increasing the output of these basic products.

The Right Direction

Our statement has presented the opportunities, the difficulties, and the trends of agricultural development in the South. In some respects it is most encouraging, for it shows that the war carried us in the direction we need to take. Whether we now make the decision to feed ourselves, the world, or both, we must continue in the directions outlined. It may be that too many people depend on the land for a livelihood. Certainly there are many tenants who own no part of the soil they till and whose rewards are thus correspondingly low. Relief for these problems of our agriculture depend in part on the expansion of tenant aid and tenant purchase programs. In the main, however, the relief of pressure on the land will depend on industrial employment. If the level of industrial activity is high so that a continued flow of workers is possible from farms to industries, wages of farm laborers will be higher, tenants will have greater opportunities, and the size of farms and per capita farm incomes should show increases. This trend would be in addition to the gains that can be achieved by increased production of food, feed crops, and livestock and livestock products.

Industry: Balance-Wheel

The Complex Economy and Human Resources

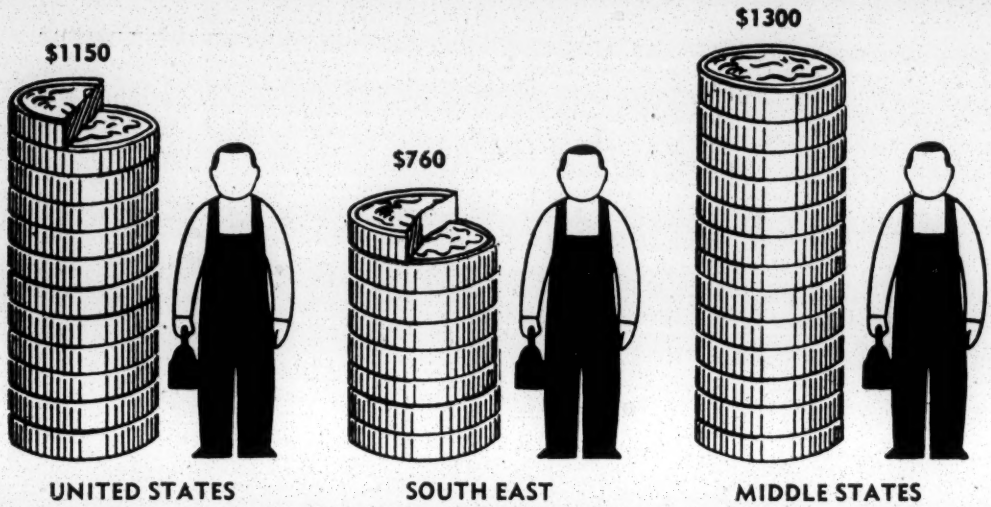
From this view of our natural resources in agriculture, we come to consider our population as human resources in industry. Population itself is to be regarded as the ultimate resource, the source and beneficiary of all production. Nevertheless there must obtain a balance between the physical and human resources of an area. This balance has been called the man-land ratio, and when population presses too heavily on a region's resources there is danger that it will encroach on its store of natural wealth. It was in quest of higher levels of income and higher standards of living that the South first turned to industrial development. Its beginnings were on a low level, but the degree of industrialization has increased over the recent decades.

The rise in the level of wages in the South has not kept pace with the region's increased value of output and number of workers. Great regional differences exist in average wages in manufacturing and industry throughout the United States. These variations are due to many things: (1) differences in variety and type of industry, (2) differences in productivity and skills among workers, (3) differences in the bargaining power of workers, (4) differences in efficiency and mechanization as among industries, and (5) as among plants in the same industry in different parts of the country, as well as (6) differences in the price policies prevailing in highly competitive industries as compared with those of a semi-monopolistic nature.

The Meaning of Low Wages

Whatever the cause, the South remains the region of the differential wage. In 1939 the Southeast's average wage in manufacturing was $760, less than two-thirds of the Nation's average and only 58 percent of the average wage in the Middle States and Far West. The average industrial wage ranged from $1,512 in Michigan, land of the great automotive industry, to $592 in Mississippi, home of the plan to balance-agriculture-with industry. The highest average wage paid in the Southeast, $986 in Kentucky, ranked only 34th in the Nation. In the lowest group New Mexico was the only state outside the South. It is clear that in the South the average wage earner drew the lowest wage, added least to the value of raw materials per wage earner, and turned out the cheapest product.

The Southeast, with 21 percent of the population and the lowest per capita income, in 1939 received 11.3 percent of the Nation's wage income, 19 percent of the entrepreneurs' income, and only seven percent of the income from investments. The dominant Northeast, with 30 percent of



LOW WAGES IN INDUSTRY HOLD US BACK

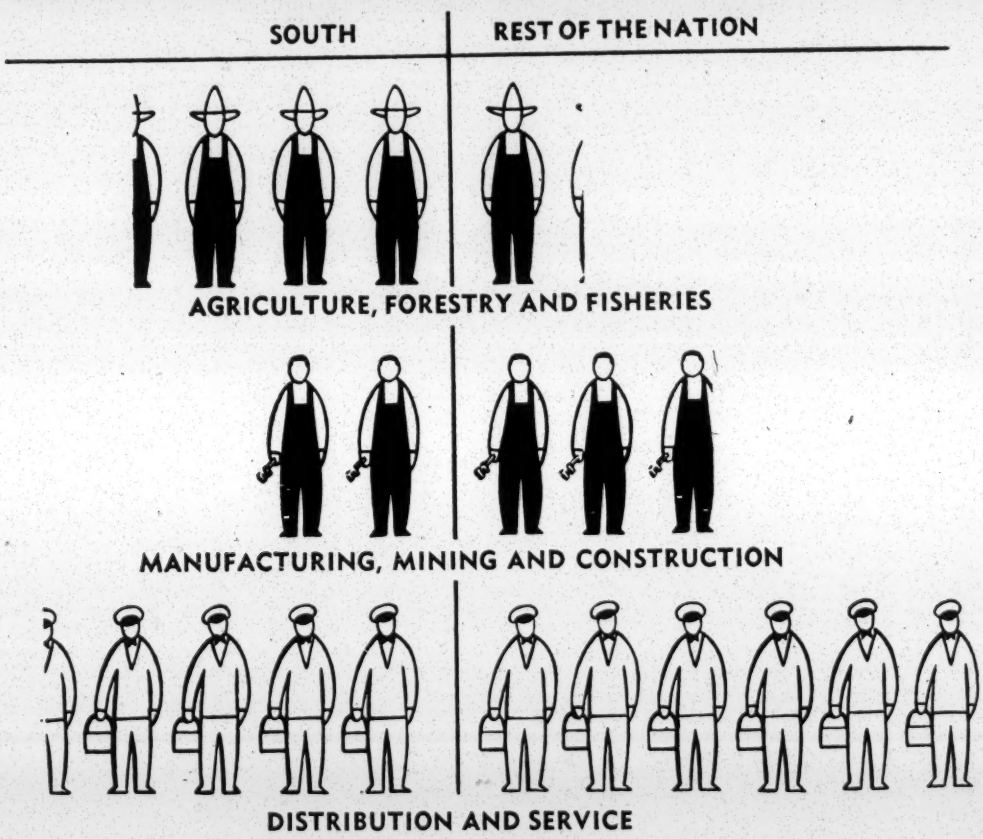
Here's what the average wage of the Southeast's industrial worker looks like when compared with the Nation and the highly industrialized Middle States. This is one of the causes of our relatively low volume of retail sales as shown on page 7. The level of industrial wages affects white-collar salaries, and both of these affect farm income. These figures are for 1939.

the population, received 41 percent of the Nation's wage and salary income, 26 percent of the entrepreneurs' income, and 56 percent of the interest, rent, and dividends. The South has the income distribution characteristic of the colonial economy. Lacking the large incomes necessary to furnish capital to develop its own resources, the region sees its income remain low because its resources are appropriated at low prices by outside investors. By virtue of this condition the South is favorable to government financing and stands to benefit when its resources are developed by a public agency like the TVA rather than by outside holding companies. To the extent that this procedure raises the productive and purchasing power in the region, it also bolsters the national economy.

Possibilities for Expanding Industry

Industrialization has often been discussed as a means by which nations have come to support larger populations at higher levels of well-being — a method of so utilizing resources that man has moved from an economy of scarcity to one of potential abundance. In this sense, industrialization has been offered as the solution of the ills that population pressure has caused in agricultural countries like India and China. This solution has been suggested for the South, but unlike China and India the region finds itself already integrated as part of a highly industrialized economy. This pattern of industrialization, however, is highly centralized.

Industry in the United States is characterized by extreme concentration of geographic location. The 33 major industrial areas in 1940 ranged from the New York City-Newark-Jersey City concentration to Toledo,



WE NEED A MORE COMPLEX ECONOMY

At left is the proportion of workers in various fields in the South; at right is the better balanced proportion in the rest of the Nation. A complex economy and higher standards of living for the South would have fewer, more prosperous farmers, more industrial workers, more people employed in service trades. Each figure equals 10 per cent of all workers in each region. "Distribution and service" includes transportation, communication, trade, domestic and personal service.

Ohio. Each area contained 40,000 or more factory workers and one or more important industrial counties. These areas comprised 97 counties with 1.7 percent of the total land area and 35.4 percent of the total population of the United States. They accounted for 54.7 percent of the total wage earners, 59.1 percent of the total value of products, and 61.1 percent of the total wages paid in the country. Seventeen of these areas are in the Northeast, 13 in the Middle States, three in the Far West, and none in the Southeast, Southwest, and Northwest.

Over a period of twenty years the average wage earner in the Southeast has turned out a product valued at two-thirds to three-fourths of the national average, has added somewhat less to the value of the materials added by manufacturing them, and has received less still in average wage. This phenomenon is related to the South's surplus of human resources. Because of a labor supply greater than the demands of Southern agriculture, industry finds cheap wage rates. It is, however, the highly competitive

industries and those of low productivity that are forced to seek areas of low wage costs. Such industries have not greatly increased the skills of the population and are not likely to raise the general wage level until they find greater competition for the labor supply. The South thus not only needs to increase its industrialization; it needs to broaden and diversify the patterns.

We Need Diversification in Industry, too

In a country characterized by free enterprise, great natural resources, and one of the highest rates of mobility of capital and labor yet known, it might be assumed that regional pockets of poverty, wherever developed, would be cleared out within a generation by migration of workers to points of opportunity or by the migration of industrial capital to areas of cheap resources and low wage levels. The above recital of income differentials casts doubt on the assumption that such equalization is in process. Southern incomes have risen along with national averages but the South's level of well-being is not rising at the higher rate necessary to equalize conditions within any attainable future. Many millions of Southern youth have migrated to seek their chances in the cities and to add to our industrial congestion. Differential fertility continues to replace them faster than Southern agriculture and industry can absorb them at present levels of development. For the South to solve its problem entirely by migration would add to the congestion of more populated areas. To migration then must be added the development of a more complex economy than that now afforded it by the South.

It is not that the less complex economies are concerned simply with the employment and wage payments afforded by manufacturing. The proportions in manufacturing in a complex economy are not especially large, nor are industrial wages always the highest. It is the complexity and diversity of a rich economy that the more backward states need, and the development of manufacturing appears the first logical step to the development of such an economy. No one has determined the precise ratio of auxiliary services needed by manufacturing, but they include many in the higher level of professional and technical services as well as in clerical, trade, transportation, and others in the distributive groups. Compared with the range of specialized occupations and skills found in New York, the occupational structure of a state like Mississippi borders on the primitive. This condition has been offered to explain why a proportionately larger number of the South's able men are found serving in the higher ranks of America's armed forces during peacetime. The occupational hierarchy at home does not offer sufficient richness and complexity, and not all can hope through migration and competition to climb to positions of trust and competence abroad.

The South's Drive for Industry

The South's demand for a larger share in the industrialization of this country has been put on the defensive, as something contaminated with the evil companionship of greedy promoters, municipal subsidies, and low wages. Actually it is no more sectional or subversive in the competitive

American pattern for an undeveloped area to try to secure more industry than for a highly concentrated area to work to increase its large supply. It has become orthodox to regard the South's industrial development as an attack on union organization and to feel that the region's problems can best be served by population redistribution, continuous migration, and continuous social mobility. While recent Federal legislation has offered a partial answer to this view, the persistence of great inequalities is still the strongest argument for further industrialization.

In regard to migration the truth of the matter is that the South is not competent under its present economy and culture to continue to rear and educate and send out the Nation's population reserves. Not only is the region too poor, but such a process means a constant drain on its resources. Whatever may be the net worth of the region's exports, it is safe to estimate that to rear and educate a child to adulthood costs family, community and state some $2,000 to $5,000. Further development of the South's economy by increasing the variety and range of occupational opportunities will raise the level of living and of training, will reduce the differential birth rate, and will keep more of the South's human and material capital at home to participate in its own development.

Low wages and a one-crop system of industry are characteristic of the opening phases of industrialization. This condition should be accepted only as a transitional phase to whose passing both the region and the Nation are committed. When the region has increased its purchasing power through increasing its productive powers, the Nation too will benefit.

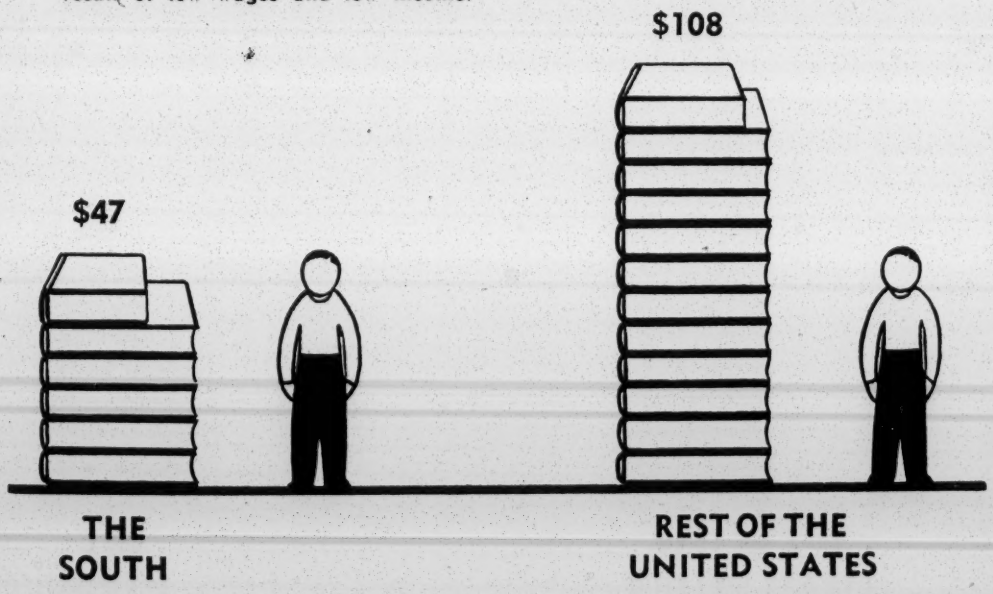
Training for the Future

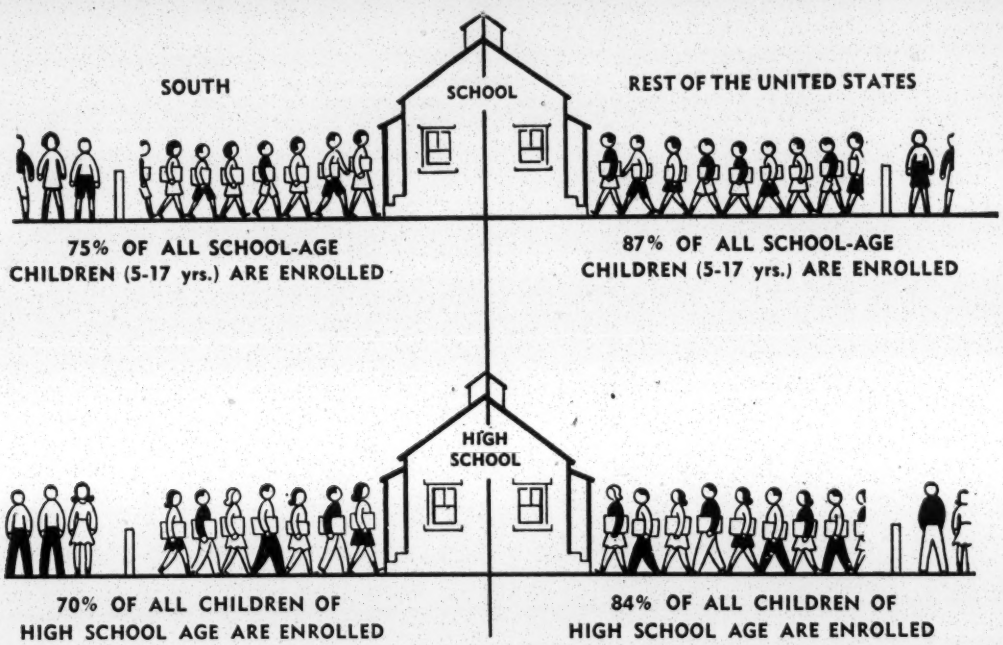
Education's Place in Southern Progress

The people of the South are the most poorly educated in the country. Only half of the Southern people have gone to school for 7.4 years. In our country the best educated people live in the Far West where half the adults have spent over 9.7 years in school. The states range from Louisiana with a median of 6.6 years of schooling to Utah with 10.2 years. Best educated in 1940 were urban native whites of the western states; least educated were the farm Negroes of the South. Here the range was from 11.5 median years of schooling in Utah to 2.8 for Negroes in Louisiana. Among native whites in practically every state the urban population had received more schooling than the rural non-farm, and the rural non-farm population in turn more than the rural farm. The spread between urban and rural non-

WE'RE FAR BEHIND IN EDUCATION

Some people won't believe this even when they see it, but it's a fact that the South spends less than half as much for the average public school student's education as the rest of the Nation. Yet most Southern states spend a greater proportion of their tax revenue for education than other states. In this picture, based on 1940 statistics, each book represents $10 of educational expenditure per student. Poor training for future citizens of the South, both white and Negro, is an inevitable result of low wages and low income.





MORE CHILDREN SHOULD BE IN SCHOOL

The South lags behind the rest of the Nation in the proportion of young people receiving education. In this picture, based on 1940 statistics, each figure represents 10 per cent of all children of school age. Behind the little fence at right and left are the proportions of school-age children not enrolled. The South's record for high school enrollment is especially poor. Inadequate funds and facilities for education, and low family incomes that force some children into jobs instead of into high school, are important causes of this contrast.

farm was usually greater than the spread between the rural non-farm and the rural farm population. In the Northeast education differences between native whites in cities and on farms rarely exceeded two years of school; in the Southeast it usually amounted to three. These differences may depend to some extent on the migration of better educated youth to the cities.

The Function of Education

Within limits the education of all the people, like public health, must be regarded as a purchasable commodity. It competes in the public mind with the necessity of supporting other social services and is limited in extent by the economic resources and interests of the people. In spite of the American devotion to education, its support varies greatly from region to region.

The relation of education to cultural adequacy and national survival is not difficult to show. The function of education has often been given legal definition in our courts. One well-phrased statement reads: "Free schooling furnished by the State is not so much a right granted to pupils as a duty imposed upon them for the public good. . . . While most people regard the public schools as a means of great personal advantage to the pu-

pils, the fact is too often overlooked that they are the governmental means of protecting the state against the consequences of an ignorant and incompetent citizenship."[2] In our modern day the direct consequences are threefold: military, economic, and political. Citizens with less than five years of schooling are limited in their participation in the defense of their country. Ignorant citizens are more likely to become public charges and thus increase the Nation's relief bill. Citizens ill-informed and prejudiced become the prey of demagogues and thus tend to break down the equitable functioning of government so necessary for the preservation of the free ballot in a democracy.

Education and Manpower

Free public education for all children is one social value to which our country is committed. It is, therefore, a commentary on our sense of realism in this country that these three simple arguments have never appealed to the intelligence of the American people sufficiently to lead them to develop a national program, designed to support an educational minimum irrespective of residence, race, and economic status of children. In World War II we suffered from a lack of manpower in the armed forces and a lack of skilled labor that could be attributed directly to regional and class variations in the educational level the country over. Nations that neglect the essentials of national survival should not talk too much in terms of their ideals of democracy when they have allowed these ideals to go unrealized.

An important factor in the better-rounded economy we need for the future is a well-balanced labor supply — balanced as between skilled and unskilled, among the various branches of the skilled, between male and female, between white and black, between rural and urban. Here common observation leads one to conclude that normally our working force is ill-balanced rather than well-balanced. Before the war there were too many unskilled, not enough skilled; enough skilled in some lines in some localities but the same skills lacking in other localities; rural labor idle much of the time yet badly needing the goods and services their work would provide; communities with industries employing many men and few women; other communities with women working steadily in industry but men hanging around on the streets; Negroes kept out of many vocations and willing to take those jobs open to them at any wage.

Preparation for Industrial Growth

Manufacturing has been slow in coming into the South because of the lack of skilled labor. Our people did not have the "feel" of the machine. This is partly due to the fact that the machine age has not been close to a great many of our population. It is also due in part to a faulty system of education, one that has placed more emphasis on algebra and French than on manual training, shop work, agriculture and home economics and the higher technical branches. To move actively into a technological industrial system will require trained technologists in the upper reaches and skilled workers in the lower. Our education system has a great responsibility in preparing youth for the coming of industry into the South.

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2. Fogg vs. Board of Education of Littleton, 76 N. H. 299.

Seed-bed of the Nation

Human Resources and Social Security

The United States is approaching its maturity; its rate of growth is slowing down. The 1940 Census found 131,669,275 people in our country, hardly nine million more than were counted ten years before. This increase of 7.2 percent in ten years was the lowest rate of gain for the country since the census was first taken in 1790. It was less than half the rate of growth from 1920 to 1930, when our population increased by 16.1 percent. The Southeast increased by some 2,700,000 from 1930 to 1940—a gain of 10.6 percent.

The important contrast in our population growth is that between the urban and industrial areas, which grow by migration, and the rural areas, which grow by natural increase — that is, by the surplus of births over deaths. The Southeast, the census shows, gained new significance as the seedbed of the Nation. From 1920 to 1930 the region gained 2,700,000 people which was 15.8 percent of the total increase for the Nation. For the 1930's its increase was again 2,700,000, but this time the gain was more than 30 percent of the Nation's growth. The Southwest, including Oklahoma which lost population, accounted for 7.9 percent of the decade's growth.

The South Supplies the People

The Southeast led the Nation in the rate of natural increase, 12.3 percent. Unlike the previous decade, however, there was little migration from the Southeast, only 1.7 percent. With natural increase estimated at 3,136,723 for the decade most of the population was confined at home by the depression. Making allowance for under-registration of births, we estimate that less than 426,000 left the area during the depression decade. An examination of the figures brings to light an important contrast in racial migration. The net migration out of the Southeast was due to the continued movement of the Negroes; the white population remained at home. By net migration the region lost 868 white and 424,924 colored population. The Southeast lost 5.4 percent of its Negroes by migration, ranging from South Carolina's loss of 11.7 percent to Louisiana's loss of 1.4 percent. Only Tennessee, 3.5 percent, and Florida, 14.3 percent, gained Negro population by migration. In round numbers Georgia lost over 100,700, South Carolina over 92,500, Alabama over 75,000, Mississippi over 71,600, and North Carolina 67,800. Of this migration, 201,678 Negroes went to the Northeast, almost 150,000 to New York; and 151,629 to the Middle States, 59,000 landing in Illinois, and 28,000 in Michigan. Change of white population in the Southeast ranged from a loss of 7.9 percent by migration from Arkansas to

gains of 1.1 percent in South Carolina, 2.8 percent in Louisiana, 3.2 percent in Virginia, and 25.5 percent for Florida. Together seven of the Southern states on the debit side lost a total of 368,500 white people. Some of these no doubt went to other Southern states.

Conserving Human Resources

Our hopes for future development include a higher wage level and greater economic security for our working population. In its quest for a high level of income, the Southeast must face the question of low-wage levels that will not be easily changed. In terms of balancing needed consumption with potential production, this tends to establish the balance at a low level, the lowest in the Nation. The Southeast may not soon be able to change these conditions, but it can make up its mind whether under normal conditions low wages should be regarded as a permanent resource of the region. In our effort to conserve human resources and maintain standards, the national policy has set up certain levels below which the Federal power cannot and does not allow the states to fall. The Fair Labor Standards Act thus set up minimum wages and maximum hours of work to which industries must conform, if their products are to move in interstate commerce. Programs of Social Security and unemployment compensation, together with Federal aid to public highways, to vocational and agricultural education, all set up minimum standards to which the states must conform.

Three corollaries as to future industrial development in the South seem to follow from the assumptions behind the Fair Labor Standards Act. First, while standards affect only minimum wages they will in time come to be felt throughout the whole level of wages and skills. Second, if Southern industry and labor are to gain access to national markets, they must in the long run be equal in efficiency and productivity to any in the nation. Third, Southern firms on the margin of bankruptcy cannot long be saved from the consequences of mismanagement by recourse to the payment of substandard wages. When such firms fail, their laborers and their share of production will be taken over by more efficient firms in the region, if they can make the grade; outside, if they cannot. Higher standards, it is now generally recognized, offer industry its one hope of disposing of its product in mass markets now that the war boom has passed. It is doubtful if the South or any other region can present legitimate claims to stand in the way of the development of a national minimum wage.

National - Regional Planning

There remains the problem of those who may face unemployment even at a high level of economic activity. In our national policy, the problems of those who grow too old to work, those who are temporarily unemployed and those who for various reasons are unemployable are met in the program of Social Security. In this situation, as in the Fair Labor Standards Act, we can no longer depend upon the assumptions prevalent in classical economics as to the beneficial effect of unregulated supply and demand on unprotected units of labor. By action of the State, the political citizen is now an economic citizen with certain minimum rights of economic security underwritten by the State. In the enactment of laws providing

for unemployment compensation, old-age insurance, and the provision of relief and made work for the unemployed, we have abandoned *laissez-faire* economics for a return to the older conception of social policy. The wealth of the Nation is pledged to a collective underwriting of the economic welfare of citizens at certain minimum standards. This, it must be realized, makes national-regional planning imperative in the economic sphere. Post-war unemployment is now accepted as a risk to our total national security, pledged as it is to this new program. To support insurance against unemployment on the part of the few requires a high level of employment among the many. To support old-age retirement funds for the increasing numbers of the aged will require a continuing high level of national income. These conditions are worth reviewing for they emphasize the stake that our national policy has assumed in underwriting high levels of employment, productivity and total national income. With its solvency at stake in carrying out its guarantees of security to its citizens, the Nation cannot proceed on the assumptions of the older economic order. It is no longer enough for the State to hope for continued employment and high national income; it must seek to plan for the achievement of these conditions.

South Poses Special Problem

The Southeast offers a special problem in this field because two of its major groups, agricultural and domestic laborers, remain outside the guarantees of unemployment and old-age insurance. More than in any other region these two groups predominate in the economic life of the South. The result was that in 1937 when the nation had 70 percent of its employed workers covered by old-age insurance, the Southeast had had hardly half — 49.5 percent. Women workers fared better than men, indicating the predominance of agriculture in the region. Thus the Southeast had half of its employed women in covered occupations as compared to three-fourths in the Nation — but less than half its men workers were found in covered occupations as compared to 70 percent for the Nation. The region with lower incomes is thus left with larger numbers to be provided for by the various forms of public relief which depend largely on the fiscal capacity of the states. For the region to reach and maintain a high level of income and security for its future workers ways must be found to extend to these groups the benefits of our Social Security program.

Goal for the Future

What Kind of South Do We Want?

In discussing the future we want for the South, it should be possible to state a common goal so that we can see the subsidiary issues simply as means to an end upon which we are agreed. If our experiences with depression and war have meant anything, they have increased our determination to conserve, develop and make more generally useful those two great sources of the good society, our natural wealth and our human wealth. If we were to make an all-inclusive statement of the regional goal that best fits in with the long-time goal of national planning, it might well be a higher level of living for the great mass of the South's population. Unemployment, inadequate income, under-consumption and inefficient use of natural and human resources are seen as the constituents of a low standard in a nation as richly endowed as America. "A modern nation," it has been pointed out, "can not avoid balancing its total production-consumption budget. This can be done at a low level with a great deal of unemployment, inefficiency and suffering; or it can be done at a high level with full employment, high efficiency and a better life for all."[3]

The Needs of the People

For the total population, higher standards of living are required not only to save human resources from deterioration by malnutrition, poor housing, and the inadequate satisfaction of cultural needs, but to insure the level of activity necessary to keep the economic mechanism functioning. In the long run it must be realized that the Nation can balance its budget and carry its fiscal burden only by stabilizing the national income at a high level — possibly at approximately one hundred and forty billion dollars annually. The South is a strategic area in this approach, for its population, suffering from real and concealed unemployment, low productivity and low income, has a per capita consumption of the goods and services produced by our industrial economy that is lower than any other region in the Nation. Thus the region's need to balance production and consumption at high levels fits in with desirable national goals.

The hopes and aspirations which any people hold for their region as a part of the Nation and the World are seen as the necessary major premise of any regional plan. The regional survey which furnishes the inventory of resources and capacities is the minor premise of the syllogism whose

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3. After Defense, What? National Resources Planning Board.

conclusion is the regional plan of development. In this analysis, then, we must be concerned with the future of our physical resources, our human resources, and with the industrial organization and planning necessary to their fullest utilization and development.

It is something of a paradox to say that in the South we need a fuller utilization of physical resources for the benefit of the present generation balanced with fuller conservation for the benefit of future generations. It is a fuller, not a lesser, use of our physical resources that we must strive for in the South simply because of our need to achieve a higher standard of living. It must be emphasized, moreover, that not full use but *abuse* is the enemy of conservation.

Two-Way Economy

It is fortunate that in its large scale dependence on organic resources the agrarian South is capable of developing what we may call a flow economy rather than a store economy. The annual increase of flocks and herds and the growth of crops, like the flow of water power, comes as an increment from the hands of Nature without greatly diminishing its capital store. Good conservation practices may help to give higher yields for the present and yet conserve Nature's capital endowment for the future. Mineral resources, however, must be regarded as a store, for a mine once rifled is not replaceable. The flow economy of organic life is also violated when resources of virgin forests, fisheries and even soils are cleared out at one fell swoop.

Although these two concepts tend to shade into each other, the idea of utilizing a flow of energies and resources instead of rifling a store is valuable in distinguishing between the tendencies of a short-run and a long-run economy. Water power is accepted as a perfect example of the use of a flow of energy, but if a water power reservoir is allowed to silt up it becomes an example of the store economy, for it loses each year a part of its original capital of stored-up energy. The sign of a mine, it is said, is a hole in the ground, and the depletion of minerals is usually regarded as a good example of the store economy. With the rise of the junk man and the utilization of scrap, however, we are developing a continuous flow of resources in the field of metals to supplement the depletion of ores. While this process cannot extend to the conservation of coal and oil, the transition to the use of water power makes possible a greater use of energy in the long-run economy.

Outlines of Future Planning

Plans for future development in the South will thus attempt to provide for greater utilization and conservation by building up the resource base and thus increasing the flow of energy and resources. Restoration of soil fertility and further extension of soil conservation practices are necessary to provide a continuous flow of agricultural production; further extension of scientific forestry in private and public holdings is necessary to provide for the continuous production of timber resources. Scientific forestry is not reduced to the assumption that we can have lumber only by depleting

all the resources of virgin timber. Continuous operation of forest resources and multiple use appear entirely feasible. The South's greatest problem in the field of conservation of resources is that of soil erosion — a loss that unchecked would threaten the whole basis of the flow economy.

None of this discussion should imply that the South is not continuing its movement toward industrialization. It may suggest, however, that the means will differ somewhat from those once advocated. Artificial inducements to increased industrialization through municipal subsidies in the form of free factory sites, tax exemption and outright subsidy have not proved their worth in the region. They were not needed in the war program and it is doubtful if they will long continue. Low wages, moreover, will come to count less than increased productivity. A certain normal growth of industrialization continued throughout the depression and was accelerated by the war and is no doubt to be expected in the future. The South can reasonably expect to continue to process its raw materials in meeting the rising demand of its own regional markets. In certain products it has shown its ability to manufacture for the Nation and with further equalization of class freight rates, where these are shown to be discriminatory, it should have the chance to expand these markets. Increased facilities for financing regional industry and small business may be indicated here.

The moot question of the South's industrialization, it appears, has created more controversy than any other phase of regional development. Here again we need a realization on the part of both the Nation and the South that high standards of living, increased income and higher wages are necessary to balance our production-consumption budget at a higher level. Economic progress in the South is essential to further national progress. This will include greater technical capacity and higher levels of economic organization and resource-use both in agriculture and industry. Further industrialization of the South in processing its raw materials and in utilizing its human resources is likely to continue and should be everywhere accepted as a worthy task for private enterprise and a desirable goal of national policy.

Balance Is the Goal

Much controversy can be avoided in the future development of the South by the realization that the region has to make no drastic choices on the all-or-none basis. We do not have to choose all-out-migration, all-out-industrialization, nor even all-out-diversification to the exclusion of staple crops. The principle to be served is one of balance. While we seek to improve agriculture, we shall also seek to make the best use of industry and of migration opportunities. The goal to be sought and the touchstone of development is higher utilization of resources and higher standards of living for our total population, regional and national. It is these trends that the war effort has accelerated, and it is these gains that any post-war reconstruction should seek to conserve.

Any regional-national policy for population should seek to reconcile the interests of the Nation and the South. It must stress the maintenance of population replacements as an essential aspect of national survival, but

this maintenance must contribute to economic stability and economic opportunity, and it must be achieved by democratic processes. Any population policy in the South, or in any region, is part of the larger national policy, economic and social; and, conversely, total national policy is population policy in so far as its goal is the conservation and development of the total human resources of the Nation. Expanding economic opportunity thus becomes the major population policy for the region and the Nation. If we had to state our major interest in seven words, it would be:

Wanted — the Nation's future for the South.

Or, to put it another way:

Wanted — the South's future for the Nation.

For further penetrating studies on the economy of the South read

"THE SOUTH"

America's Opportunity Number One

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This booklet contains addresses delivered at the Southern Regional Council's Conference on the South's Post-War Economy, which met in Atlanta in 1945. One reviewer calls it "the best thing that has been published in our part of the country since the report on Dixie by President Roosevelt's National Resources Committee."

Twenty-five cents per copy.

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA, MARCH, 1946

To attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

The South's Bright Future: Natural and Human Resources

Jacksonville Journal 4-1-46

(This is the first of a series of four articles prepared especially for the Associated Press from "Wanted: The South's Future For the Nation," pamphlet recently published by the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Rupert B. Vance, a native of Arkansas, is Kenan professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina and has written several important works on the South. The Southern Regional Council pamphlet is based on Dr. Vance's book, "All These People," just published by the University of North Carolina Press.)

BY RUPERT B. VANCE

(Copyright, 1946, By Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.)

In 1940 the eleven states of the Southeast contained over 28,250,000 people, 21.5 per cent of the population of the continental United states. With more than one-fifth of the nation's people the region comprised 17.4 per cent of the nation's area and was estimade to contain 11.5 per cent of its accumulated wealth. Together with the Southwest, the Southern region accounted for 28.9 per cent of the nation's people, 36.3 per cent of its area and an estimated 16.7 per cent of its wealth.

The Southeast's per capita income is usually about 60 per cent of the nation's. Estimated income in 1940 ranged from $198 per person in Mississippi to $818 in Connecticut, a spread that seems hardly justifiable unless one part of the country is devoting itself to the accomplishment of unneeded tasks in an unskilled manner. The Far West and the Northwest attained an average income of $692 and $685 per person but with a national average of $546, the Southeast fell to $317 per capita, below both the Southwest and Northwest.

* * *

More than anything else the future of the South depends on the development of resources and capacities that are as yet largely unrealized. The region has natural resources and human resources. These forms of wealth are primary, but their development depends upon the building up of technological, institutional and capital resources. This is an economic and cultural task in which the nation is as vitally concerned as the region itself.

The national Industrial Conference Board has pointed out that during the war the South was in process of the most important industrial growth in its history. This growth gained headway before the war. It was accelerated by the war program.

The great problem that faces this section is to retain a fair proportion of its wartime gains and to devote these industries to the promotion of the general well-being in the region. There will be inevitable post-war retrenchments; not all of the Sonth's expansion will survive.

* * *

However, the South has basic resources for further industrialization in a nation that will develop and maintain a more complex economy:

1. Proximity to the already highly industrialized areas of the Northeast and middle states and to potential developments in South America.

2. Agricultural resources in climate, growing season, and land supply for a great variety of crops ranging from truck, fruit, livestock, and forest products to already developed staples such as cotton, sugar, rice and tobacco.

3. Mineral resources of coal, iron, oil, gas, sulphur and nonferrous minerals, with stone and building material of all kinds.

4. Adequate transportation facilities in its developed railroad network and public highway systems.

5. Low land values and site values as compared to more congested areas.

6. Large groups of basically sound and capable population, in need only of training, education and more adequate services to become a skilled labor supply.

7. Large groups of potential consumers for all goods and services, awaiting only better productive organization and increased purchasing power to become the country's best new market.

Awaiting only better productive organization and increased purchasing power to become the country's best new market.

* * *

The rural South has the largest population increases of the nation. It has tried to accommodate this increase on the land. In 1930 it was figured that, if every farm boy growing to maturity in the South tried to enter farming, there would be three applicants for every farm left vacant by death or retirement of its operator. This indicates the need for further migration and industrialization. The South must improve the quality of its agriculture while decreasing the number of people dependent on the land.

The South can expect for a long time to remain a major agricultural area. Nevertheless, any list of its main problems, such as those given here, shows that most are related to the region's agricultural background:

1. Loss of soil resources by leaching and erosion.

2. The gradual loss of a large share of world cotton and tobacco markets.

3. Threatened loss through mechanization, crop reduction and improved practices of agriculture's capacity to employ population at former rates.

4. The numbing effect of tenancy on the South's agriculture.

5. Inadequacy of the South's rural educational facilities to prepare farm children to meet needed changes.

6. The South's lack of capital, economic organization, patent rights, etc., to finance needed development in new fields. The South appears to be still in the stage of a colonial economy.

* * *

The nation and the South need to agree that the region can do the greatest possible service by increasing its income and expanding its markets. Leon Henderson once said that for the South to attain a normal American standard of living would create a market worth ten billion dollars a year to the nation.

To agree on this goal both the nation and the region should rid themselves of certain complexes. The nation should come to realize that, in the long run, further industrialization of the South will aid, not injure, the national well-being. The South in its turn should recover from its low-wage complex and realize that a rising level of wages will create greater markets and increased well-being, This, it should be realized, applies to the negro, who has the lowest level of living of any large group in America.

April 2, 1946

Dr. Rupert B. Vance
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Vance:

Your letter came just as Dr. Johnson was leaving for Jacksonville, and he asked me to write you.

We are sending a copy of Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation to Mr. James R. Edmonds in Little Rock. I am sure that you will be getting other requests like Mr. Edmonds' and I am sending you some order blanks which you can mail in response to such requests.

Under separate cover we have sent you several copies of the pamphlet. If you need more just let us know. We have had comments from several sources about what a grand piece of work it is.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

Encl.

Dr. Johnson

March 29, 1946

Mr. James R. Edmonds
400 West 5th Street
North Little Rock
Arkansas

Dear Mr. Edmonds:

Copies of my pamphlet "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation" can be obtained from the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta, Georgia. The charge, I believe, is twenty-five cents ($0.25).

This pamphlet is based on a larger study All These People, published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. It may be obtained for $5.00 (five dollars) by writing directly to the Press.

Very truly yours,

RUPERT B. VANCE
Kenan Professor of Sociology

RBV/d

cc: Dr. Guy B. Johnson

P.S. Do you suppose I am going to get a lot of letters like this? If so, will it be all right to send them on to you without replying?

RBV R.B.V.

March 26, 1946

Dear Sir:

I have just read a newspaper item of your statements made in Atlanta concerning economic industrialization of the South. I am very interested in this subject and wish to get all instructive information I can. Will you please send me your "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation" with all expenses collect? Also I will appreciate any suggestions as to other source materials that have authenticity. Naturally, my interest is more in Arkansas, and I believe your interest is there too.

Thanking you in advance for your kindness,

James R. Edmonds
400 W. 5th Street
No. Little Rock, Ark.

Newsstands

April 2, 1946

Mr. Guy King, Vice-President
American News Company
131 Varick Street
New York 13, New York

Dear Mr. King:

The Southern Regional Council would like to get a wide distribution of its recently published pamphlet, WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION, and we believe that news stand sales offer the best means of doing this. We have talked with your Atlanta office and they suggested that we write directly to you.

Enclosed are two copies of the pamphlet. Prices for single copies and bulk orders are listed inside the front cover. Since our organization is primarily concerned with reaching Southern readers, we feel that it would be enough for our purposes to get the pamphlet on news stands only within the territory, although we certainly have no objection to some circulation throughout the rest of the nation. The region covered by the Southern Regional Council includes the thirteen states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Dr. Rupert B. Vance, author of the pamphlet, is one of the best known authorities on the Southern economy, and we believe that his name, plus the appeal of the introduction by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, should guarantee a fairly wide reader interest in the South. We hope that your professional judgment agrees with this and that we can reach some agreement for circulation of the pamphlet by the American News Company.

As the listed prices will show you, the pamphlets can be obtained for as little as 15¢ per copy in bulk orders. If this does not allow for the customary difference between base price and sales price, it is possible that we can supply the pamphlet at less than 15¢ per copy. This, however, will have to be determined to some extent by the printing cost per copy, which I shall be able to figure just as soon as we receive the printer's invoice. Also, if it is absolutely necessary that the per copy price appear on the front cover we can probably run another printing with that change, leaving out the bulk

order price list on the inside, for news stand sales. We would like also your own advice on whether we should charge a somewhat higher price, perhaps 35¢ per copy, for news stand sale.

We would appreciate any suggestions you may be able to give us, and we hope that you will see your way clear to distribute the pamphlet for us.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

RAY WARWICK
Director of Public Relations

RW:jm
Enclosures - 2

New South

April 2, 1946

The Honorable Ellis Arnall
Governor of Georgia
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Arnall:

What with your many recent trips out of town, I have been unable to contact you by phone to thank you for the very fine introduction you wrote for Dr. Vance's pamphlet. It is very stimulating and we are very proud of it.

I am sending under separate cover a few copies of the dated magazine version of the pamphlet for your files, and in a few days I hope to give you a large batch of the regular pamphlet version.

We believe that your introduction is going to help very much with gaining many readers for the pamphlet throughout the South, so you can chalk up to your record another very good act for the furtherance of Southern progress.

As soon as you are settled in your office again, I intend to take you up on that invitation and drop in with the newshawks at a morning press conference.

Thanks again and best wishes.

Sincerely,

RAY WARWICK
Director of Public Relations

RW:jm
Separate cover

The Bright Future of the Southern States: New Horizons for Agriculture in Dixie

Jacksonville Journal 4-2-46

This is the second of a series of four articles prepared especially for The Associated Press from "Wanted: the South's Future for the Nation," pamphlet recently published by the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Rupert B. Vance, a native of Arkansas, is Kenan professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina and has written several important works on the South. The Southern Regional Council pamphlet is based on Dr. Vance's book, "All These People," just published by the University of North Carolina press.

By RUPERT B. VANCE

(Copyright, 1946, by Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.)

In the future development of the south agriculture will continue to play a dominant role. The south must make the best possible use of science in all its phases, if it is to make the best possible use of its agricultural resources.

While the southern soil has shown its capacity with the aid of fertilization to produce many varieties of plants and animals, it has not yet shown its economic capacity to produce them at a profit in competition with other areas.

Mary farm experts believe farms are too small in the southeast to be efficient. Not only have southern farmers been forced to crop small areas too intensively, but recent emphasis on the lack of livestock and forest products suggests that they need additional acreage to build up permanent pastures and wood lots. This is true of the so-called family-sized farm, too.

* * *

In many areas of the nation farms are large enough to satisfy these conditions. Over half, 53.7 per cent, of the farms in southeast are under 50 acres, and over three-fourths, 76.7 per cent, are under 100 acres.

Despite recent progress, unutilized land, inadequate use of labor, unbalanced crop systems and low farm incomes make continued adjustment necessary. From 1930 to 1940 significant changes occurred under the influence of the agricultural depression and the federal farm programs. Farms have decreased in number and increased in size; farm ownership has increased, tenancy has decreased. The amount of idle crop land also decreased. Fewer farmers; larger farms and higher proportions of owners tend to furnish our farm people more adequate incomes.

The war brought the south a great opportunity to develop its agriculture along more desirable lines. Increased production of human foods, stock, feed and livestock products during war took the direction essential for long-range rehabilitation of our crop system. Cotton offers a main problem that cannot be solved merely by more efficient production. The agricultural program had the effect of increasing cotton yields. A reduction from 1930 to 1940 of 43.8 per cent in the cotton acreage of seven states has meant only a 25.6 per cent reduction in cotton bales produced. Better care of the crop, heavier applications of fertilizer, elimination of the poorest lands from production helped to increase yields per acre by 37 per cent. Cotton production may have to undergo further curtailment, giving way to other crops.

* * *

Expansion in food production and livestock is still the basic need of our agriculture, but there are sound reasons why this is difficult. The inability of most soils in the south to produce satisfactory pasture is the basic physical barrier to livestock expansion.

The cost in labor and materials for establishing pasture is often greater than the initial value of the land on which the pasture is built. There is the danger of drought which may kill a newly established pasture area. Feed production is difficult. Where corn yields on the average only 12 bushels per acre, it requires 10 acres of corn per year to feed one pair of mules. In other sections of the country, notably Iowa, two acres in corn are sufficient.

Heat and parasites also offer difficulties for the livestock grower. Sows on the open range breed in the wrong season for the best feeding routines; losses are usually large among hogs running on peanuts without supplemental feeding. It takes about three years to make substantial gains in the number of cattle. The attempt to increase dairy stock or provide one or two cows for small farms is hampered by the practice of large dairies that kill heifer calves for veal.

The long-run adjustments which have been advocated in farm production would be impossible were it not for the large and unsupplied needs for food in the region. These needs are found not only in cities and towns; they exist on the farms themselves. To supply an adequate diet for the farm population of 13 southern states would require over a million additional cows for milk, 2,250,000 additional hogs, 23 million more hens for egg production, and 2,500,000 more beef cattle. About 13 million additional acres of pasture would be required to care for these increased livestock numbers. Moreover, to supply the urban south with adequate diets would further increase these figures.

* * *

This outline of the opportunities, difficulties and trends of agriculture in the south is in some respects most encouraging. The war carried us in the direction we need to take. Whether we decide to feed ourselves, the world, or both, we must continue in that direction. It may be that too many people depend on the land for a livelihood. There are many tenants who own no part of the soil they till and whose rewards are low. Relief for these problems depends in part on the expansion of tenant aid and tenant purchase problems.

In the main, however, the relief of pressure on the land depends on industrial development. If the level of industrial activity is high, so that a continued flow of workers from farms to industries to possible, wages of farm laborers will be higher, tenants will have greater opportunities, and the size of farms and farm incomes should increase. This would be in addition to gains that can be achieved by increased production of food, feed crops, livestock and livestock products.

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April 2, 1940

I 10 THOMASVILLE (GA.) TIMES-ENTERPRISE

EXPANSION IN FOOD PRODUCTION AND LIVESTOCK BASIC NEED FOR SOUTH'S SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURAL FUTURE

(This is the second of a series of four articles prepared especially for the Associated Press from "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," pamphlet recently published by the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Rupert B. Vance, a native of Arkansas, is Kenan Professor of Sociology at the University of North Coralina and has written several important works on the South. The Southern Regional Council pamphlet is based on Dr. Vance's book, "All These People," just published by the University of North Carolina press.

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In many areas of the nation farms are large enough to satisfy these conditions. Over half, 53.7 per cent, of the farms in southeast are under 50 acres, and over three-fourths, 76.7 per cent, are under 100 acres.

Despite recent progress, utilized land, inadequate use of labor, unbalanced crop systems and low farm incomes make continued adjustment necessary. From 1930 to 1940 significant changes occurred under the influence of the agricultural depression and the federal farm programs. Farms have decreased in number and increased in size; farm ownership has increased, tenancy has decreased. The amount of idle crop land also decreased. Fewer farmers, larger farms and higher proportions of owners tend to furnish our farm people more adequate incomes.

The war brought the south a great opportunity to develop its agriculture along more desirable lines. Increased production of human foods, stock feed and livestock products, during the war, by the routines; losses are usually large among hogs running on peanuts without supplemental feeding. It takes about three years to make substantial gains in the number of cattle. The attempt to increase dairy stock or provide one or two cows for small farms is hampered by the practice of large dairies that kill heifer calves for veal.

The long-run adjustments which have been advocated in farm production would be impossible were it not for the large and unsupplied needs for food in the region. These needs are found not only in cities and towns; they exist on the farms themselves. To supply an adequate diet for the farm population of 13 southern states would require over a million additional cows for milk, 2,250,000 additional hogs, 23 million more hens for egg production, and 2,500,000 more beef cattle. About 13 million additional acres of pasture would be required to care for these increased livestock numbers. Moreover, to supply the urban south with adequate diets, would further increase these figures.

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In the main, however, the relief of pressure on the land depends on industrial development. If the level of industrial activity is high, so that a continued flow of workers from farms to industries is possible, wages of farm laborers will be higher, tenants will have greater opportunities, and the size of farms and farm incomes should increase. This would be in addition to gains that can be achieved by increased production of food, feed crops, livestock and livestock products.

EXPANSION IN FOOD PRODUCTION AND LIVESTOCK BASIC NEED FOR SOUTH'S SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURAL FUTURE

(This is the second of a series of four articles prepared especially for the Associated Press from "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," pamphlet recently published by the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Rupert B. Vance, a native of Arkansas, is Kenan Professor of Sociology at the University of North Coralina and has written several important works on the South. The Southern Regional Council pamphlet is based on Dr. Vance's book, "All These People," just published by the University of North Carolina press.

By Rupert B. Vance

(Copyright, 1946, by Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.)

In the future development of the south agriculture will continue to play a dominant role. The south must make the best possible use of science in all its phases, if it is to make the best possible use of its agricultural resources.

While the southern soil has shown its capacity with the aid of fertilization to produce many varieties of plants and animals, it has not yet shown its economic capacity to produce them at a profit in competition with other areas.

Many farm experts believe farms are too small in the southeast to be efficient. Not only have southern farmers been forced to crop small acreages too intensively, but recent emphasis on the lack of livestock and forest products suggests that they need additional acreage to build up permanent pastures and wood lots. This is true of the so-called family-sized farm, too.

In many areas of the nation farms are large enough to satisfy these conditions. Over half, 53.7 per cent, of the farms in southeast are under 50 acres, and over three-fourths, 76.7 per cent, are under 100 acres.

Despite recent progress, utilized land, inadequate use of labor, unbalanced crop systems and low farm incomes make continued adjustment necessary. From 1930 to 1940 significant changes occurred under the influence of the agricultural depression and the federal farm programs. Farms have decreased in number and increased in size; farm ownership has increased, tenancy has decreased. The amount of idle crop land also decreased. Fewer farmers, larger farms and higher proportions of owners tend to furnish our farm people more adequate incomes.

The war brought the south a great opportunity to develop its agriculture along more desirable lines. Increased production of human foods, stock feed and livestock products during the war took the direction essential for long-range rehabilitation of our crop system. Cotton offers a main problem that cannot be solved merely by more efficient production. The agricultural program had the effect of increasing cotton yields. A reduction from 1930 to 1940 of 43.8 per cent in cotton acreage of seven states has meant only a 25.6 per cent reduction in cotton bales produced. Better care of the crop, heavier applications of fertilizer, elimination of the poorest lands from production helped to increase yields per acre by 37 per cent. Cotton production may have to undergo further curtailment, giving way to other crops.

Expansion in food production and livestock is still the basic need of our agriculture, but there are sound reasons why this is difficult. The inability of most soils in the south to produce satisfactory pasture is the basic physical barrier to livestock expansion.

The cost in labor and materials for establishing pasture is often greater than the initial value of the land on which the pasture is built. There is the danger of drought which may kill a newly established pasture area. Feed production is difficult. Where corn yields on the average only twelve bushels per acre, it requires ten acres of corn per year to feed one pair of mules. In other sections of the country, notably Iowa, two acres in corn are sufficient.

Heat parasites also offer difficulties for the livestock grower. Sows on the open range breed in the wrong season for the best feeding routines; losses are usually large among hogs running on peanuts without supplemental feeding. It takes about three years to make substantial gains in the number of cattle. The attempt to increase dairy stock or provide one or two cows for small farms is hampered by the practice of large dairies that kill heifer calves for veal.

The long-run adjustments which have been advocated in farm production would be impossible were it not for the large and unsupplied needs for food in the region. These needs are found not only in cities and towns; they exist on the farms themselves. To supply an adequate diet for the farm population of 13 southern states would require over a million additional cows for milk, 2,250,000 additional hogs, 23 million more hens for egg production, and 2,500,000 more beef cattle. About 13 million additional acres of pasture would be required to care for these increased livestock numbers. Moreover, to supply the urban south with adequate diets would further increase these figures.

This outline of the opportunities, difficulties and trends of agriculture in the south is in some respects most encouraging. The war carried us in the direction we need to take. Whether we decide to feed ourselves, the world, or both, we must continue in that direction. It may be that too many people depend on the land for a livelihood. There are many tenants who own no part of the soil they till and whose rewards are low. Relief for these problems depends in part on the expansion of tenant aid and tenant purchase programs.

In the main, however, the relief of pressure on the land depends on industrial development. If the level of industrial activity is high, so that a continued flow of workers from farms to industries is possible, wages of farm laborers will be higher, tenants will have greater opportunities, and the size of farms and farm incomes should increase. This would be in addition to gains that can be achieved by increased production of food, feed crops, livestock and livestock products.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
CLIPPING SINCE 1895
ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from
Albany Ga. Herald
April 3, 1946

310

South Remains Region Of 'Differential Wage'

This is the third of a series of four articles prepared especially for the Associated Press from "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," pamphlet recently published by the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Rupert B. Vance, a native of Arkansas, is Kenan professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina and has written several important works on the South. The Southern Regional Council pamphlet is based on Doctor Vance's book, "All These People," just published by the University of North Carolina Press.)

By RUPERT B. VANCE

Copyright, 1946, by Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.

When population presses too heavily on a region's resources there is danger that it will encroach on its store of natural wealth. It was in quest of higher standards of living that the South first turned to industrial development. Its beginnings were on a low level, but the degree of industrialization has increased over the recent decades.

The rise in the level of wages in the South has not kept pace with the region's increased value of output and number of workers.

The South remains the region of the "differential wage." In 1929 the Southeast's average wage in manufacturing was $760, less than two-thirds of the nation's average and only 58 per cent of the average wawge in the middle states and far west. The average industrial wage ranged from $1,512 in Michigan to $592 in Mississippi. The highest average wage paid in the southeast, $986 in Kentucky, ranked only thirty-fourth in the nation.

The southeast, with 21 per cent of the population and the lowest per capita income, received 11.3 per cent of the nation's wage income, 19 per cent of the entrepreneurs' income, and only seven per cent of the income from investments. The dominant northeast, with 30 per cent of the population, received 41 per cent of the nation's wage and salary income, 26 per cent of the entrepreneurs's income, and 56 per cent of the interest, rent, and dividends. The South has the income distribution characteristic of the colonial economy.

Industrailization has often been discussed as a means by which nations have come to support larger populations at higher levels of well-being—a method of so utilizing resources that man has moved from an economy of scarcity to one of potential abundance. In this sense, industrialization has been offered as the solution for the ills that population pressure has visited on agricultural countries like India and China.

This solution has been suggested for the South, but unlike China and India the region finds itself already integrated as part of a highly industrialized economy.

Cheap Wage Rates

Over a period of twenty years the average wage earner in the Southeast has turned out a product valued at two-thirds to three-fourths of the national average, has added somewhat less to the value of the materials added by manufacturing them, and has received less still in average wage. This phenomenon is related to the South's "surplus" of human resources. Because of a labor supply greater than the demands of southern agriculture, industry finds cheap wage rates. It is, however, the highly competitive industries and those of low productivity that are forced to seek areas of low wage costs. Such industries have not greatly increased the skills of the population and are not likely to raise the general wage level until they find greater competition for the labor supply. The Southeast thus not only needs to increase its industrialization; it needs to broaden and diversify the pattern.

In a country characterized by free enterprise, great natural resources, and one of the highest rates of mobility of capital and labor yet know, it might be assumed that regional pockets of poverty, wherever developed, would be cleared out within a generation by migration of workers to points of opportunity or by the migration of industrial capital to areas of cheap resources and low wage levels.

The South's income differentials cast doubt on the assumption that such equalization is in process. Southern incomes have risen along with national averages but the South's level of well-being is not rising at the higher rate necessary to equalize conditions within any attainable future. Many millions of southern youth have migrated to seek their chances in the cities and to add to our industrial congestion. Differential fertility continues to replace them faster than southern agriculture and industry can absorb them at present levels of development. For the South to solve its problem entirely by migration would add to the congestion of more populated areas. To migration must be added the development of a more complex economy.

Borders on Primitive

It is not that the less complex economies are concerned simply with the employment and wage payments afforded by manufacturing The proportions in manufacturing in a complex economy are not especially large nor are industrial wages always the highest. It is the complex and diversity of a rich economy that the more backward states need, and the development of manufacturing appears the first logical step to the development of such an economy. No one has determined the precise ration of auxiliary services needed by manufacturing, but they include many in the higher level of professional and technical services as well as in clerical, trade, transportation, and others in the distributive groups. Compared with the range of specialized occupations and skills found in New York, the occupational structure of a state like Mississippi borders on the primitive.

Low wages and a one-crop system of industry are characteristic of the opening phases of industrialization. This condition should be accepted only as a transitional phase to whose passing both the region and the nation are committed. When the region has increased its purchasing power through increasing its productive powers, the nation too will benefit by its passing.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from
Birmingham, Ala., News
April 4, 1946

Balanced Economy Both South's, Nation's Goal

(Last of a series prepared for The Associated Press from "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," pamphlet published by the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Rupert B. Vance, native of Arkansas, Kenan professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, has written several important works on the South. The Southern Regional Council pamphlet is based on Dr. Vance's book, "All These People," published by the University of North Carolina press.)

* * *

BY RUPERT V. VANCE

(Copyright, 1946, By Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.)

In discussing the future we want for the South it should be possible to state a common goal, so that we can see the subsidiary issues simply as means to an end upon which we are agreed. If our experiences with depression and war have meant anything, they have increased our determination to conserve, develop and make more generally useful those two great sources of the good society, our natural wealth and our human wealth.

For the total population, higher standards of living are required not only to save human resources from deterioration by malnutrition, poor housing, and the inadequate satisfaction of cultural needs, but to insure the level of activity necessary to keep the economic mechanism functioning. In the long run it must be realized that the nation can balance its budget and carry its fiscal burden only by stabilizing the national income at a high level —possibly at approximately 140 billion dollars annually.

* * *

THE SOUTHEAST IS a strategic area in this approach, for its population, suffering from real and concealed unemployment, low productivity and low income, has a per capita consumption of the goods and services produced by our industrial economy that is lower than any region in the nation. Thus the region's need to balance production and consumption at high levels fits in with desirable national goals.

It is something of a paradox to say that in the South we need fuller utilization of physical resources for the benefit of future generations.

It is a fuller, not a lesser, use of our physical resources that we must strive for in the South simply because of our need to achieve a higher standard of living. It must be emphasized, moreover, that not full use but abuse is the enemy of conservation.

Plans for future development in the South will thus attempt to provide for greater utilization and conservation by building up the resource base and increasing the flow of energy and resources. Restoration of soil fertility and further extension of soil conservation practices are necessary to provide a continuous flow of agricultural production; further extension of scientific forestry in private and public holdings is necessary to provide for the continuous production of timber resources. Continuous operation of forest resources and multiple use appear entirely feasible. The South's greatest problem in the field of conservation of resources is that of soil erosion—a loss that unchecked would threaten the whole basis of the economy.

* * *

NONE OF THIS DISCUSSION should imply that the Southeast is not continuing its movement toward industrialization. It may suggest, however, that the means will differ somewhat from those once advocated. Artificial inducements to increased industrialization through municipal subsidies in the form of free factory sites, tax exemption and outright subsidy have not proved their worth in the region. They were not needed in the war program and it is doubtful if they will long continue.

Low wages, moreover will come to count less than increased productivity. A certain normal growth of industrialization continued throughout the depression and was accelerated under defense and is no doubt to be expected in the future. The South can reasonably expect to continue to process its raw materials in meeting the rising demand of its own regional markets. In certain products, it has shown its ability to manufacture for the nation, and with further equilization of class freight rates it should have the chance to expand these markets. Increased facilities for financing regional industry and small business may be indicated here.

The question of the South's industrialization has created more controversy than any other phase of regional development. Here again we need a realization on the part of the nation and the South that high standards of living, increased income and higher wages are necessary to balance our production-consumption budget at a higher level. The economic advance of the South is essential to further national progress. This will include greater technical capacity and higher levels of economic organization and resource—use both in agriculture and industry .

* * *

MUCH CONTROVERSY CAN BE AVOIDED in the future development of the South by the realization the region has to make no drastic choices on the all-or-none basis. We do not have to choose all-out-migration, all-out-industrialization, nor even all-out-diversification to the exclusion of staple crops. The principle to be served is one of balance. While we seek to improve agriculture, we shall also seek to make the best use of in-

ORDER NUMBER

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Birmingham, Ala., News
April 4, 1946

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BY RUPERT V. VANCE

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Expanding economic opportunity thus becomes the major population policy for the region and the nation. If we had to state our major interest in seven words, it would be:

"Wanted—the nation's future for the South."

Or, to put it another way:

"Wanted—the South's future for the nation."

Wrote New South

Executive Department
Atlanta

ELLIS ARNALL
GOVERNOR

P. T. McCUTCHEN, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

April 5, 1946

Hon. Ray Warwick
Director of Public Relations
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Ray:

Many thanks for your kindness in sending me several of Dr. Vance's pamphlets for which you invited me to write the introduction. I think that the pamphlet is quite interesting and will prove very helpful in presenting the true situation in the South.

With every good wish and best personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ellis Arnall

Ellis Arnall
Governor

ea/ct

"COVERING A CONTINENT"

The American News Company, Inc.

131 VARICK STREET

New York 13, N.Y.

File

April 5, 1946

Mr. Ray Warwick, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Warwick:

We agree with Governor Arnall of Georgia that every American wherever he lives, North, East, South or West, should read Doctor Vance's stimulating and suggestive study of the South. There can be no doubt in any thinking person's mind but the South is the new frontier of these United States.

There is no job that we would not like to be more helpful with than the one you have to place your pamphlet in as many hands as possible, but the difficulties we would meet with to do a job which would be satisfactory to you, are ones which we are reluctant to assume. It seems to us that what you need is a method of distribution which would quickly reach as many readers as possible. A newsstand distribution would not do this. Magazines and very few pamphlets which are distributed to newsdealers are placed with them on a consignment basis and unless they are sold they are returned to the publishers for credit. The fact that dealers are supplied on consignment wouldn't necessarily mean that they will accept the copies and display them unless they believe they can be turned into cash rather quickly.

Your plan of selling copies of "The South's Future for the Nation" in bulk to various organizations is a good one. It seems to us that various industrialists and corporations located in the South and perhaps many in the North would find it profitable and good business to make it possible for their customers and stockholders to read Doctor Vance's pamphlet.

If you do not entirely agree with us and still feel that you would like to test the newsstands we suggest that you make your cover price 25¢ and make a distribution to several of the better retail outlets in Atlanta. Distribution should be confined pretty well to hotels, department stores or others which do a considerable business. If you do make this test we would like to know what results you have and if they seem to indicate that there is a newsstand demand for your pamphlet we shall be happy to reconsider the possibility of making a limited distribution for you.

Very truly yours,

Guy King

VICE-PRESIDENT

GK:MG

Trust New South

April 8, 1946

Mr. Curtis B. Hurley, Editor
Morrilton Democrat
Morrilton, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Hurley:

We shall be very glad to have you reprint the series of articles taken from Dr. Vance's pamphlet. Your letter dated April 3 was received only today, the 8th, or we should have written you sooner.

Enclosed are carbon copies of the material given to the Associated Press. You will probably find this more convenient to use than the printed versions.

We very much appreciate your interest and if we can ever do anything else for you in this way, do not hesitate to ask us.

Sincerely,

RAY WARWICK
Director of Public Relations

RW:jm
Enclosures

• COVERS THE PETIT JEAN COUNTRY LIKE THE SUNSHINE •

Morrilton Democrat
PRINTERS • PUBLISHERS • STATIONERS
MORRILTON DEMOCRAT
Morrilton, Ark.

April 3, 1946.

RECEIVED
APR 8 1946
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Would we be permitted to reprint article by Dr. Rupert B. Vance of the University of North Carolina and copyrighted by your organization published in AP newspapers throughout the South this week?

Dr. Vance is a native of our county and his mother lives here in Morrilton, coupled with the fact he speaks great wisdom are the reasons we want to print the article in the Democrat next week.

Many thanks for an early response.

Yours very truly,
Curtis B. Hurley
Curtis B. Hurley, Editor
MORRILTON DEMOCRAT
"Covers the Petit Jean Country
Like the Sunshine."

COMPLIMENTARY COPIES OF MARCH NEW SOUTH

WERE SENT TO THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE

April 9, 1946

Mr. A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics
Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C.

Miss Mary Russell, Executive Secretary, The Family Service Bureau
24½ North 9th Street, Richmond, Indiana

Mr. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Advisor, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Wilford White, Acting Chief, Division of Small Business, Dept. of Commerce
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. August Maffry, Economic Adviser, Export-Import Bank of Washington, Washington 25, D.C.

Mr. Roger B. Stevens, Head, Industrial Plants Section, Smaller War Plants Corporation
Washington, D. C. Returned - no longer there.

Mr. Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Administrator, National Housing Agency, Washington, D. C.

Mr. F. Preston Forbes, Economist, Foreign Trade Subcommittee, Special Senate Committee
on American Small Business, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. M. T. Van Hecke, 1279 McLendon Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. W. C. Cram, Jr., 164 Luckie Street, N. W. , Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Jouett Davenport, Atlanta Journal, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. John Mebane, Atlanta Journal, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Wellington Wright, Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Lee S. Trimble, Agricultural and Industrial Development Board of Georgia,
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. W. H. Smaw, Jr. 22 The Prado, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. E. B. Shultz, Personnel Division, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tenn.

Mr. C. Parker Persons, 603 Rhodes Building, Atlanta 1, Georgia

Mr. Don Long, Field Assistant, U. S. Dept. of Labor, 249 Peachtre St. Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Merrill C. Lofton, 2554 Peachtree Road, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. L. Vaughan Howard, Agricultural and Industrial Development Board of Georgia
University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia

Mr. H. C. Hosch, Piedmont Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. J. F. Gordy, Chamber of Commerce, 33 Pryor Street, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Walter P. Fuller, St. Petersburg Times Building, St. Petersburg, Fla.

Mr. Harris P. Dawson, Jr., 249 Peachtree Street, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. B. T. Connally, 2554 Peachtree Road, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Ed Bridges, Time and Life, Rhodes-Haverty Building, Atlanta, Georgia

And to Southern Senators and Congressmen as checked on list in Congress. List of members.

Also to the governors of all Southern States.

add:

Mr. Henry A. Wallace
Secretary of Commerce
Wash - D. C.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Hyde Park, N.Y.

Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr.
Federal Security Agency
Wash - D. C.

LEONARD K. THOMSON
PRESIDENT
MIAMI

VICE-PRESIDENTS
AT LARGE

ED. R. BENTLEY
LAKELAND

M. J. FOLEY
FOLEY

N. P. YOWELL
ORLANDO

HAROLD COLEE
VICE-PRESIDENT AND
GENERAL MANAGER

J. D. INGRAHAM
TREASURER
JACKSONVILLE

WILLIAM L. WILSON
CORPORATE SECRETARY
JACKSONVILLE

DISTRICT
VICE-PRESIDENTS

HUNTER BROWN
PENSACOLA

M. M. PARRISH
JACKSONVILLE

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SAINT PETERSBURG

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FORT LAUDERDALE

MEMBER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FLORIDA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

SUITE 510-516 HILDEBRANDT BUILDING

Jacksonville, Florida

April 10, 1946

RECEIVED
APR 12 1946
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen

We have noticed your releases in the press on your pamphlet entitled "Wanted: The South's Future For The Nation" by Dr. Rupert B. Vance.

We would appreciate very much receiving a copy of this excellent pamphlet for the files of our research division.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours

Harold Colee

Harold Colee
Executive Vice President

HC/sjh

DBT
✓
4-12-46

New South

April 10, 1946

Mr. C. F. Palmer
Palmer Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Chuck:

Thank you for your order for twenty-five copies of Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. We are delighted that you like Rupert Vance's summary of his book. It seems to be making quite a hit.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Owner
Palmer Building
and
101 Marietta St.
and
Glenn Building
and
National Atlanta
Garages, Inc.

C. F. Palmer,
President.
J. S. Candler,
Vice-President
J. S. Candler, II,
Vice-President.
J. E. Atkinson,
Secretary.
Asa Warren Candler,
Treasurer.

4-9-46

April 8, 1946

Dear Guy:

The inclosed $4.00 check is for twenty-five copies of "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation".

Rupert Vance has done such a corking job I wish to share it with friends and have already written him for the larger work.

Yours sincerely,

C. F. Palmer

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sent 4-9-46
MBT

MEMO FROM ~~INEZ BROWN~~

New South

Memo for the files.

Complimentary copies of
March New South sent to:

Miss Laura A. Thompson, Librarian
Department of Labor Library
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. Barnet Hodes, Corporation Counsel
City of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

IBT

Apr. 12, 1946

JOSIAH W. BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
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THOMAS C. HART, CONN.
WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, CALIF.

KIDD BREWER, CLERK
ELOISE PORTER, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

April 12, 1946

RECEIVED
APR 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am in receipt of the March issue of the "New South" which you recently sent me.

Thanking you for your thoughtfulness in sending this publication to me and with best personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

W. Lee O'Daniel

United States Senator,
Texas

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

c

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RALEIGH

RECEIVED
APR 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

R. GREGG CHERRY
GOVERNOR

April 12, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Governor Cherry has asked me to thank you for the copy of New South containing the article, "The South's Future for the Nation." Governor Cherry is glad to have this publication and the information it contains.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

John Harden
Private Secretary

JH.n

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

April 16, 1946

Wanted South Sales

RECEIVED
APR 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

magic

Really your organization must have some kind of publicity ~~machine~~. Clippings and comments seem to be coming from all directions. Frankly, the pamphlet is one of the swellest jobs I have seen in a long time. The headings and the rearrangements are good and the graphics are clever indeed.

I am really sorry to hear that Talmadge has any kind of a chance to make a comeback in Georgia. I suppose North Carolina does not realize how fortunate she has been all these years. I know you fellows don't want to fight but I don't see what else an organization can do when a fight is forced on them.

Miss Jocher tells me that the Institute would like to have the page proofs in order to fix up some slides for some kind of machine they have upstairs. This will keep them from having to cut up a book, so I hope it won't be too much trouble if we ask you to return the set of page proofs. You are right about this place being crowded. It is really hard to get across the campus between classes.

Best regards from all the family,

Sincerely yours,

Rupert B. Vance

RUPERT B. VANCE
Kenan Professor of Sociology

RBV/m

(clipping returned by Vance)

April 17, 1946 New South

Dr. Johnson has suggested that the following rates be used in selling the pamphlet:

Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation.

For libraries, schools, and colleges:

1 to 10 copies @ 15¢ each.

11 to 25 copies @ 12½¢ each

Vance/pph.

New South

April 19, 1946

Judge E. F. Hildreth
Seventeenth Judicial Circuit Court
Eutaw, Alabama

Dear Judge Hildreth:

Thank you for your letter of April 15. Under separate cover we are sending a copy of the pamphlet, Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation.

Enclosed is a typewritten set of the four Associated Press articles which we prepared from the material contained in Dr. Vance's pamphlet. Since this is our last spare copy, we would appreciate your returning it at your convenience. The Associated Press series appeared in the Birmingham News on April 1, 2, 3 and 4. Unfortunately, our clipping service has not given us complete coverage for those dates, otherwise we would send you a set of clippings.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Seventeenth Judicial Circuit Of Alabama
Greene, Marengo and Sumter Counties

EMMETT F. HILDRETH, JUDGE

LAURA W. DRINKARD, COURT REPORTER

EUTAW, ALABAMA

April 15th, 1946

RECEIVED
APR 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,

Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me copy of your pahphlet, "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation", which you have recently published. Also, if you have the same available, I would like to have a copy of the series of four articles prepared especially for the Associated Press by Dr. Rupert B. Vance from your said pamphlet.

Thanking you, I am,

Very truly yours,

E. F. Hildreth

E. F. Hildreth

EFH:em

6 copies Mar. New South

April 19, 1946

Mr. Douglas Ensminger, In Charge
Rural Sociology Extension Work
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ensminger:

Thank you for your letter of April 16. Under separate cover we are sending six copies of the March, 1946, issue of New South.

It was a pleasure to meet you and to have the opportunity of sitting in on Dr. Taylor's staff meeting when I was in Washington recently.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
EXTENSION SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

EXTENSION WORK IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY
EXTENSION SERVICE AND
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, COOPERATING

April 16, 1946

RECEIVED
APR 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I very much enjoyed the opportunity of meeting you when you were in Washington this past week. If at all possible, I would appreciate having a half dozen copies of your March 1946 issue of "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation."

Sincerely,

Douglas Ensminger

Douglas Ensminger, In Charge
Rural Sociology Extension Work

O.K.

G.W.
4/19/46

Seventeenth Judicial Circuit Of Alabama
Greene, Marengo and Sumter Counties

EMMETT F. HILDRETH, JUDGE
LAURA W. DRINKARD, COURT REPORTER

EUTAW, ALABAMA

RECEIVED
MAY 22, 1946
Southern Regional Council

May 20th, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I received and appreciate very much your letter of April 19th, and also, the copy of the pamphlet "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation", which you sent to me under separate cover, and also, the typewritten set of the four Associated Press articles which you prepared from the material contained in Dr. Vance's pamphlet.

I read with much interest the pamphlet and the articles and obtained much valuable help from them.

I am herewith returning to you the typewritten set of the four Associated Press articles as requested.

Thanking you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Emmett F. Hildreth

E. F. Hildreth

EFH:em

Encl.

June 14, 1946

Mr. N. J. Demerath
Research Associate
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Demerath:

Thank you for your letter of June 7. We have sent Mr. Harry E. Barlow, Secretary of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce, 24 copies of Rupert B. Vance's Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. We appreciate your transmitting his order.

We are also sending some material to the High Point Chamber of Commerce. We circularized quite a few of the Chambers of Commerce of the South some time ago, and have received a number of orders for the Vance pamphlet.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

June 7, 1946

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Will you please send 24 copies of Rupert B. Vance's Wanted--the South's Future for the Nation to Mr. Harry E. Barlow, Secretary of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce, Greensboro, North Carolina, and bill him accordingly.

Thank you very much.

Very truly yours,

N. J. Demerath

N. J. DEMERATH
Research Associate

NJD/d

P.S. I might suggest that you acquaint the Greensboro and High Point Chambers with presently available, as well as future, publications of the Council. They are becoming rather planning-minded, and I would like to see them use as much of the Council's product as possible.
NJD

E.W.
6/11/46

Bill to Miss Clay.

The Southern PACKET

A Monthly Miscellany of Southern Books & Ideas

Edited by Virginia Terrell Lathrop. Published in *Asheville*

Volume II JUNE 1946 Number 6

RECEIVED JUL 15 1946 Southern Regional Council

CHART FOR RESEARCH

RESEARCH AND REGIONAL WELFARE. Edited by Robert E. Coker. The University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 229 pp. $3.00.

BY DON C. SHOEMAKER

We can build a firmer foundation under our feet in the South, in the United States, and throughout the remotest regions of the world with the modern fruits of research, and through the methods of creative intelligence that research exemplifies.

—David E. Lilienthal

RESEARCH IS TO THE SOUTH WHAT the philosopher's stone was to the Alexandrian Greeks. It is a promise of vast transformation. It is the quest for the fullest realization of all material and human endowments. But its pursuit, unlike the long and unavailing search of the alchemists (unless their answer is at Oak Ridge) is by no means as futile. Last year at Chapel Hill the University of North Carolina marked the most significant phase of its sesquicentennial by gathering together men who had a vision of a South regenerated by the industry of its laboratories. This book, which gathers together the widely reported addresses made at that time, is both a chart and a charter for research in the South.

It is shocking to be reminded, for instance, that the Southern region spends only a tiny fraction of its income in the effort, as Dr. Charles F. Kettering once defined it, "to find out what we are going to do when we can no longer keep on doing what we are doing now." Yet the South has only 298 of the Nation's 2,300 industrial research laboratories. Only eight of the 255 scientists awarded the star of distinction in the 1944 *American Men of Science* were Southerners. In the last decade only three per cent of the patents granted in the United States went to the Southern region. One failing, of course, is that we export too many of our best brains. As Milton H. Fies tells us in his chapter, "Research and Industry in Southern Development," approximately 60 per cent of Southerners listed in *Who's Who* and who have left the region for graduate training never come back to it.

As one of Chapel Hill's sesquicentennial publications, *Research and Regional Welfare* is remarkably readable for all the scientific material it presents. President Willis Compton of Washington State College has brought out the West's community of interest with the South in an excellent chapter on "The Usefulness of Useful Knowledge." More than a dozen other authorities in fields of industrial research, regional development, food and

(Continued on back page)

REVIEWS . . .

THE CREOLE KITCHEN COOK BOOK. By Virginia M. Cooper. The Naylor Co. 1946. 248 pp. $2.50.

GOOD FOOD IS A TRADITION of the South. Each section may have its specialties; sea food dishes on the coast, fruit where fruit abounds; cookies, cakes, jams, jellies, pickles where the housewife has old family recipes; dishes made famous by the hotels which have served them for long periods of time; or by cities in which they are best-known.

In *The Creole Kitchen Cook Book* Miss Cooper has made an exceptional collection of recipes. She has used the cookery of New Orleans as her basic ingredient, but she has flavored it with well-known dishes from many parts of the South. And, since good food is not just Southern, she has included in it recipes that anybody, from any part of the country, will enjoy.

As a connoisseur of cook books rather than of food, we found this book more practical than any we have ever tried to use. Not every person, by any means, is a born cook, and there are many, alas, who learn the art the long and hard way, and then seldom become the kind of cook who can throw a few things together, by pinches and the grace of God, and produce masterpieces.

Such cooks, and we include ourselves among them, struggle laboriously, reading the recipes syllable by syllable, hands covered with sticky flour or juice, nose itchy with blobs of flour, and usually come out with a concoction such as the author of the cook book never dreamed of. Or, worse yet, we can't find the recipe we need, at all, because the excellent cooks, who prepare the books, know so well how to make the simple things that they assume everyone else does. We remember with dismay how, when first learning to cook, we searched in vain for a recipe for vegetable soup.

Miss Cooper has a recipe for scrambled eggs. Who in the world would need a recipe for scrambled eggs? A lot of us —practically everybody, if the scrambled eggs we have encountered here and there in the world, including our own kitchen, are any example.

So—there are simple recipes, and recipes for the most delicious fruit dishes, hot breads, cakes, pies, jams, jellies, sea food delicacies, and all sorts of wonderful sounding concoctions that many of us have eaten in New Orleans, recipes come down from the French and Spanish settlers, that we are delighted to have and cherish.

Josephine Shepherd

MUCH IN LITTLE ON THE UNITED STATES NAVY. By Ruby Lee Adams. Published By the Author. 1946. 106 pp. $3.50.

THIS IS THE SECOND VOLUME OF A SERIES under the general title *Much In Little,* the first devoted to the United States Army. The subjects of those to come have not been announced, but the author is interested in producing a series of books which cut through details and get quickly to the point, particularly interesting children in their nation's history. The first two are highly condensed, fully illustrated treatments of two popular subjects.

Much In Little on the U. S. Navy succeeds in condensing naval history, outlining it not only from the beginning of the United States Navy, but showing the early use of boats as far back as the Ark, and the Phoenecians, and bringing the U. S. Navy up to the end of World War II. The text is accurately done, and the accompanying illustrations, prints and photographs are well chosen and clearly reproduced.

The section dealing with World War II, illustrated by official Navy and Marine Corps photographs, has a special interest for readers at present. The book is well-made and attractive looking, but it would seem that a lowering of the present price, $3.50, for an octavo volume of 106 pages might secure a wider distribution.

Millard Ward

***The Southern Packet* will be glad to order these books for you without postage charge. Simply send payment as listed.**

TAR ON MY HEELS. By Bill Sharpe. The Tar Heels. 1946. 229 pp. $3.00.

NORTH CAROLINA IS FILLED WITH GOOD stories, and good folks. Its 500-mile length meanders through mountain coves and valleys, through sandhills, pine woods, country lanes, through great fruit orchards, through the smoke of industrial plants, into swamps, lakes, inlets, sand dunes, and finally into the Outer Banks and the Atlantic Ocean. Legends, yarns, facts and fancies abound in the history of the state, beginning with the first English colony on Roanoke Island, and coming up to date in the industrialization of many of its larger towns.

Bill Sharpe has ridden its highways and skyways; he has tramped its mountains. He has delved into mountain coves, and climbed its peaks. He has talked with its old timers and story tellers. He has sat on the porches of country stores, and farm houses. He has run down stories, and stayed with them as good newspaper reporters are taught to do. Perhaps no one knows North Carolina as does Bill Sharpe. It is his business, but it is his pleasure, too. He loves North Carolina, and enjoys talking about it.

Tar On My Heels is a collection of stories Mr. Sharpe has written at various times, and that have been printed in newspapers and magazines. He has picked a few choice ones, representative of many parts of the state, and illustrated them with excellent photographs by John G. Hemmer. There are stories about the mountains: Uncle Billy's Fire, that has never gone out; Lamar Lunsford, the Minstrel of Turkey Creek; Tweetsie, the little train that for so many years served its mountain community. There are ghost stories. There's a splendid one on that most famous of all North Carolina landmarks, Hatteras, the Graveyard of the Atlantic. There are tales about bears and oysters and churches. But mostly they are about people, and people, after all, make a state.

There ought to be more books about North Carolina. It's an old story now that Irvin Cobb said all North Carolina needed was a press agent. But it's just as true now as it was then, except that something's being done about it. Bill Sharpe is the answer.

Virginia T. Lathrop

SOUTH

South, the Magazine of Travel, is an attractive publication designed to stimulate travel to and interest in the South and Latin America. The May issue, sent to The Southern Packet with a congratulatory letter from Ray M. Thompson, Editor, contains articles on Acapulco, Mexico's Pacific Playground; Cajun Country; a week-end fishing trip in Esperanza; Land of the Sky, western North Carolina; and the colorful Procession of the Lord of Miracles in Lima. *The Packet* extends congratulations in return to *South.*

BOOK LIST

THE WILSON ERA. YEARS OF WAR AND AFTER 1917-1923. By Josephus Daniels. University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 653 pp. $4.00. To be reviewed in forthcoming issue.

ALL THESE PEOPLE. By Rupert Vance. University of North Carolina Press. 1946. 503 pp. $5.00. To be reviewed in forthcoming issue.

MISSISSIPPI FARMERS. By Herbert Weaver. Vanderbilt University Press. 1945. 139 pp. $2.50. A second book resulting from a group of studies on the plain people of the Old South.

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION. By Slappey, Pearce and Slappey. Stratford House, Inc. 1946. 462 pp. $3.50. A History of American Democracy, written as a school history, from the viewpoint of the South.

LIVING BY THE LAND. By John C. Gifford. Glade House. 1945. 139 pp. $2.50. A discussion of the conservational and farming methods best suited to the particular needs of Florida, the southern United States and the Caribbean region.

PRINTING THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. By Samuel T Farquhar. University of California Press. 1946. 56 pp. $2.00. The story of the mechanics of producing for the world, the charter which, instead of being written by hand, appeared first in printed form, in five languages.

LILLIE OF SIX-SHOOTER JUNCTION. By Florence Guild Bruce. The Naylor Co. 1946. 232 pp. $3.00. Biography of Lillie Drennan, first licensed woman truck operator in Texas, with much background material on the section of Texas in which she lives.

PUBLISHED BY
The Stephens Press
48 WALNUT STREET, ASHEVILLE, N. C.
Virginia Terrell Lathrop, *Editor*
Burnley Weaver, *Art Director*
George Myers Stephens, *Publisher*
MONTHLY, $1 per year, 3 years for $2
Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1946, at the post office at Asheville, N. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

(Continued from page one)
nutrition, biology, the humanities and the social sciences have contributed chapters which are given continuity and pattern by the skillful editing of Dr. Coker. Reuben B. Robertson, North Carolina industrialist, has stated a most convincing and provocative case for research in industry which lifts the thesis out of any dry, academic context. It is difficult to associate research with the coastal fishing industry (which the South has not even begun to develop) yet one of the most engaging chapters, by Harden F. Taylor, deals with this subject in a manner so compelling as to deserve special attention.

The South has an enormous capacity for self-criticism, by which is meant self-analysis. The sum of this analysis, together with an un-selfconscious estimate of accomplishments and potentialities, is set forth for the first time, I believe, in these pages. It is unfortunate that a volume which could serve so well as a textbook on resources utilization is not indexed for casual readers as well as scholars. For its greatest usefulness will be in such popular application as its ideas may suggest.

Returning to David E. Lilienthal, who writes on "The Moral Responsibility of Research" from his great vantage point in the Tennessee Valley: "The direction of research is secure only in the hands of those, in private business and public agencies, who have faith in people. Research must be carried on by methods and for ends that are in furtherance of that faith in people." In the laboratories of university and factory, as in the mind of the South, that home truth must register indelibly. For the South is people.

Noted In *The Tar Heel Banker*

The Tar Heel Banker, published by the North Carolina Bankers Association, Raleigh, N. C., carries in its June issue two articles of particular interest to Southerners: Little Machines in the Great Transitions of Modern History, excerpts from an address by Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the Greater University of North Carolina; and Establishing New Rural Industries and Services in North Carolina, by Paul W. Chapman, Dean, College of Agriculture, University of Georgia, Athens. *The Tar Heel Banker* is published at Raleigh, N. C.

WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION. By Rupert B. Vance. Southern Regional Council, Inc. 30 pp. paper. 25 cents.

THIS PAMPHLET, THE MARCH ISSUE OF "New South" is a condensation of "All These People" published by the University of North Carolina Press, and bears an introduction by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia.

Although in condensed form, it presents a comprehensive survey of the economic quandary in which the South finds itself today. It also offers a future through which the South can not only solve many of these problems, but may be the means of leading the Nation to a greater prosperity.

The author shows the present low income economy of the South as growing out of its agricultural system of small one-crop farms which do not provide an income adequate for the present farmer, nor offer any inducement to keep the rising generation on the farm. As a solution Vance advocates an intensification of the present trend toward larger "family" farms with greater attention to food crops and diversified "cash" crops.

The present high rate of population increase in the South, coupled with the agricultural trend suggested above, Vance thinks, will make it more than ever the manpower source of the nation. Only by industrialization can this excess manpower be absorbed, with an accompanying increase in average income and in individual buying power. Thus will a market be provided for the increasing food crops, as well as an inducement for the local manufacture of those consumer items now imported from other parts of the country. The educational system must be expanded technologically to meet its responsibility in preparing youth for the coming of industry.

The author finds that the goal of the South must be a balanced program bringing higher utilization of resources, both material and human, and higher standards of living for the total population. Through such a program can the interests of the North and the South be reconciled to the greater benefit of the country as a whole.

Albert H. Lathrop.

September 25, 1946

Dr. Arthur Raper
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Raper:

Our next issue of the New South is expected from the press daily. We are looking forward with keen pleasure to the distribution of this issue because of its timely importance to the South and the entire Nation.

We are in process of planning action programs in connection with the implications of the mechanization of cotton production and find many valuable suggestions in your article. We shall also be happy to have any further suggestions that you may wish to make in terms of what can be done.

We are also grateful for your kindness in having us put on the mailing list of the Department of Agriculture.

Whenever you come this way, please drop in to see us.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:IBT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 25

August 27, 1946

Mr. Harold L. Trigg, Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Trigg:

I have your letter of August 20 in which you express appreciation of the use of my paper on "The Role of Agricultural Mechanization in Southern Social Change" which you plan to use a forthcoming number of your New South series. I am very happy for you to use this and am glad that you are interested in using some photographs with the text. Also I think it desirable to point up the matter of action programs related to problems incident to increased mechanization which I have attempted to deal with in a constructive way in the latter part of the materials I sent to Dr. Warwick a few days ago. It will be noted that the supplemental portion of the statement dealing with "What To Do?" emphasizes this desirability of developing programs of action in those fields where we already know what to do and in recognizing quite frankly that we have not yet seen clearly how to deal with that most serious problem of all, namely, the poorest and least educated portions of the population in the Southern plantation areas who will be displaced from farms in greatest numbers. Some real thinking needs to be done about this as I tried to emphasize in the ending of the materials I sent to Dr. Warwick.

I will be interested to know your reactions and that of your associates to the arrangement of the materials I sent.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Raper

Arthur Raper
Social Science Analyst, Division of
Farm Population and Rural Welfare

P.S. We will ask that your organization be put on the mailing list of the BAE.

October 31, 1946

Mr. Clyde H. Cantrell
Director of Libraries
Alabama Polytechnic Institute
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Mr. Cantrell:

I am pleased to know that you are considering adding our New South to your library collection of periodicals.

The subscription rate for New South is $1.00 a year, twelve issues. Each third issue is devoted to some specific timely subject and is generally several times the length of the regular issues. As an example, I am enclosing a copy of the March issue, Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation, which is a condensation from Dr. Vance's latest work, All These People. In accordance with your request, I am also enclosing a copy each of the two latest issues of New South. It will not be necessary for you to return them.

It is encouraging to have this indication of your interest in the Council's work.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

Alabama Polytechnic Institute
Auburn, Alabama

October 30, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1946
Southern Regional Council

New South
63 Auburn St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have recently noticed in the Bulletin of Bibliography a statement to the effect that you are now publishing a periodical entitled New South.

I should like to consider the advisability of adding this title to our periodicals collection. Therefore, if you will kindly send a copy for examination, the favor will be greatly appreciated. If you wish to have the copy returned after examination, I shall be glad to comply with your requests.

Very truly yours,

Clyde H. Cantrell

Clyde H. Cantrell,
Director of Libraries

CHC:jc

Wanted: An Educated South

DIPLOMAS AND DOLLARS

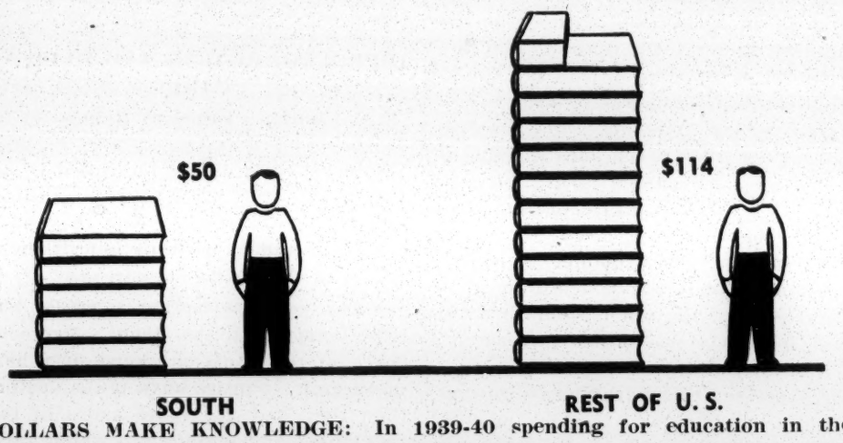
Diplomas and Dollars

The Southern Churchman is honored to reprint in a series of five articles a report just issued by The Southern Regional Council on education in the South. Based on research by Dr. W. Hardin Hughes, the report uncovers many important facts.

Money may be "the root of all evil," but the lack of money seems to be the cause of many evils, too. Time and again we are told that poverty is the main cause of this or that Southern problem. Education is no exception, for when we seek the reasons for the South's poor educational showing one of the first things we discover is that we are not spending as much money for education as the non-Southern states. Rupert B. Vance, keen student of Southern problems, truly says that education "must be regarded as a purchaseable commodity."

There are four main points to consider in the money-measurement of an educational system: how much money is spent per pupil for education, how well are the teachers paid (which is another way of asking how well-trained they are), how much money is invested in school buildings and equipment, and how many teachers have to teach how many students?

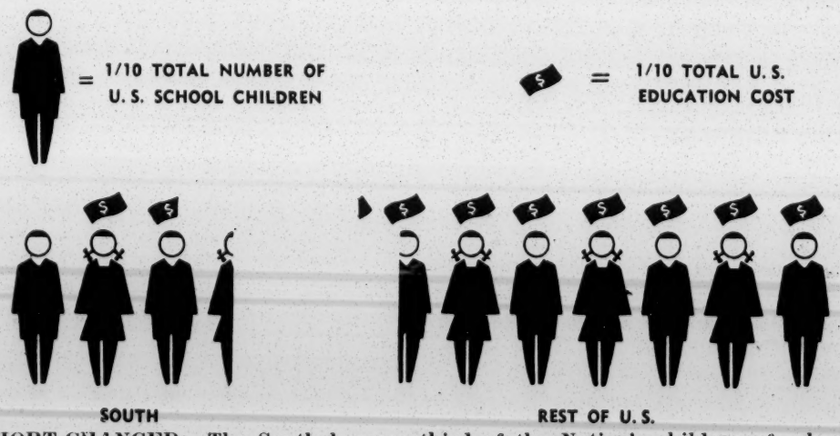
First, let's take the average student in the South and see how he fares in comparison with his fellow-student outside the South. For instance, in 1939-40 the average yearly cost of educating one pupil in the non-Southern states was $114.28. In the South, for the same period, the money allotted for one pupil was less than half this amount—only $50.75. Another way to measure this is by what educators call "expenditures per classroom unit"—the over-all cost of operating a typical classroom for one year. In 1946 the Associated Press published a chart showing this kind of expense, based on figures from the National Educational Association and the American Council on Education (the chart did not say what year the figures were for). This showed that in thirty-one non-Southern states the median expenditure per classroom unit was $2,199—almost double the expenditure for white schools in seventeen Southern and border states; these seventeen states had a median expenditure per classroom unit of $1,166 for whites and $477 for Negroes. The figures for the thirteen Southern states alone would be even lower, for we must remember that such border states as Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and West Virginia have more money for education than the strictly Southern states, and so they raise the over-all average.



DOLLARS MAKE KNOWLEDGE: In 1939-40 spending for education in the non-Southern states was $114.28 per school child. In the 13 Southern states it was $50.79—less than half as much. Each book symbol represents $10 per child.

Second, let's consider the training and pay of teachers and the effect they have on the quality of education. This measurement is based on the fact that the best-trained teachers naturally go where they can get the best salaries. Since the South spends less for education than any other region, many of the best teachers leave the South and work elsewhere. The average training of Southern teachers is below the national standard. And within the Southern states we find wide differences in the qualifications of teachers: the proportion of white teachers with four or more years of college training ranged (in 1930-40) from a low of only 31.6 per cent in Arkansas to a high of 83.5 for North Carolina; about half of the white teachers in Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and Virginia had less than four years of college education. To put it another way, too many Southern teachers lack the fullest education needed to do their jobs most efficiently. In Arkansas, for example, more than half (52.6 per cent) of the white teachers have no more than two years of college training; and white teachers with no more than two years of college education make up 40 per cent of the total in Florida, Tennessee and Virginia, and 35 per cent of the total in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi. In North Carolina, on the other hand, all but 2.9 per cent of the teachers had more than two years of college training.

We have said that the salaries paid teachers is a basic index to their training. There are, of course, good teachers in the South, and many more who would be good teachers if they were encouraged by higher salaries to study for more training. For instance, no state in the South in 1939-40 came anywhere near the national average public school teacher salary of $1,441 a year. The nearest approach by Southern states was



SHORT-CHANGED: The South has one-third of the Nation's children of school age, yet in 1939-40 we spent for their education only 17 per cent of the total U. S. education bill.

in Florida, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas, where average teacher salaries were a little more than $1,000 a year. In nine Southern states the average teacher received less than $1,000 a year. Mississippi was at the bottom of the list with an average of less than $600.

The pay and, consequently, the training of Negro teachers in the South—which we shall discuss later—were, of course, even lower than the salaries of white teachers. The same disadvantage holds for rural schools (both white and colored) compared to urban schools, and this, too, will be considered in another section of this report.

Third, what kind of school buildings and equipment do we have? This can be expressed simply in terms of the total value of school property. The total value of school property in the thirteen Southern states in 1941-42 was about a billion and a quarter dollars. It sounds like a lot of money, but it made up only 15.9 per cent—less than one-fifth—of the total value of the entire nation's school property, which was almost eight billion dollars. When we remind ourselves that the South has one-third of the nation's children of school age, we see what this means: it means that the non-Southern states, with only two-thirds of the school children, had more than four-fifths (84 per cent) of the property value of all schools in the country.

Fourth, let's look at what educators call the "pupil-teacher ratio"—how many pupils does the average teacher have to teach? For the more pupils a teacher has in his class the less attention he can give each one of them. The average American teacher in 1941-42 had to handle a class of 24.5 pupils. The average teacher in every Southern state except Florida and Texas had more than that. The U. S. Office of Education reported that in 1941-42 the number of pupils per teacher in seventeen Southern and border states was 28.6 for whites and 36.1 for Negroes. All of this means, of course, that we do not have enough teachers in the South to handle our education systems properly. The burden on Southern teachers is too great: not only do they have to handle larger classes, but generally they have to do it with poorer equipment in substandard buildings, and they have to do it for less money.

So we have checked the things that make a sound education system and we find the South lacking in all of them, too far below the national average in every point except the one thing that a school can't do without—school children. We lead the nation in the production of school children. We can summarize the South's disadvantage by a glance at the over-all total spent for public education. The grand total expense for public schools in the United States in 1939-40 was $2,344,048,927: the total for the South was $399,668,358—only 17 per cent of the national total. Yet we have one-third of the school children, and for the right kind of education for them we should be spending about one-third of the national education bill.

(To be Continued.)

NEW EPISCOPAL RADIO PROGRAM

Starting July 13 the Episcopal Church inaugurates its first regular radio broadcast series, The Episcopal Hour, over 57 stations of the Southern Religious Radio Network. The half-hour programs will be heard over the entire South, from Maryland to Florida, the Carolinas to Oklahoma, July 13 and 27, August 10 and 24, with a later series starting in November.

Programs originate in Atlanta, starting at 9:30 A. M. Daylight Saving Time. They are sponsored by the National Council, in accordance with action by the last General Convention, and are produced in cooperation with the Southern Religious Radio Conference.

This is the first time the Episcopal Church has undertaken such a series of broadcasts. Speakers will be announced in the near future, but they will be Bishops and other clergy of Southern dioceses. The summer series, in July and August, will be heard on alternate Sundays, the other Sundays being used by the Presbyterian Church.

At National Council offices the hope was expressed that parish organizations would undertake as a service project, the task of securing a large listening audience, particularly among the unchurched, using the telephone, personal calls, letters and postal cards to interest people in the programs.

* * *

KENYON COLLEGE AGAINST BAKER BILL

Gambier, Ohio—The faculties of Kenyon College and its divinity school, Bexley Hall, today sent a protest to the state senators and the representative from this district against the proposed passage of Ohio State Senate Bill No. 238. This legislation, known as the Baker Bill, would set up a commission to investigate "un-American activities" in all schools, universities and colleges in Ohio.

"In principle the proposed law goes on that totalitarian assumption that small group of men may, by their own interpretations, dictate the political, economic, social and religious teachings of the educational institutions of Ohio. Serious concern for the preservation of democracy in this state leads us, therefore, as American citizens, to protest against the law, as itself wholly un-American," the statement says.

The Kenyon faculties object to the bill because it fails to define un-American activities." It violates the principles of democratic government as set down in the federal and state constitutions, they said, because it would permit interference with the right of free discussion and empower the proposed commission to make search and seizures without legal procedure or provision for appeal to the courts.

This would permit members of the commission "to indulge in unrestricted accusations, allegations, libel and slander," the faculty statement said.

The Kenyon faculties also endorsed the similar protest made recently by the faculty of Oberlin College. Copies of the Kenyon statement have been sent to Governor Thomas Herbert, State Senator I. E. Baker, United States Senators Robert A. Taft and John Bricker, and Congressman J. Harry MacGregor.

* * *

IMPROVING HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

Churches Urged to Help—

Churches are deeply interested in all the people having adequate medical care. In the past few years they have given aid and support to improvement efforts in this field.

Great progress has been made, but much remains to be done. A recent check of the situation shows over half of Virginia counties have fewer doctors than they had five years ago. In the rural areas of the State as a whole there is around one doctor to 2,000 people as compared to one to about five hundred people in urban areas. How rural people are to be supplied with adequate medical care is still an acute problem.

A survey of the hospital situation in the State is now under way and nearly completed. The question of developing a Statewide correlated hospital health-center system will soon be before the people, as well as a great many other problems related to an adequate medical care system. The State Health and Medical Care Council arranged a public meeting to discuss these questions. This meeting was held at the Baruch Auditorium of the Medical College of Virginia, Richmond, June 18th. A Health and Medical Care Legislative Committee is holding public hearings:

Roanoke, 10:00 A. M., June 25th.
Front Royal, 10:00 A. M., June 26th.
Richmond, 10:00 A. M., June 27th, at the Hall of the House of Representatives.

As many ministers and interested parishioners as possible should attend these meetings.

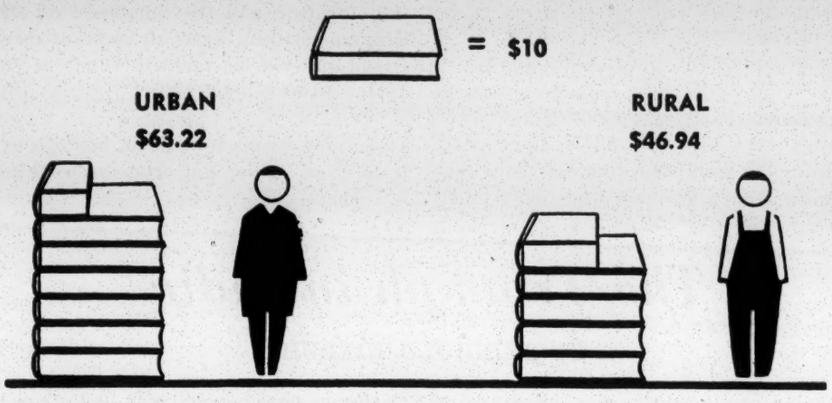
* * *

SRC - New South - Wanted an Ed S

Wanted: An Educated South

"IN-THE-RED" SCHOOLHOUSE

Most of the people of the South live on farms and in small towns, and more than two-thirds of Southern school children live in rural areas. In the rest of the United States only about one-third of the school children live in the country, so the problem of rural education is most important to the South. In fact, it is the poor showing of our rural schools plus our Negro schools that makes the South look so bad in comparison with the rest of the Nation. For example, in Southern cities almost all children of school age are enrolled in school—97.7 per cent; but in rural areas only about eight in ten (81.6 per cent) are enrolled. This is higher than rural enrollment in the rest of the Nation, but we must remember that more than two-thirds of our children live in rural areas, which means that enrollment is low among the greater part of Southern boys and girls.

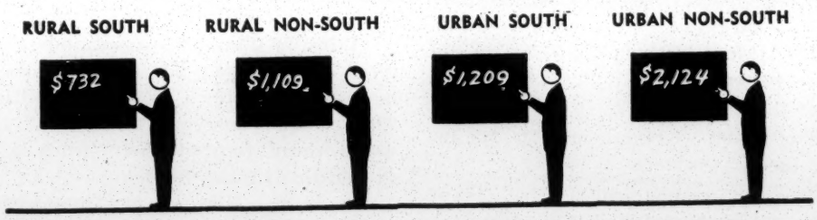


THE LEAST FOR THE MOST: More than two-thirds of Southern school children live in rural areas, and yet in 1939-40 spending for rural education in the South was only $46.94 per pupil. In the urban South the average was $63.22.

Besides, there is another way of looking at this: enrollment in the rural South is higher than in rural areas outside the South, but—and this is important—the rural attendance record in the South is lower. Average daily attendance in the rural South was about eight out of ten (82.3 per cent) compared to nine out of ten (89.8 per cent) for rural areas in the rest of the Nation. Attendance generally is slightly higher in urban areas than in rural areas, but this does not hold true uniformly, for rural attendance is higher than urban in Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia, and in Florida they are about the same. There are reasons, of course, why rural attendance is generally lower; children have to travel greater distances to school, transportation and bad weather are problems, and rural children are often kept away from school to help with the farm work.

Older children, especially, do not fare well in rural education. For example: in Southern schools the enrollment is about three-fourths (75.3 per cent) in kindergarten-and-elementary grades and less than one-fifth (16.9 per cent) high school. This means that far too many rural children are dropping out before they reach high school. In the rest of the Nation rural education is following-through better, with more than one-fourth (28.5 per cent) of total enrollment in the high school group.

When we move beyond enrollment and attendance records we find that Southern rural schools are not only far below the standards for the rest of the Nation, but are also behind the urban schools within the South. We have seen that in 1939-40 only $50 per pupil was spent for education in the South. The average expenditure per child in the rural South was even lower—$46.94. The average for the urban South was $63.22. It is true, of course, that the disadvantage of rural schools compared to urban schools is nationwide, but the disadvantage of rural schools in the South is greater and more serious because of our large rural population.



POOR PAY, POOR TEACHERS: Here is a simple picture of one of the causes of the South's low education status, especially in the rural South. Compare the average teacher salaries, urban and rural, South and non-South, in 1930-40.

We find the same disadvantage expressed again in terms of teacher pay, which indicates that rural schools generally get the poorer teachers. Rural school teachers in the South in 1939-40 had an average annual salary of only $732 compared with $1,109 for rural teachers in the rest of the Nation; urban teachers in the South had an average salary of $1,029, almost $500 a year more than Southern rural teachers (but nearly $1,000 less than urban teachers got outside the South).

(Continued on page 15)

AVERAGE SALARIES OF URBAN AND RURAL TEACHERS (1939-40)

	Urban	Rural
South	$1,209	$ 732
Rest of U. S.	2,124	1,109
Alabama	1,037	645
Arkansas	827	509
Florida	1,012	1,012
Georgia	1,222	594
Kentucky	1,401	643
Louisiana	1,598	784
Mississippi	913	487
North Carolina	1,094	892
Oklahoma	1,318	874
South Carolina	958	663
Tennessee	1,153	749
Texas	1,364	871
Virginia	1,353	698

formerly rector of the English Church of the Good Shepherd, San Jose, Costa Rica, is now priest in charge of St. Stephen's, Latonia, Ky., and may be addressed there.

The Rev. M. George Nicola, rector of Grace Church, Ravenna, Ohio, will become the rector of St. David's Church, Pittsburg, Cal., July 15, 1947.

The Rev. Gordon Fischer, formerly curate at Grace and St. Peter's, Baltimore, Md., is now rector of St. John's, Kingsville, Md., and may be addressed there.

The Rev. Edward M. Spruill, formerly rector of the Church of the Messiar, Mayodan, N. C., is now rector of Grace Church, Plymouth, and minister in charge of St. Luke's, Roper, N. C. Address: Plymouth, N. C.

The Rev. Julius A. Pratt, formerly rector of Trinity Church, Crowley, La., is now rector of Grace Church, Whiteville, N. C., and may be addressed there.

The Rev. Benjamin Minifie, formerly rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Corpus Christi, Tex., is now rector of Grace Church, Orange, N. J.

The Rev. John Bradner, formerly priest in charge of Trinity Church, Stoughton, Mass., is now priest in charge of St. Timothy's, Jackson, Mich. Address: 1803 E. Ganson Street, Jackson, Mich.

The Rev. Maxwell B. Courage, formerly curate at All Angels', New York City, is now rector of Trinity Church, Wethersfield, Conn., and may be addressed there.

The Rev. Charles A. Hedelund, formerly assistant at St. Matthew's, Evanston, Ill., has entered upon his duties as minister in charge of St. Andrew's, Portland, Oreg. Address: 541 Morgan Boulevard, Portland 5, Oreg.

The Rev. Richard C. Rodgers, formerly rector of St. Mary's, Nebraska City, and vicar of the Church of the Ascension, Auburn, Neb., is now rector of St. Luke's, Bartlesville, Okla. Address: St. Luke's Church, Ninth Street and Dewey Avenue, Bartlesville, Okla.

The Rev. Edward C. Rorke, formerly rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, Buffalo, N. Y., is now rector of St. Mark's, North Tonawanda, N. Y. Address: 229 Goundry Street, North Tonowanda, N. Y.

The Rev. Wilbur B. Dexter, formerly priest in charge of St. Andrew's, Carbondale, Ill., is now assistant at St. Matthew's, Evanston, Ill. Address: 2120 Lincoln Avenue, Evanston, Ill.

The Rev. George H. Prendergast, formerly on leave of absence, is now locum tenens at St. Paul's, Kekaha, Kauai, T. H., and may be addressed there.

* * *

ORDINATIONS

Mr. Norman Traverse Slater was ordained to the Diaconate on Wednesday morning, June 11, in St. John's Church, Roanoke, Va., by the Rt. Rev. Henry D. Phillips, D. D., Bishop of Southwestern Virginia. The Rev. Richard E. Beasley, rector of St. John's Church, Roanoke, preached the sermon. The Rt. Rev. Robert C. Jett, D. D., retired Bishop of the Diocese, presented the candidate. The Rev. Van Francis Garrett, rector of Christ Church, Roanoke, read the Epistle. The Rev. Elmer DeWitt Francis, priest-in-charge of Calvary Church, Summit, New Jersey, read the Gospel.

* * *

MARRIED

The Rev. Stanley Fillmore Hauser to Madelyn Horner in St. Mark's Church, San Antonio, Texas, on Thursday evening, June 5. Bishop Jones, assisted by the Rev. J. Wilson Hunter, rector of the Parish, officiated. Mr. Hauser is rector of Calvary Church, Menard, and miniter-in-charge of St. James' Church, Fort McKavett and St. John's Church, Sonora. Mrs. Hauser is a niece of the Rev. Clarence Horner, rector of Grace Church, Rhode Island.

* * *

DEATHS

William Samuel Scott, M. D., U. S. N., retired, died Thursday, March 6, 1947, from shock and cold. He was the beloved son of the late John F. Scott and Lilias H. Scott. Interment was in the family lot.

* * *

POST HASTE

(Continued from page 2.)

a sweeping upward jump these last few weeks. It is most encouraging. We count on the bags coming back to bring in a steady flow during the rest of the summer and keep relief on people's minds until fall drives are launched. The whole thing has more urgency than most people are aware of. This winter promises to be the worst yet for the clothing shortage. We look to your continued assistance.

RUTH ELLIOTT
Promotion Department.

New Windsor, Md.

Note: See News item this issue.

* * *

PLEASED WITH "OPERATION LONDON".

Sir: I was especially pleased to read in the May 31st SOUTHERN CHURCHMAN the article, "Operation London".

This is exactly the type of article that the Brotherhood of St. Andrew membership should read.

With all good wishes.

WILLIAM J. HAAS,
Editor.

Baltimore, Md.

* * *

WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH

(Continued from page 6.)

Etimates of the dollar value of school property per pupil show the same thing another way. In the rural South in 1939-40 there was only $95 worth of school property per pupil enrolled, compared with $267 per pupil in rural areas outside the South and $235 per pupil in the urban South. This says plainly that rural schools in the South, with certain fine exceptions, are out of date or poorly built or too small or all three. The fact that schools of the urban South had a property value of $235 per pupil does not mean that city children had better schools than they needed; urban schools outside the South had a value of

OBITUARY

MRS. BENJAMIN F. DEFORD

Mrs. Ellen Swan Drewry Deford, wife of Benjamin Franklin Deford, died May 26, after an illness of sveeral weeks.

The funeral services were conducted by the Rt. Rev. H. St. George Tucker, D. D., and the Rev. George A. Workman, Wednesday in St. Paul's Church, with interment following in Hollywood Cemetery.

Mrs. Deford, who was related to many families long prominent in the history of Virginia and Maryland, was born in Richmond and was a daughter of the late Dr. Samuel Davies Drewry and Mrs. Alice Macgill Drewry.

Her father, who was a representative of a family long widely known in Chesterfield County and in Richmond, was a leading physician of an older day who had served with distinction as a surgeon in the Confederate Navy.

Mrs. Deford's mother, the former Alice Macgill, was a daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Charles Macgill. Dr. Macgill, formerly of Hagerstown, Md., upon the outbreak of the War Between the States, came to Richmond and became well known here as a surgeon in the Confederate Army.

One of the most beautiful memorials in old St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Richmond, is the window which many years ago was placed there in memory of Dr. Macgill.

Much of Mrs. Deford's life had been associated with Richmond, where, as a girl, she was a pupil at Professor John Henry Powell's school and where she had made her home for many years at 608 West Franklin Street.

She married in 1898 Benjamin Franklin Deford, of Baltimore and Richmond, who survives his wife.

Mrs. Deford was a communicant of St. Paul's Church and a life-long member of the Daughters of the Confederacy and of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society.

Besides her husband she is survived by two sons, Benjamin F. Deford, Jr., of Baltimore, and S. D. Drewry Deford, of Richmond; two daughters, Mrs. T. Poultney Gorter, of Baltimore, and Mrs. Kinloch Nelson, of Richmond; also by four grandchildren, one brother, Dr. Cooper Drewry, of Baltimore, and three sisters, Mrs. John Deford, of Baltimore, and Miss Mary Drewry and Mrs. F. O. Bertrand, both of Richmond.

ALTAR BREAD

ALTAR BREADS — Orders promptly filled. Saint Mary's Convent, Box 311-O, Kenosha, Wisconsin.

WANTED—Position as Companion-Housekeeper to elderly lady by refined Southern woman. Large salary not required. Address C-H, in care of The Southern Churchman.

SRC PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS
STOCK, 1945

Pamphlets	On Hand Jan. 1 1945	New Stock from Printer during 1945	On Hand Dec. 31, 1945	No. Dist. during the year
No. 1. The SRC, Its Origin and Purpose	13,010	0	5,200	7,810
No. 2. America's Tenth Man	1,425 ?		6,074	
No. 3 Understanding Our Neighbors	72	10,000	8,400	1,672
No. 4 Economic Value of the Negro to the South	0	5,000	2,734	2,266
Opportunities for the Negro Veteran in Atlanta, Georgia	0	5,000	1,400	3,600
The South - America's Opportunity Number One	0	10,000	3,805	6,195
Life and Achievements of American Negro Citizens - Teaching guide			203	

Leaflets				
I Never Knowed		6,000	4,096	1,904
After The War....?		20,000	8,500	11,500
Black G. I. Joe Comes Home		15,000	10,950	4,500
It Seems Queer		15,000	8,400	6,600
Unhealthy Roots		15,000	10,200	4,800
The White Primary - Stop Worrying		0	535	
Report of Executive Directors 1944		1,000	250	750

OLD COMMISSION PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS
STOCK - 1945

Pamphlets	On Hand Jan. 1, 1945	New Stock from Printer during 1945	On Hand Dec. 31 1945	No. Dist. during the year
No. 6. Singers in the Dawn	925	2,000	1,300	1,625
No. 8. Songs of the South	895	0	775	120
No.17 Repairers of the Breach	1,150	0	466	~~54~~ 684
The Changing Character of Lynching		0	550	
The Mob Still Rides		0	1,500	
Leaflets				
What About It Series of studies		0	305	
New Public Opinion on Lynching - ASWPL 1941		0	275	

PAMPHLETS DISTRIBUTED BY SRC
Stock - 1945

Pamphlets	On Hand Jan. 1 1945	New Stock from Printer during 1945	On Hand Dec. 31 1945	No. Dist. during the year
The Negro in America Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 95	4,340	0	2,316	2.024
Voting Restrictions in the 13 Southern States			972	
Veterans: It Need Not Happen Again- Benjamin E. Mays	0	1,000	475	525
Race Riots Aren't Necessary Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 107	0	150	50	100
Background for Brotherhood Kendall Weisiger	0	500	375	125
To Stem This Tide Charles S. Johnson and Others	0	50	40	10
American Negroes Handbook Edwin Embree		0	40	
Color, Class and Personality	50	0	49	0
A-B-C of Scapegoating	0	100	76	24
Your Part in Georgia's Politics		50	20	30
There Are Things To Do Lillian Smith		100	57	43
Peace As a World Race Problem		50	3	47
Government and Minorities		100	5	95
The Negro In America (Council for Democracy)		750	750	0
Report of 13th Annual Policy Conference on Democracy and the Constitution- Alabama		50	4	46
Leaflets				
Our Conflicting Racial Policies W. Alexander		7,500	2,091	5,409
Information , Please- Kleaser		500	200	300
Digest Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill		200	100	100

PAMPHLET STOCK, 1945

PAMPHLET	Total Supply, January 1, 1945	APRIL 1	
		Inventory	Number Sold Preceding Quarter
S.R.C. No. 1	13,010		
S.R.C. No. 2	1,425		
Old Edition "Tenth Man"	465		
Understanding Our Neighbors	72		
Repairers of the Breach	1,150		
Singers in the Dawn	925		
Songs of the South	895		
Negro in America	4,340		

PAMPHLET	JULY 1		OCTOBER 1	
	Inventory	Number Sold Preceding Quarter	Inventory	Number Sold Preceding Quarter
S.R.C. No. 1				
S.R.C. No. 2				
Old Edition "Tenth Man"				
Understanding Our Neighbors				
Repairers of the Breach				
Singers in the Dawn				
Songs of the South				
Negro in America				

NEW SOUTH INVENTORY
JUNE 30, 1946

	Number Purchased	Number on hand June 30, 1946	Number Dist. since issued
January	8,000	2,200	5,800
February	4,000	0	4,000
March	5,000	960	4,040
April	4,000	550	3,450
May	8,000	4,700	3,300

SRC PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS
STOCK, JUNE 30, 1946

Pamphlets	On Hand Jan. 1, 1946	New Stock from printer Jan. 1- June 30.	On Hand June 30, 1946	no. Dist. during 6 mo. period
No. 1. The SRC, Its Orgin and Purpose	5,200	0	3,650	1,550
No. 2. America's Tenth Man	6,074	0	2,100	3,974
No. 3. Understanding Our Neighbors	8,400	0	3,650	4,750
No. 4. Economic Value of The Negro to the South	2,734	0	1,025	1,709
No. 5. Wanted: The Souths Future For the Nation	0	20,000	18,306	1,694
Opportunities for the Negro Veteran in Atlanta, Georgia	1,400 (?)	0	3,400	(?)
The South - America's Opportunity Number one	3,805	0	2,144	1,661
Alilunas: The Life and Achievements.....(Mimeo.)	203	0	16	187
Jones: Suggestions for teaching Human Relations(Mimeo.)	(?)	(?)	26	(?)
Negro in the South - Student Com. U. of N. C. (Mimeo.)	(?)	(?)	109	(?)
Packets	0	200	100	100
Leaflets				
I Never Knowed	4,096	0	125	3,971
After The War....?	8,500(?)	0	9,250	(?)
Black G. I. Joe Comes Home	10,950	0	7,000	3,950
It Seems Queer	8,400	0	4,500	3,900
Unhealthy Roots	10,200	0	6,600	3,600
The White Primary - Stop Worrying	535	0	0	535
Brothers in Black	0	5,000	3,200	1,800
Facing Facts in S. C.	0	5,000	2,600	2,400
South is Yours	0	25,000	6,700	18,300
Report of Exec. Directors	250	0	222	28

OLD COMMISSION PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS
STOCK, JUNE 30, 1946

Pamphlets	On Hand Jan. 1, 1946	New Stock from printer Jan. 1-June 30, 1946	On Hand June 30, 1946	No. Dist during 6 mo. period
No. 6. Singers in the Dawn	1,300	0	600	700
No. 8. Songs of the South	775	0	132	643
No. 17. Repairers of the Breach	466	0	348	118
The Changing Character of Lynching	550	0	530	20
The Mob Still Rides	1,500	0	100	1,400
Leaflets				
What About It Series of studies	305	0	300	5
New Public Opinion on Lynching - ASWPL 1941	275	0	30	245

PAMPHLETS DISTRIBUTED BY SRC
STOCK, JUNE 30, 1946

Pamphlets	On Hand Jan. 1, 1946	New Stock from printer Jan. 1- June 30, 1946	On Hand June 30, 1946	No. Dist. during 6 mo. period
The Negro in America Public Affairs Pamphlet no. 95	2,316	0	2,100	216
Voting Restrictions in the 13 Southern States	972	0	538	434
Veterans: It Need Not Happen Again- Benjamin E. Mays	475	0	350	125
Race Riots Aren't Necessary Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 107	50	0	25	25
Background for Brotherhood Kendall Weisiger	375	0	225	150
To Stem This Tide Charles S. Johnson and Others	40	50	46	4
American Negroes Handbook Edwin Embree	40	0	40	0
Color, Class, and Personality	49	0	49	0
A-B-C- of Scapegoating	76	0	73	3
Your Part in Georgia's Politics	20	13	33	0
There are Things To Do Lillian Smith	57	0	10	47
Peace as a World Race Problem	3	0	0	3
Government and Minorities	5	0	0	5
The Negro In America (Council for Democracy)	750	0	3 50	400
Reprot of 13th Annual Policy Conference on Democracy and the Constitution - Alabama	4	0	0	4
Race Riots Can be Prevented	0	100	58	42
Post War Employment and the Negro Worker	0	50	40	10
Police Action in Minority Problems	0	100	67	33
Race Relations - Rosenwald Fund	50	0	49	1

LEAFLETS DISTRIBUTED BY SRC
STOCK, JUNE 30, 1946

Leaflets	On Hand Jan. 1, 1946	New Stock from printer Jan. 1-June 30, 1946	On Hand June 30, 1946	No. Dist. during 6 mo. period
Our Conflicting Racial Policies	2,091	0	121	1,970
Information, Please	200	500	17	683
Digest, Wagner - Murray - Dingell Bill	100	0	25	75

SRC PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS
STOCK, DECEMBER 31, 1946

Total Value 9226.70

Pamphlets	On Hand June 30, 1946	New Stock from printer June 30-December 31.		On Hand Dec., 31, 1946	No. Dist. during 6 mo. period
No. 1. The SRC, Its Origin and purpose	3,650	0	—	2,350	1,300
No. 2. America's Tenth Man	2,100	0	—	0	2,100
No. 3. Understanding our Neighbors	3,650	0	$149.00	1,490	2,160
No. 4. Economic Value of the Negro to the South	1,025	0	31.30	626	400
No. 5. Wanted: The South's Future For the Nation	18,306	0	3,468.20	17,341	965
No. 6. Wanted: A Healthy South	0	11,000	1,600.00	8,000	3,000
No. 7. Machines in The Cotton Fields	0	7,000	752.00	3,760	4,240
Jacksonville looks at it's Negro Community	0	150		50	100
√ Lets pull Together Kentuckians	0	10,000	500.00	10,000	0
Opportunities for the Negro Veteran in Atlanta, Georgia	13,400	0	—	13,200	200
Packets 10¢	100	115	(?) 1.10	11	204
Life and Achievements of American Negro Citizens-Teaching guide Allunas Jones' Study Guide	16	0	—	0	16
The South-America's Opportunity Number one	2,144	650	486.60	2,433	631
Leaflets					
√ Unity Begins at Home	0	10,000	—	8,000	2,000
√ Which way is Better	0	25,000	—	7,600	17,400
0 I Never Knowed	125	0	—	125	0
√ After The War....?	9,250	0	—	2,339	6,911
√ Black G. I. Joe Comes Home	7,000	0	—	1,550	5,450
√ It Seems Queer	4,500	0	—	1,800	2,700
0 Unhealthy Roots	6,600	0	48.00	1,600	5,000
0 The White Primary Stop Worrying	0	0	—	0	0
√ Brothers in Black	3,200	0	115.00	2,300	900
√ Facing Facts in South Carolina 3¢	2,600	0	(?) 54.75	1,825	775
√ South is Yours	6,700	0	—	2,070	4,630
190 Report of Executive Directors	222	0	—	190	32
120 Our conflicting Racial Policies	121	0	—	75	46
0 Information, Please	17	500	—	175	342
0 Digest, Wagner - Murray - Dingell Bill	25	0	—	25	0

√ (over)

OLD COMMISSION PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS
STOCK ON HAND DECEMBER 31, 1946

Pamphlets	On Hand June 30, 1946	New Stock From Printer June 30 December 31.		On Hand December 31, 1946	No Dist. During 6 Mo. Period
√ No. 6. Singers in the Dawn	600	10,000	$823.30	8,233	2,367
0 No. 8. Songs of the South 10¢	132	0	———	10	122
288 No. 17. Repairers of the Breach 10¢	348	0	(?) 25.00	250	98
330 The Changing Character of Lynching 25¢	530	0	(?) 109.00	436	94
160 The Mob Still Rides 5¢	100	700 (Found since) (last Inventory)	(?) 39.60	792	8
Leaflets					
0 What About It Series of Studies	300	0		300	0
48 New Public Opinion on Lynching - ASWPL 1941	300	0		300	0

NEW SOUTH INVENTORY
DECEMBER 31, 1946

1946		On Hand June 30, 1946	Number Purchased June 30, to December 31.		Number on Hand December 31, 1946	No. Dist. During 6 Mo. Period
1,300	January 31 5	2,200	0	97.50	1,750	450
117	February	0	500	10.00	200	300
0	March 30 4	960	0		0	0
300	April	550	0	17.75	355	195
2,100	May	4,700	0	137.50	2,750	1,950
125	June	0	4,000	36.00	150	3,850
620	July	0	4,000	51.25	1,025	2,975
45	August	0	4,000	7.00	120	3,880
40	September	0	3,000	20.00	100	2,900
175	October	0	4,000	41.25	825	3,175
55	November	0	4,000	19.10	382	3,618
300	December 10	0	6,000	290.00	2,900	3,100

1947

Jan. 300
Feb. 752
March 0
April 350
May 150
June 1,300
July 0
Aug. 38
Sept. 560

PAMPHLETS DISTRIBUTED BY SRC
STOCK, DECEMBER 31, 1946

PAMPHLETS		ON HAND JUNE 30, 1946	New Stock From Printer June 30-December 31, '46		Number on Hand December 31, 1946	No. Dist. During 6 Mo. Period
1,336 The Negro in America/Public Affairs Pamphlet no. 95	10	2,100	0	194.10	1,941	1,159
408 Voting Restrictions in the 13 Southern States	10	538	0	50.90	509	29
3,400 Veterans: It Need Not Happen Again - Benjamin E. Mays	free	350	0		350	0
18 Race Riots Aren't Necessary Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 107	free	25	0		10	15
64 Background for Brotherhood Kendall Weisiger	30¢	225	0	67.50	225	0
46 To Stem This Tide Charles S. Johnson and Others	?	46	0		0	46
32 American Negroes Handbook Edwin Embree	?	40	0		40	0
42 Color, Class, and Personality	?	49	0		49	0
20 A-B-C- of Scapegoating	?	73	0		50	23
25 Your Part in Georgia's Politics	free	33	0		33	0
5 There are Things to do Lillian Smith	free	10	0		10	0
0 Peace as a World Race Problem	free	0	0		0	0
350 Government and Minorities The Negro In America (Council for Democracy)	free	350	0		350	0
0 Report of 13th Annual Policy Conference on Democracy and the Constitution - Alabama	free	0	0		0	0
86 Race Riots Can be Prevented	free	58	0		40	18
40 Post War Employment and the Negro Worker	free	40	0		40	0
45 Police Action in Minority Problems	free	67	0		50	17
49 Race Relations - Rosenwald Fund	free	49	0		49	0

Inventory — 10/17/47

June 5, 1947

PUBLICATIONS OF
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PERIODICAL

New South - issued monthly — Subscription $1.00 a year

PAMPHLETS

	Name	Price: Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
0	The Southern Regional Council: Its Origin and Purpose. Statements of the Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond Conferences, which resulted in the organization of the Council, are included in the appendix.	free	$.50	$3.50
10,500	America's Tenth Man. A brief survey of the Negro's part in American History. New Printing February, 1947.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
125	Economic Value of the Negro to the South - Past, present, and potential. By W. Hardin Hughes.	5¢	$ .50	$4.00
14,700	Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. 30 page illustrated study of the South's problems and potentials. By Rupert B. Vance.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
9,437	Wanted: A Healthy South. 30-page illustrated study of the South's health problems. By Dorothy Dickins.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
2,600	Machines in the Cotton Fields. 30-page illustrated study of the effects of mechanization on the social and economic life of the South. By Arthur Raper	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
2,600	Wanted: An Educated South. 24-page illustrated summary of what's wrong with Southern education and what is needed to improve it.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
1,300	"By the People" - Jacksonville Looks At Its Negro Community. Illustrated story of an action program for community development. Available about June 20.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
4,750	The South - America's Opportunity Number One. Addresses delivered at a Conference on the South's Post-War Economy, Atlanta, Ga., April 11-12, 1945.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
3,950	Singers in the Dawn. A brief anthology of American Negro Poetry. Compiled by Robert B. Eleazer.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
2,900	Getting Along Together, Steisiger			

		Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
1,700	Brothers in Black. By J. McDowell Richards; sermon preached as retiring Moderator before the Presbytery of Atlanta.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50
2,000	Unity Begins At Home. World Charter and individual character. By W. B. Stubbs	free	$ .25	$1.50
800	SRC Annual Meeting Charts Course for 1947. Speeches and reports delivered at annual meeting of members of the Southern Regional Council, November 13, 1946. New South, December 1946.	10¢	$1.00	$7.50
	LEAFLETS			
500	A Survey of Veteran Services for Negroes in Arkansas. By Harry L. Wright, Field Representative, Veterans Services Division, SRC.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
1,500	Services for Negro Veterans in Louisiana. By George S. Mitchell, SRC staff.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
	~~A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Louisiana. By Harry L. Wright~~ Mississippi	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
225	A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Oklahoma. By Harry L. Wright	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
240	A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Florida. By Wesley R. Brazier, Field Representative, Veterans Services Division, SRC	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
350	Facing Facts in South Carolina. Facts about what S. C. wants to be, should be, and actually is. By Marion A. Wright, Conway, S. C.	3¢	$ .25	$1.50
230	Black GI Joe Comes Home. Problems facing the Negro veteran and the Nation in making readjustments to the Negro Veteran. By R. E. Clement	free	$ .10	$ .50
1,550	Which Way is Better? Reprints of two newspaper articles on the Ku Klux Klan.	free	$ .10	$ .50
150	It Seems Queer. The Southern Veteran Speaks on race relations.	free	$ .10	$ .50
175	What One Woman Can Do To Prevent Lynching.	free	$ .10	$ .50
9,075	Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians! A Digest of the Report of the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs, 1946.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50
200	The Curse of Ham. A conversation concerning a myth that dies hard. By R. B. Eleazer.	free	$ .10	$ .40

Inventory
June 25, 1947

Pamphlets

Name	Number on hand
The Southern Regional Council: Its Orgin and Purpose.	1,175
America's Tenth Man	15,250 (15,000 reprinted in April)
Economic Value of the Negro to the South	325
Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation	16,171
Wanted: A Healthy South	6,800
Machines in the Cotton Fields	3,796
Wanted: An Educated South	3,750
"By the People"	2,200
The South - America's Opportunity Number one	1,922
Singers in the Dawn	7,000
Brothers in Black	2,150
Unity Begins At Home	6,170
SRC Annual Meeting Charts Course for 1947	1,626

Leaflets

A Survey of Veteran Services for Negroes in Arkansas.	570
" Mississippi	
Services for Negro Veterans in Louisiana	2,200
A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Oklahoma	225
A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Florida	200
Facing Facts in South Carolina	600
Black G I Joe Comes Home	426
Which Way is Better?	13, 900
It Seems Queer	600

Inventory
June 25, 1947

Pamphlets (continued from page one)		Number on hand
What One Woman Can Do To Prevent Lynching		4,000
Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians!		4,450
The Curse of Ham		450

New South Pamphlets

January	1946	1,300
February	"	115
April	"	315
May	"	3, 200
June	"	160
July	"	1,000
August	"	28
September	"	41
October	"	300
November	"	99
	1947	
January	*	340
February	*	750
March	*	0
April	*	405
May	*	119

CW.

S-R-C PAMPHLET AND LEAFLET STOCK
OCTOBER 21, 1947

PAMPHLETS	On Hand Dec. 31,1946	New Stock From Printer,Apr.'47	On Hand Oct.21,'47	No.Dist. Jan-1 -- Oct-21'47
No.1. The SRC,Its Origin and Purpose	2,350	-	-	2,350
No.2. America's Tenth Man	-	15,000	10,500	4,500
No.3. Economin Value of the Negro to the South	626	-	125	501
No.4. Understanding Our Neighbors	1,490	-	-	1,490
No.5. Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation	17,341	-	14,700	2,641
No.6. Wanted: A Healthy South	8,000	-	9,437	
No.7. Machines in the Cotton Fields	3,760	-	2,600	1,160
~~By the People~~ Jacksonville looks at its Negro Community	50			
Opportunities for the Negro Veteran in Atlanta, Georgia.	3,200			
Packets....	11			
Life and Achievements of American Negro Citizens-Teaching Guide Alilunas Jones' Study Guide.....	16			
The South - America's Opportunity Number One.....	2,433			
Wanted: An Educated South	-	3,750 -(6/25/47)	2,600	1,150
By the People: Jacksonville Looks at its Negro Community	-	5,045 (6-'47)	1,300	3,745
~~The South as America's Brothers in Black~~				
SRC ANNUAL meeting charts course for 1947 (Dec.issue)	2,900	-	300	2,600

LEAFLETS

Unity begins at home	8,000	-	2,000	6,000
Which Way is Better	7,600	-	1,550	6,050
I Never Knowed	125	-	50	75
After the War.....?	2,339	-		
Black GI Joe Comes Home	1,550	-	230	1,320
It Seems Queer	1,800	-	150	1,300
Unhealthy Roots	1,600	-	-?	
Brothers in Black	2,300	-	1,700	600
Facing Facts in South Carolina	1,825	-	350	1,475
Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians !	-	4,450 (6-47)	9,075	?
A Survey of Veteran's Services for Negroes in Arkansas	-	570 (6-47-	500	70

37,054
37,027

LEAFLETS	On Hand Dec.31,'46	New Stock	Oct.21,'47 On Hand	No.Dist.
Services for Negro Veterans in Louisiana	-	2,200 (6-47)	6.500	96 ?
A Survey of Veterans Services in Oklahoma	-	225 "	225	-
A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Florida	-	200 "	240	?
What One Woman can do to Prevent Lynching	-	4,000 "	175	3,825
The Curse of Ham	-	450 "	200	250
The South is Yours	2,070	-		
Report of Executive Directors	190	-	190	-
Our Conflicting Racial Policies	75	-	120	?
Information, Please !	175	-	-	175
Digest: Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill	25	-	-	25

OLD COMMISSION PAMPHLETS AND LEAFLETS

No.6. Singers in the Dawn	300	7,000 6/47	3,950	3,350
No.8. Songs of the South	10		-	10
No.17. Repairers of the Breach	250		288	?
The Changing Character of Lynching	436	-	330	106
The Mob Still Rides	792	-	160	632
What about it series of studies	300	-	-	300
New Public Opinion on Lynching	300	-	48	252

PAMPHLETS DISTRIBUTED BY S R C

The Negro in America (Pub.Affairs Pph)	1,941	-	1,336	605
Voting Restrictions in 13 Southern States	509	-	408	101
Veterans, it Need Not Happen Again	350	?	3,400 ?	?
Race Riots Aren't Necessary (Pub.Aff.Pph)	10		18	?
Background for Brotherhood (Weisiger)	225	-	64	161
To Stem This Tide (Chas.Johnson & Others)	-	-	-	-
American Negroes Handbook, Edwin Embree	40	-	32	8
Color, Class, and Personality	49	-	42	7
A*B*C* of Scapegoating	50	-	20	30
Your Part in Georgia's Politics	33	-	25	8
There are Things to Do (Lillian Smith)	10	-	5	5
Peace as a World Race Problem	-	-	-	-
Government and Minorities (Negro in Amer.) (Council for Democracy)	350	"	350	-
Report of the 13th Annual Policy Conference on Democracy and the Constitution (Ala.)	-	-	-	-
Race Riots Can be Prevented	40		80	?
Post War Employment and the Negro Worker	40	-	40	-
Police Action in Minority Problems	50	-	45	5
Race Relations - Rosenwald Fund	49	-	49	-

NEW SOUTH INVENTORY. .

9,855

(See penciled figures at left on 12/31/46 inventory.

46,909

Inventory
January 8, 1948

Pamphlets

Name	Number on hand
The Southern Regional Council	4,879
America's Tenth Man	12,045
Economic Value of the Negro to the South	60
Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation	12,836
Wanted: A Healthy South	8,768
Machines in the Cotton Fields	2,621
Wanted: An Educated South	5,076
"By the People"	1,111
The South - America's Opportunity Number one	11,780
Singers in the Dawn	8,678
Brothers in Black	1,966
Unity Begins At Home	4,846

Leaflets

A Survey of Veteran Services for Negroes in Arkansas.	591
Services for Negro Veterans in Louisiana	2,481
A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Oklahoma	306
A Survey of Veterans Services for Negroes in Florida	290
Facing Facts in South Carolina	361
Black G I Joe Comes Home	179
Which Way is Better?	12,425
It Seems Queer	168
Curse of Ham	208

Inventory
January 8, 1948

(Pamphlets received recently)

Name	Number on hand
Let's Pull Together Kentuckians	3,751
Getting Along Together	2,463

New South Pamphlets

(1946)

January	1,300
February	23
April	216
May	3,000
June	123 + 8,768 = 8,891
July	320
August	46
September	43 + 2621
October	282
November	235
December	1,050
Index - 1946	300

(1947)

January	200
February	750
March	4,475
April	250
May	110
June	1,111
July	23

Inventory
January 8, 1948

New South Pamphlets - continued

August	0	
September	87	June '48 says 450
October	2,350	
November	900	June '48 says 1,100
Dec - Jan	35	
Feb -	500	

C.W.

Supplementary list of materials

A-B-C's of Scapegoating	30
Background For Brotherhood	200
Voting Restrictions	300
The Changing Character of Lynching	500
The Mob Still Rides	500
The Negro In America	450

Inventory
June 30, 1948

Pamphlets

Name	Number on hand
Southern Regional Council	2,700
The South: America's Opportunity Number One	4,400
x Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation	12, 250
x Wanted: An Educated South	4, 225
x Wanted: A Healthy South	8, 350
x Machines in the Cotton Fields	1, 640
America's Tenth Man	11, 250
Singers in the Dawn	7, 550
The Negro in America (Public Affairs)	650
Brothers in Black	1, 300
Background for Brotherhood	150
x "By the People"	1, 070
Jacksonville Looks At Its Negro Community	19
"To Secure These Rights"	4, 720
The Condition of Our Rights	9, 450
Color, Class, and Personality	28
To Stem This Tide	27
The Negro in America	849
x Housing in the South	5,000
The Negro Press	849
Voting Restrictions in the 13 Southern States	275
"Repairers of the Breach"	272
Getting Along Together	2, 200
Let's Pull Together, Kentuckians	3, 701

Facing Facts in South Carolina	37
To Secure These Rights (178 pages)	29
Southern Regional Council: Report of Executive Directors	265
The Changing Character of Lynching	421

Free material

Which Way Is Better?	12, 225
Ladies and Lynching	470
After The War	1, 400
A Survey of Veteran Services For Negroes in Arkansas	200
Services for Negro Veterans in Louisiana	2, 166
A Survey of Veterans' Services for Negroes in Oklahoma	50
A Survey of Veterans' Services for Negroes in Florida	175
Opportunity for the Negro Veteran in Atlanta, Georgia	2, 800
The Mob Still Rides	300
Unity Begins At Home	4, 546

(What About It?)	350

C.W.

July 30, 1948

PUBLICATIONS LIST
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PERIODICAL

NEW SOUTH. A small monthly magazine which keeps Council members and all interested people up to date on Southern problems and progress. — Subscription $1.00 a year

PAMPHLETS

Name	Price: Single copy	Price: one dozen	Price: One hundred
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. A brief account of what the Council is and how it came to be, of how it works and what it accomplishes. 8 pages.	free		
THE SOUTH: AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY NUMBER ONE. More than a "problem", the South is a land of economic promise in industry, agriculture, housing, business, foreign trade. How she can fulfill her promise is the theme of this symposium. 44 pages. 1945.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION. Probably the best short study of the South's economy available, this pamphlet gives the main facts on what keeps the Southern region from giving its human and natural abundance to the nation, and from getting in return the things it so badly needs. By Rupert B. Vance, with an introduction by Ellis Arnall of Georgia. 30 pages, illustrated.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH. Southern children need better education which reaches more of them. This pamphlet shows what is lacking and gives ideas for spreading basic learning to all Southern people. 24 pages, illustrated.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH. The South has conditions of poor health she cannot afford to neglect. This presentation of causes and the ways that lead to cure has been found useful for classes in sociology, current problems, and nursing. 30 pages, illustrated. Prepared by Dorothy Dickins.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
MACHINES IN THE COTTON FIELDS. The changing face of Southern agriculture; what can be done to make mechanization less devastating to displaced farm workers and more constructive for the South as a whole. By Arthur Raper. 32 pages, photographs and charts.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
AMERICA's TENTH MAN. This brief survey throws the light of fact and history on the part played by the Negro, and his contributions to American life.	10¢	*	*

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
SINGERS IN THE DAWN. Negro poets from slavery times to our own, writing of the things all poets know, and also of the special hurt, courage, and pride they themselves have learned. This inexpensive pamphlet anthology has become one of our most popular publications. Compiled by Robert Eleazer. 24 pages.	10¢	*	*
THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. Public Affairs pamphlet No. 95. A 32 page, illustrated summary of Gunnar Myrdal's authoritative study. Ideal for classroom use.	10¢	*	*
BROTHERS IN BLACK. A minister's statement on the Christian commandment to brotherhood. By J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia. 10 pages.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50
BACKGROUND FOR BROTHERHOOD. An introduction to racial understanding on the basis of fact, religion, and democracy. Persuasively written, with discussion questions appended, this pamphlet is good for all groups, but especially suited for classes in current problems and for church and club discussion groups. Associated Press.(YMCA). 31 pages. Supply limited.	15¢	*	*
"BY THE PEOPLE." Pioneers in self-examination and self-improvement, the people of Jacksonville, Florida, made a detailed survey of every aspect of local Negro life--health, education, sanitation, law enforcement, transportation, recreation. Their thoroughness and the specific character of their recommendations helped bring better conditions quickly. As the self-survey idea spreads to civically aware citizens in other communities, this summary of the Jacksonville report is being widely used for study and discussion. Line drawings add to the interest. 33 pages.	20¢	$2.00	$15.00
JACKSONVILLE LOOKS AT ITS NEGRO COMMUNITY. The Jacksonville survey in full, including numerous carefully documented charts of statistics and detailed information on self-survey methods. An ideal blueprint for the use of social agencies and planning councils in examining their own communities. Prepared by the Jacksonville Council of Social Agencies, who directed the survey, with SRC acting as professional consultant. 113 pages, Supply limited.	$1.00	*	*

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
"TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS". Here is a digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights which presents the Committee's findings in clear, convenient form, and faithfully reflects the original. Southerners the region over are using this pamphlet version in learning what the Committee actually reported and recommended in our four basic areas of civil rights, and for guidance in study and discussion of them. 27 pages.	10¢	*	*
THE CONDITION OF OUR RIGHTS. From the files on civil and human rights in the South. A pamphlet of organized data on civil rights practices, incidents. and court decisions, designed to document study and discussion, and to serve as a companion release to the Council's Civil Rights Report digest.	20¢	*	*
COLOR, CLASS, AND PERSONALITY. By Robert L. Sutherland for the American Youth Commission. An excellent, 135 page summary of what the Commission found, through its thorough and extensive survey, about Negro youth's life and attitudes throughout the rural and urban nation. Good photographs. Limited supply.	30¢	*	*
TO STEM THIS TIDE. The tide referred to is that of racial friction, whose nationwide manifestations are described in this survey by the Institute of Social Sciences at Fisk University. Factual data is given on individual incidents in many areas, among them industry, housing, public carriers, politics, police treatment, and recreation. By Charles Johnson and Associates. 142 pages. Limited supply.	30¢	*	*
THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. How the nation has denied him equal opportunities in industry, labor, and education. Prepared by the Council for Democracy, 1945. 21 pages. Limited quantity, 3¢ to close out.	3¢		
THE NEGRO PRESS. Materials on the development, character, and function of an important educating force and molder of public opinion. As presented by Robert Durr. 8 pages. Limited quantity.	10¢		
VOTING RESTRICTIONS IN THE 13 SOUTHERN STATES. An outline, by State, of the obstacles interposed between the Southern voter and the ballot box. Report of the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South. 1945. 22 pages. Limited quantity, 5¢ to close out.	5¢		

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
"REPAIRERS OF THE BREACH." A story of the tangible things Southern church women, white and Negro, have done together for Negro welfare and interracial understanding. 56 pages, photographs. 1941. Limited supply.	10¢	*	*
GETTING ALONG TOGETHER. A distinquished Southern business and civic leader discusses our need for racial understanding. By Kendall Weisiger. 8 pages.	5¢	$ .50	$4.00
LET'S PULL TOGETHER, KENTUCKIANS. Kentucky's Governor appointed a bi-racial commission to study conditions under which Kentucky Negroes live. This is a summary of what the commission found, with recommendations that serve as a challenge for all Southern states. 6 pages.	5¢	$ .50	$3.50
FACING FACTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA. A South Carolinian looks at his state and decides that state pride should work for a better life there, and not for the ignoring of unpleasant truths. By Marion A. Wright, Conway. Limited quantity.	3¢		
TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS. This is the report in full of the President's Committee on Civil Rights which is issued by the Government Printing Office. Illustrations and charts, readable format. 178 pages.	$1.00		
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS, 1944. An exciting document in the history of progressive Southern movements, this report outlines accomplishments of the Council's first year. Limited supply.	3¢	*	*
THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF LYNCHING. A documented review of lynchings, 1931-1941, this pamphlet emphasizes the changes taking place in the geographic areas where lynchings occur, in the offenses charged against victims, in the size and other characteristics of the lynch mob. By Jessie Daniel Ames. 65 pages. Limited supply.	15¢	*	*
HOUSING IN THE SOUTH. A clearly organized, graphic description of the condition of the roofs over our heads. Census findings are given human meaning in this 18 page, illustrated pamphlet. Prepared by Helen Bridgman.	20¢	*	*

	Single copy	one dozen	one hundred
RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940. Based on a first-hand study of voting practices in the South, this pamphlet traces state by state the increase in Negro voting, its meaning for the Negro and for the South. 26 pages, 2 charts. By Luther P. Jackson.	25¢	$2.75	$23.00
HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION AND HEALTH IN THE SOUTHERN STATES. A discussion of hospital and health needs in the South and the progress which the states are making with federal aid under the Hill-Burton Act. Prepared by Jane P. Simpson. page 7	5¢	*	*

FREE MATERIALS

(As long as they last)

WHICH WAY IS BETTER? Reprints of two July 4 news articles present two appraches in human relations to a nation made up of many peoples.

A SURVEY OF VETERAN SERVICES FOR NEGROES IN ARKANSAS. By Harry L. Wright, former field representative, Veterans Services Division, SRC.

SERVICES FOR NEGRO VETERANS IN LOUISIANA. By George S. Mitchell.

A SURVEY OF VETERANS' SERVICES FOR NEGROES IN OKLAHOMA. By Harry L. Wright.

THE MOB STILL RIDES. The lynching record, 1931-1935.

*Footnote:

We regret that greatly increased costs of paper and printing have forced us to discontinue discounts on quantity orders for our most recent publications and reprintings. (No discounts are given on pamphlets distributed, but not published, by the Council.)

September 22, 1948

ORDERS RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS STATES FROM JANUARY TO SEPTEMBER 15th

STATES	1947 Last Year	1948 ORDERS
Alabama	72	45
Arizona	0	3
Arkansas	25	29
Calif.	43	24
Colorada	7	4
Connect.	10	10
Delaware	1	3
Dist. of Columbus	20	24
Florida	42	50
Georgia	63	100
Idaho	1	0
Illinois	57	41
Indiana	24	22
Iowa	10	17
Kansas	21	14
Kentucky	43	34
Louisiana	33	20
Maryland	7	9
Mass.	13	13
Michigan	28	22
Minnesota	8	18
Mississippi	79	22

States without Orders

Alaska
Maine (3 in 47)
Idaho (1-47)
Nevada
Utah (1 in 47)

STATES	1947	1948 ORDERS
Missouri	47	16
Montana	2	2
Nebraska	6	9
New Hampshire	2	2
New Jersey	31	23
New Mexico	5	1
New York	106	95
North Carolina	71	63
North Dakota	0	4
Ohio	40	31
Oklahoma	23	14
Oregon	11	6
Pennsylvania	36	35
Rhode Island	2	2
South Carolina	57	37
South Dakota	3	1
Tennessee	66	49
Texas	98	65
Vermont	0	1
Virginia	76	60
Washington	9	3
West Virginia	20	9
Wisconsin	24	29
Wyoming	0	2
Canada	1	3
England	0	1
Russia	0	1
Grand Total -	1343	1088

	9/23/48	1/8/48	No - Sold
Southern Regional Council	1, 850	4,879	3,029
America's Tenth Man	10, 900	12,045	1,145
America's Opportunity No. 1	4, 325	11,780	7,455 ?
Singers in the Dawn	7, 375	8,678	1,303
Negro in America (No. 95)	525	450	75
Brothers in Black	1,000	1,966	966
Background for Brotherhood	89	200	111
Jacksonville Looks at its Negro Community	12	19 on 6/30	7
To Secure These Rights - Digest -	3, 700	15,000 ordered	10,300
The Condition of Our Rights	9, 050	10,000 "	950
Color, Class, and Personality	16	28 on 6/30	12
To Stem This Tide	9	27 " 6/30	18
The Negro Press	41	1,000 - ordered	959
Voting Restrictions in the Southern States	225	275 - 6/30	50
Repairers of the Breach	252	272 - 6/30	20
Let's Pull Together Kentuckians	3, 612	3,751 - ~~6/30~~	139
Facing the Facts in South Carolina	26	361	335
To Secure These Rights ($1.00 issue)	19	100 - ordered	81
Executive Report of the Southern Reg. Council	255	265 - 6/30	10
Changing Character of Lynching	402	500	98
Ladies and Lynching	372	470 - 6/30	98
After the War	1, 300	1,400 - 6/30	100
Which Way Is Better?	12, 125	1,225 - 6/30	100
Services for Negroes (veterans) Arkansas	155	200 - 6/30	45
Services for Negroes in Louisiana	2, 100	2,166 - 6/30	66
Services for Negroes in Oklahoma	25	50 - 6/30	25
Services for Negroes in Florida	169	175 - 6/30	6
Unity Begins At Home	4, 300	4,546 - 6/30	246
Opportunity for Negro Veterans in Atlanta	2, 800	2,800 - 6/30	0

Total No of pplt dist. according to inventory = 61, 175

cw There - are approx 36000 = N.S.

ORDERS RECEIVED FOR SRC PAMPHLETS

January 1, 1948 to

September 24, 1948

States	No. of Orders received for To Secure These Rights	No. of Orders received for The Condition of our Rights	Total No. of all orders
Alabama	9	1	47
Alaska			
Arizona	1		3
Arkansas	6	5	29
California	6	2	28
Colorado			4
Connecticut	1	1	10
Delaware		3	
District of Columbia	1		24
Florida	24	5	63
Georgia	42	11	122
Idaho			
Illinois	5	2	42
Indiana	2	2	23
Iowa			17
Kansas	2		16
Kentucky	6	1	38
Louisiana	6	1	23
Maine			
Maryland	1		10
Massachusetts		1	13
Michigan	2	1	22
Minnesota	1	2	18
Mississippi	3	1	22
Missouri	4		17

States	No. of Orders Received for To Secure These Rights	No. of Orders Received for The Condition of Our Rights	Total Number of all Orders
Montana			2
Nebraska	2		9
Nevada			
New Hampshire			2
New Jersey	3		25
New Mexico			1
New York	10	5	98
North Carolina	19	7	69
North Dakota	1		4
Ohio	7	1	36
Oklahoma	4		15
Oregon			6
Pennsylvania	4		37
Rhode Island			2
South Carolina	21	4	44
South Dakota	1		1
Tennessee	16	3	53
Texas	27	2	75
Utah			
Vermont			1
Virginia	10	1	63
Washington			3
West Virginia	2		2
Wisconsin	2		29
Wyoming	2	1	2
Canada			3
England			1
Russia			1
Grand Totals	253	63	1175

Inventory of New South

1946-1948

January 1946	First issue of New South
February	A chance for the Veteran and for the South
March	Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation
April	G I Programs in the South (Alabama Survey)
May	What Happened at Columbia
June	Wanted: A Healthy South
July	Education and Crime
August	A Southerner Looks at the South
September	Machines in the Cotton Fields
October	Youth in Action
November	Industrial Research For Southern Progress
December	SRC Annual Meeting Charts Course for 1947
January 1947	Equality of Opportunity
February	The Second Reconstruction
March	Wanted: An Educated South
April	Mitchell Takes Up Duties As New Director of SRC
May	The Will and the Way
June	"By the People"
July	OUT They Held Their Homes
August	OUT Civil Rights in the South
September	What North Carolina did about Public Health
October	Negro Police in Southern Cities
November	SRC Reports for 1947
December-January	OUT Fourth Annual Meeting Plans Program for 1948
December-January 1948	OUT Fourth Annual Meeting Plans Program for 1948
February	Southwide Civil Rights Meeting to be Sponsored by SRC
March	Southwide Workshops Draft Civil Rights Program
April	Housing in the South
May	Hospital Construction and Health in the Southern States
June-July	Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940
August	Intercultural Education
September	An Honest Answer in Civil Rights Controversy
October	SRC Reports for 1948
November	SRC Annual Meeting Lays Plans for Local Action in 1949
December-January	How a Virginia County made up its Mind
December-January 1949	How a Virginia County made up its Mind
February	The Right to Vote
March	How secure is the Right to Safety of the Person?

3 copies

Inventory of New South
1946 - 1948

January 1946	First issue of New South	950
February	A Chance for the Veteran and for the South	14
March	Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation	
April	G I Programs in the South (Alabama Survey)	150
May	What Happened at Columbia	2,700 -
June	Wanted: A Healthy South	
July	Education and Crime	550 -
August	A Southerner Looks at the South	30
September	Machines in the Cotton Fields	
October	Youth in Action	215 -
November	Industrial Research For Southern Progress	201 -
December	SRC Annual Meeting Charts Course for 1947	125 -
January 1947	Equality of Opportunity	100 -
February	The Second Reconstruction	650 -
March	Wanted: An Educated South	
April	Mitchell Takes Up Duties As New Director of SRC	204
May	The Will and the Way	50
June	"By the People"	
July	OUT	
August	OUT	
September	What North Carolina Did About Public Health	450 -
October	Negro Police in Southern Cities	1,800 -
November	SRC Reports for 1947	1,100 -
December-January	OUT (Fourth Annual Meeting Plan Program for 1948)	
February 1948	Southwide Civil Rights Meeting To Be Sponsored By SRC	100
March	Southwide Workshops Draft Civil Rights Program	250
April	Housing in the South	
May	Hospital Construction and Health in the Southern States	275
June - July	Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940	5,200
Aug -	Intercultural Education	
Sept -	an honest answer in Civil Rights Controversy	
Oct -	S.R.C. Reports for 1948	

Pamphlets listed without number of copies are listed and numbered on June 30, 1948 inventory.

CW.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

INVENTORY

September 19, 1949

	New South (1946-1849)	Approx. No. in Stock	
January (1946)	First issue of New South	800	50
February	A Chance for The Vet. & for the South	60	
March	The South's Future for the Nation	7000	
April	G I Programs in the South (Alabama Survey)	200	
May	What Happened at Columbia	1600	400
June	Wanted: A Healthy South	5250	
July	Education and Crime	300	
August	A Southerner looks at the South	25	
September	Machines in the Cooton Fields	800	
October	Youth in Action	300	
November	Industrial Research for Southern Progress	150	
December	SRC Annual Meeting Charts Course for 1947	300	100
	Index for '46	200	
January (1947)	Equality of Opportunity	50	
February	The Second Reconstruction	450	
March	Wanted: An Educated South	3600	
April	Mitchell Takes Up Duties	200	
May	The Will and The Way	30	
June	"By the People	600	
July	They Held Their Homes	OUT	
August	Civil Rights in the South	OUT	
September	What N.C. did about Public Health	100	
October	Negro Police in Southern Cities	500	
November	SRC Reports for 1947	1200	200
December-January	Fourth Annual Meeting Plans Program for 1948	OUT	
December-January (1948)	Same as Above	OUT	
February	Southwide Civil Rights Meeting to be Sponsored by SRC	25	
March	Southwide Workshops Draft Civil Rights Program	100	
April	Housing in the South	4200	
May	Hospital Construction & Health in the Southern States	30	
June-July	Race & Suffrage in the South Since 1940	2800	
August	Intercultural Education	50	
September	An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy	1200	
October	SRC Reports for 1948	20	
November	SRC Annual Meeting Lays Plans	600	
December-January	How a Virginia County made up its Mind	40	
December-January (1949)	How a Virginia County made up its Mind	40	
February	The Right to Vote	25	
March	How secure is the Right to Safety of the Person?	OUT	
April	The Churches Speak	450	
May-June	A Recommendation for Action by the Southern Governors	900	
July	The Irwinton Story	1500	
August	Mobile Violence	1500	
Sept-			
Phylon	1948 (Third Quarter)	600	

October N.S.

Con't.

PHAMPLETS		Nos. in Stock
Condition of Our Rights		4950
Getting Along Together		550
The Negro in Our Economy		2700
To Secure These Rights		3000
Unity Begin At Home		500
Which Way is Better		400
America Tenth Man		7500
The South ~~'s Future for A Nation~~ Am. Opp #1.		11,250 destroy 10,000
Singers in the Dawn		7000
Let's Pull Together Kectuckians		500
Universal Declaration of Human Rights		500
SRC - Fleming Pph -		1200
Race in the News		4000
The Negro in America	200 free	550
Changing Character of Lynching	200 free	300
Machines in the Cotton Fields	See New South	
Home Town Self-Survey	(Booklet)	73
" " "	(Phamplet)	200
The Negro Press		50
Brothers in Black		50
What AMERICA means to me		50
"Repairers of Breach"		300

~~Southern Regional C~~
What Kind of ~~South~~ do you want.
Voting Restriction

Esleeck
Glassicopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

MANUAL INVENTORY

Completed January 17, 1950

Number of completed Manuals in stock 150

ODD PAGES

Title page 71

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To assemble 170 cc. (using sections already ass. to p. 32) we would have to mimeo (~~[illegible]~~ prob. cutting new stencils for most pages):

Recreation

no good

p. 22, 23 — 150 cc.

24 — 100 cc.

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27 — 150 cc.

Ag. Ind. Empl.

no good

28, 29 — 150 cc.

Pub. Educ

no good

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40, 41 — 125 cc

42, 43 — 50 cc

44, 45 — 15 cc

mimeo to 95M 12-12-49

32 pages — stencils to be cut + run

(2)

Law Enforcement

46, 47 — 80 cc.

no — don't cut pp. 53+4

Gout

55, 56 — 15 cc.

can use pages from 24 assembled rests., pp 52-59

Urban Housing

60, 61 — 130 cc.

62, 63 — 15 cc.

Rural Housing

67, 68 — 50 cc.

Welfare

71, 72 — 165 cc.

73, 74 — 15 cc

Bibliog.

no 3, no 4 — 25 cc

(12 Dec 49 -- JPS, NH)

INVENTORY OF MANUAL FOR THE HOME TOWN SELF-SURVEY

BY COMPLETE SECTIONS (but not assembled)

171 copies assembled to here

Section	Number Complete
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viii	37	
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x	407	
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23	34	text
24	61	quest.
25	33	quest.
26	33	quest.
27	31	quest.

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Public Education (3)		
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36	111	text
37	3(torn)	text
38	3 (torn)	text
39	225	text
40	53	Quest. I
41	53	quest. I
42	129	quest. I
43	129	quest. I
44	164	quest. I
45	164	quest. II
Law Enforcement (103)		
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47	103	text
48	222	quest.
49	222	quest.
50	193	quest.
51	193	quest.
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Urban Housing (50)		
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64	234	quest.
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68	130	text
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	No. Pages	Contents
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74	161	text
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76	190	quest. IA
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33 pages have fewer than 50 copies each.
43 pages have fewer than 100 copies each.

ASSEMBLED SECTIONS

171 copies of Table of Contents, Introduction, and Manual through section on Transportation (page 21).

24 copies of pages 52 through 59 (section on Government and text of Urban Housing).

17 copies of pages 77 (last part of Welfare) through Bibliography.

SRC - Peonage memorandum

Factual Draft Only

PEONAGE

Ira Taylor Vs. State of Georgia

To be boiled down to 4 or 8 page memorandum

1/17/44

PEONAGE Ira Taylor vs State Ga.

Title 26 of the Georgia Code Section 7408 provides:

"Any person who shall contract with another to perform for him services of any kind with intent to procure money, or other thing of value thereby, and not to perform the service contracted for, to the loss and damage of the hirer; or after having so contracted, shall procure from the hirer money, or other thing of value, with intent not to perform such service, to the loss and damage of the hirer, he shall be deemed a common cheat and swindler, and upon conviction shall be punished as for a misdemeanor."

Section 7409 declares:

"Satisfactory proof of the contract, the procuring there on of money or other thing of value, the failure to perform the services so contracted for, or failure to return the money so advanced with interest thereon at the time said labor was to be performed, without good and sufficient cause and loss or damage to the hirer, shall be deemed presumptive evidence of the intent referred to in the preceding section."

Georgia code law, enacted in 1903, has been in effect for 39 years. This law was enacted as an effort to settle the many disputes between tenant and landlord in financial arrangements. The Georgia law is distinctly a southern issue, for here in the deep south the problem of the sharecropper arose. Huge plantations must have many "hands" to harvest the crops and the plantation owner has tried to compromise by allowing tenants to settle on his land and help harvest the crops on share basis. Such tenants who have no desire to own land or not enough initiative to shoulder the responsibility of his own undertaking, has proved of no great benefit to the landlord. Most tenants are shifty, lazy, and ignorant. However, there are two sides to the picture, for on the one hand, it would seem desirable to have such community projects where control was in a governing hand, but as in all such projects there are those landlords who for their financial aid take advantage of such relationships, thus increasing the many problems of ignorant farmers who rent from them. These tenants must live until the crops are harvested. There is the problem of shoes and clothes, the

problem of just living. The landlord confronted with the necessity of supplying goods usually runs a store or some cooperation supplying many farms with such necessities. Many times sharecroppers have just disappeared when the load threatened to engulf him, thus evading a responsibility too much for him. Some landlords took advantage of these ignorant tenants thus encouraging the expenditure of more money than could possibly be earned and thus further complicating the picture. However, to protect the landlord from tenants who evaded their responsibilities the Georgia Law was enacted, thus encouraging by its one sided interpretation, the condition of peonage. Many white and Negro women, placed in such conditions are actually reduced to a condition of slavery. This law or its equivalent is to be found in many southern states. Note the close similarity of the Alabama Law which states:

"Any person, who with intent to injure or defraud his employer, enters into a contract in writing for the performance of any act of service, and thereby obtains money ..... from such employer, and with like intent and

and without just cause, and without refunding such money ..... refuses or fails to perform such act or service, must on conviction be punished ...." (Alabama General Acts, 1907, pp.636-637)

The Georgia Code 1933 Section 38-109 provides:

"To warrant a conviction on circumstantial evidence, the proved facts shall not only be consistent with the hypothesis of guilt, but shall exclude every other reasonable hypothesis save that of the guilt of the accused."

One can see that an individual can never escape from the exorbitant rate of interest that accumulates through the years and not only the gradual accumulation of interest but the additional fines that are placed when such interest is not paid. The debt accumulates and places the person under a condition of peonage. If it so happens that an escape is made then the Georgia and Alabama Codes labels such an individual as a common cheat and swindler and punishes him as a criminal. The punishment for a misdemeanor as provided by section 1039 of the Code of Georgia (Code 27-2506 is as follows:

"Misdemeanors, how punished. Except where otherwise provided, every crime declared to be a misdemeanor shall be punishable by a fine not to exceed $1,000, imprisonment not to exceed six months, to work in the chain gang on the public roads, or on such other public works as the county or State authorities may employ the chain gang, not to exceed 12 months, or any or more of these punishments in the discretion of the Judge ....."

The tenant then to avoid a jail sentence serves as a "peon" or virtual slave for years and even a life time trying to pay off debts that are absurd in the smallness of amount. Cases such as these are frequent and the Georgia law instead of righting a wrong serves to encourage the landlord by its decision. One may say that the whole field of agricultural labor has been victimized and outraged by such unjust procedure. The Negro has been the most frequent victim, but the illiterate white farmer is frequently his comparison in misery. Not understanding the extent to which "borrowing in advance" leads, the victim sees only relief from the needs of the day. However ~~burdens the victim sees only relief from the day but the make of cir-~~ entangled in this maze of circumstances, he is finally led to take one ~~cumstances finally leads him to one of two alternatives, virtual slave or~~ of two alternatives to become a virtual slave or to accept a jail sentence.

~~the worse peon, a jail sentence.~~

Such laws must be declared unconstitutional and many trials have been made to "break them". The Commission of Interracial Cooperation had long been on the alert for such a "test Case". A young lawyer, Mr. T. T. Purdom, of Hancock County, Georgia, wrote to the C. I. C. stating that he had found a suitable case to be used in testing this law. The C. I. C. accepted Mr. Purdom's case and "sought the advice of Mr. Leonard Hass, a prominent and experienced attorney of Atlanta. Mr. Hass immediately volunteered his services and in cooperation with Mr. Purdom argued the case before the supreme court of Georgia, which upheld the law."

(Open letter to the members of the C. I. C. Inc., January 21, 1942-Emily H. Clay)

Mr. Purdom and Mr. Haas studied the case of Ira Taylor, colored, convicted in the superior court of Wilkinson county because of a debt of $19.50 due R. L. Hardie and sentenced to pay a fine of $35 and costs or go to the chain gang for eight months. This case of Ira Taylor was thought "fool proof" and it was decided to use it as a test case. Mr. Haas, a prominent lawyer of Atlanta accepted no fee for the prosecution of this case.

The C. I. C. writes, "we feel especially indebted to Mr. Haas, who refused to accept any compensation from the Commission, insisting that we were doing him a favor in making it possible for him to render this service". Mr. Haas in a letter to Dr. R. B. Eleazer, C. I. C. writes "but after all, the most durable satisfaction is the consciousness of having played some part in removing from the statue books of Georgia this iniquitous law, and of kindling anew the fires of justice. For affording me the opportunity of playing such a part in the case, I am deeply indebted to you, and I shall always feel grateful." The lawyers for the Ira Taylor case could not have been better for they were determined to fight the case for a principle. The C. I. C. defrayed all expenses involved in the court procedure. Realizing the length of time a "test case" may take in order to have it repeated the C. R. I. undertook the financial burden with the hope that this Georgia law would be corrected and men freed from a condition of "coerced labor".

It was agreed then that the Ira Taylor case was suitable for the "test".

The case proved to be satisfactory in every respect. The history of the case is interesting.

In the Supreme Court of Georgia

Ira Taylor
Plaintiff in Error vs. the State of Georgia, Defendant in Error.
No. 13498

Brief on behalf of Plaintiff in Error

Statement of Facts:

Ira Taylor, Defendant in the court below, was indicted by the Grand Jury of Wilkinson county, Georgia, for an alleged violation of the act of 1903, page 90 and 91 (sections 26-7408) (715 P. C.) and 26-7409 (716 P. C.) (see page 1 and 2)

To this indictment the Defendant filed his General Demurrers on constitutional grounds. The Demurrers pointed out that the Statute under which the Defendant was indicted is un-constitutional, illegal, and void because it violates the 13th amendment to the constitution of the U. S. which prohibits slavery or involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, and because it violates an Act of Congress of March 2, 1867 (8 U. S. C. A. 56)

prohibiting peonage within the several states; and because it violates the due process clause and the equal protection clase of the 14th amendment of the constitution of U. S.

The Demurrers were overruled by the Court, and the case having come on for trial, the Defendant entered a plea of not guilty. The evidence was substantially as follows:

R. L. Hardie, a witness for the State, and the Prosecutor, testified in substance: That on March 25, 1939, ~~the~~ he made a contract with Ira Taylor to do manual labor at $1.25 a day. That he was to help Hardie build a house whenever he (Hardie) called on him to work. And that on the strength of this contract he advanced Ira Taylor the sum of $19.50, on or about the 29th day of March, and the Negro did not perform the services. That he asked the Negro later on why he didn't come to work and that he said he didn't want to work and would repay the money. He testified further that if the Negro had good and sufficient cause for not performing the work he did not know of it. He also testified that the defendant was working for Edgar Brothers

and also that the defendant was sick, but walking around, further that he could have been sick, and he not have known it. It is also brought out that Hardie lent Ira Taylor the money in question to pay up a warrant that hardie had taken out against Ira Taylor and also to pay a ~~Dis~~ Doctor's bill.

The Defendant, Ira Taylor, made his statement to the Jury. He said he borrowed $11.75 from Mr. Hardie. That he worked at the mine and was too sleepy to work in the day time. That he had got gassed at the mine and could not work or repay the loan. That he went down to Toomsboro to work and that Mr. Hardie had him locked up before he had made a pay day and could repay the loan. He further stated that he had not signed a contract to work with Mr. Hardie.

In his charge to the jury the Judge charged in the language of the Statute as above set out. The court refused to give in its charge to the jury the Defendant's written request to charge based on the alleged unconstitutionality of the statue. The verdict of guilty was rendered by the jury and court passed sentence on the Defendant.

The Defendant filed his motion for new trial, his amended Motion for New Trial, and his Motion in Arrest of Judgement. In addition to the constitutional grounds set out in the Demurrers to the indictment, the motion in Arrest of Judgment charged that the statute violates the provisions of the constitution of the State of Georgia which prohibits slavery or involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime, prohibiting imprisonment for debt, and the equal protection and due process clauses. After the Motion in Arrest of Judgment was denied by the court, the court passed an order over-ruling the motion for New Trial as amended on each and every ground thereof. The Bill of Exceptions assigns error on the action of lower court, in over-ruling the Defendant's Demurrers Motion in Arrest of Judgment, and Motion for New Trial as amended. In as much as the Defendant in seeking to set aside his conviction relies solely on constitutional grounds the evidence set out in the Record is material only in so far as it relates to these grounds.

Assignments of Error

1. The Georgia Statute violates the 13th amendment to the constitution

of the U. S. and Article 1, Sectionl, paragraph 17, (Code section 2-117) of the constitution of the State of Georgia prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime.

2. The Statute violates the Act of Congress of March 2, 1867, chp. 187, 14 Statute at Large 546, (The provisions of which are now found in Section 1190 and 55267 Revised Statutes, U. S. Comp. Stat. 1901, pgs. 1266, 3715, 8 U. S. C. A. 56) prohibiting peonage in several states.

3. The Statue violates the due process clause and the equal protection clause of the 4th amendment to the constitution of the U. S. and of Article 1, Section 1, paragraphs 2 and 3 (code sections 2-102,103) of the constitution of the state of Georgia.

4. The Statute is repugnant to section 1, article 1, paragraph 21 (code sec. 2-121) of the constitution of the state of Georgia prohibiting imprisonment for debt.

5. The Court erred in charging the jury in the terms and language of a void and unconstitutional statute.

6. The Court erred in refusing Defendant's request to charge.

I
Argument

In as much as the instant case is controlled, we contend, by the rulings of Supreme Court of United States in the cases of Bailey vs. Alabama, 219 U.S., 219,31, Sct. 145; Manley vs. State of Georgia; Western and A. R. R. Co. vs. Henderson.

The The Georgia Statute is repugnant to both the Federal and State constitutions, and is also against the Federal Statute prohibiting peonage. Under this statub it is sufficient for a conviction to show simply that the accused had made the contract in question, had not completely fulfilled it, had refused to return the money, or perform the service without good or sufficient cause, without otherwise showing any fraudulent intent on the part of the accused. In so far as the refusal without just cause, to perform the labor called for or to return the money is made prima facie evidence of intent to defraud; the fundamental purpose of the statute by its necessary operation and obvious effect, is to compel under the sanction of the criminal law enforcement of a contract for personal service, and its natural and inevit-

able effect is to expose to conviction for crime one who simply fails or refuses to perform a contract for personal service in liquidation of a debt, and thus seeks to provide the means for compulsion through which performance of such service may be secured.

The point is that the statute authorizes the jury to convict. Plainly the object of the instant statute was to hit cases which were outside of such inferences (purpose to defraud) and provide that the mere breach of the contract and the mere failure to pay the debt might do duty in the absence of such inferences.

In this case the Defendant was indicted for failing to complete the service or to return the sum of $49.50 advanced to him. The record shows that this money was advanced to the accused to pay off a warrant that the prosecutor had already taken against him and to pay a doctor bill. To say that the accused has been found guilty to defraud and not merely for breaking his contract is a distinction without a difference. The laws of Georgia do not permit him to testify as a witness under oath that he did

not intend to defraud. Unless he were fortunate enough to be able to command evidence of circumstances affirmatively showing good faith, he was helpless. He stood stripped by Statute of the presumption of innocence and exposed to conviction for fraud upon evidence only of breach of contract and failure to pay. And in this connection it is the intent to defraud at the time the money is procured that is gist of crime.

There is no punishment if the service is performed or money refunded, notwithstanding he may have had a fraudulent intent, if the service is rendered in liquidation of the debt, there is no crime or if the money is refunded, but if it is not rendered, and money not refunded there is a crime. That fact alone is sufficient for conviction. The natural and inevitable effect of the Statute is to expose to conviction for crime those who simply fail and refuse to perform contracts for personal service in liquidation of a debt. It seeks in this way to provide the means of compulsion through which performance of such service may be secured. In this respect the statute is plainly in violation of the constitutional

prohibition against slavery or involuntary servitude and against imprisonment for debt.

The 13th amendment to the constitution of U. S. is a charter for universal civil freedom for all persons. Its plain intent was to abolish slavery of whatever nature and form, and all its badges and incidents to render any state of bondage, to make labor free by prohibiting that control by which the personal service of one man is disposed of or coerced for another's benefit which is the essence of involuntary servitude.

- -

It is clear that the statute furnishes a convenient instrument for the coercion, which the constitution forbids; an instrument of compulsion against the poor and ignorant, its most likely victims. There is no more important concern than to safeguard the freedom of labor upon which alone can enduring prosperity be based.

- -

The Statute further violates the equal protection clause of the

of the constitution in that it provides an unlawful discrimination against the laboring class and confers a special privilege or immunity upon all other persons. It is just as reasonable and logical to hold an employer guilty of crime for failure to return money advanced to him by an employer but there is no presumption of fraud raised against the employer in such a case. Most of the cases brought under this statute are those where the landlord farmer has made a loan or advance of funds to a tenant farmer. How difficult and burdensome the lot of the southern landlord farmer may be, and however futile their attempts to make the tenant farmer live up to his agreement, this does not justify the imposition of an arbitrary, oppressive, and unconstitutional law. These landlords are not the only ones to whom money is owed by tenant farmers. Retail clothiers, druggists, and all other retail merchants probably have the same difficulty in collecting their debts and they would have the same right to the benefit of such an oppressive law as the landlord farmer, and in this respect we submit the statute invalid in Ex Parte Hellman, and Ex Parte Drayton, the first named

case being cited by Judge Hughes in his opinion in Bailey vs. Alababama, Supra. A fair reading of Judge Hughes' opinion in the Bailey case will substantiate this construction of the decision. The gist of decision:

"What the state may not do directly it may not do indirectly. It cannot punish the servant as a criminal for mere failure or refusal to serve without paying his debt, it is not permitted to accomplish the same result by creating a statutory presumption which, upon proof of no other fact, exposes him to conviction and punishment."

The Georgia Statute is much more stringent and oppressive than the Alabama Statute because it was incumbent upon the state to prove a fraudulent intent existed both at the time the contract was made and also at the time the contract was breached. But under the Georgia Statute it is only necessary to show fraudulent intent existed simply at the outset- i.e. when contract was made and the money obtained.

Bailey vs. Alabama- decided that the Alabama Statute contravened the 13th amendment and the Peonage Statute.

Judge Hughes stated that it was unnecessary to discuss the contention that the statute also violated the 14th amendment. The decisions of this court holding the Statute valid and constitutional should be reviewed and over-ruled.

The Georgia Statute was enacted in 1903. In 1904, for the case of Lamar vs. State, this court rendered its first decision construing the statute and held that the statute did not violate the provisions of the Georgia constitution, prohibiting imprisonment for debt.

Banks vs. State, 1905, same ruling. In Townsend vs. State, 1905, this court held that the Statute did not violate the Federal Peonage Statute, nor did the provisions of the Georgia constitution prohibit slavery or involuntary servitude except as punishment of crime.

In none of the above cases did the court have benefit of the holding of the Supreme Court of the U. S. in Bailey vs. Alabama, which was decided January 3, 1911.

In 1929, the Supreme Court of the U. S. handed down its decision in Manley vs. State and W. and A. R. R. vs. Henderson, Supra, in which analo-

gous Georgia statutes were held unconstitutional as offending against the due process clause of the constitution, one a criminal statute, the other a civil statute. Since those cases were decided, this court has not had an opportunity to again pass on the constitutionality of the statue under which the Defendant was convicted in the instant case. In view of the ruling of the Supreme Court in those cases, we hereby formally request this court to overrule all decisions of this court holding the Georgia Statute constitutional as against the Assignments of Error made by the accused in this case.

The Bill of Exceptions recites the Plaintiff in Error waived the General grounds of the Motion for New Trial, but we are insisting upon all other Assignments of Error, including the error upon all other Assignments of Error, including the error of the court in charging a void and unconstitutional Statute, and the court's refusal to charge as requested by the Defendant.

(Cont'd)

Decision

State Vs. Ira Taylor

Case No. 13498

In Supreme Court of Ga.

Lawyer T. Purdom writes to Mr. Eleazer--- Mar. ,5,1941

I received today a letter from clerk of the Supreme Court of Ga. stating that the judgement in the above case was affirmed. This is not a great surprise to me for although we hoped to win the case in Ga. courts we both felt that our only real recourse was before the supreme court of U. S. and that we were just going through the procedure necessary to get the case to the U. S. Supreme Court. However, I am disappointed in that the court did not declare sect. 716 unconstitutional on the basis of the conflict with 14th amendment. Haas to Dr. Eleazer March 14, 1941

In re: Ira Taylor V State of Ga.

The writer has not yet read the opinion of the court but it must have been based on constitutional grounds, which would

leave the way open to an appeal to the Supreme Court of U. S.

August 25, 1941

Haas The printed Bried we have filed in the Supreme Court of the U. S.

Haas to Eleazer Dec. 13, 1941

I am today in receipt of a letter from the Hon. Charles Fahy, Solicitor General, enclosing copies of the memorandum filed by the U. S. as amicus curiae in the above entitled cause. I am satisfied this memorandum will prove very helpful to us in our attack on Ga. Labor contract act.

No. 70

In the Supreme Court of U. S. Oct. term, 1941

Ira Taylor appellant

The State V of Ga.

On appeal from the Supreme court of the State of Ga.

Memorandum for U. S. as amicus curiae.

We agree with the contentious of appellant that the statute

contravenes the 13th amendment and the Fed. legislation prohibiting Peonage. We think also, that the Ga. Statute violates the 14th amendment in that it creates an arbitrary and unreasonable presumption of guilt.

The chief interest of U. S. in this case lies in fact that Ga. Statute hinders the enforcement in State of Federal criminal statutes safeguarding civil rights secured by the constit. and laws of U. S.

The dept. of Justice is charged with the responsibility of enforcing the following sections of criminal code:(Sect. 269 18 U. S. C Sec. 444) prohibiting the holding or returning of any person to a condition of peonage; Sect.268 (18USCS443) prohibiting the carrying away of any person to be held as a slave; Sect. 19(18 USC sec.51) prohibiting conspiracies to injure or oppress any citizen in the exercise of rights or privileges secured by the constitution and laws of U. S. and Sect. 20(18USC Sect 52) prohibiting the deprivation of such rights under color

of State law. Recent fed. investigation in Ga. have disclosed that the involutary service of debtors have been coerced in whole or in part by the threat of prosecution under state statute. In the face of colorable legality under the state law of such enforced labor in liquadation of debts, it is impossible as a practical matter to obtain indictments and convictions and result has been that the Fed. Statutes, principally, that the department appears in this case, as amicus curiae, in support of the appeal.

Argument

The Ga. Statute violates the 13th

1) amendment and Fed. legislation prohibiting peonage.

2) The Ga. Statute creates an arbitrary and unreasonable evidentiary presumption and is therefore violative of 14th amendment.

The reasoning in the Bailey decision impels the conclusion that this court necessarily deemed the similar presumption in Ala. Statute arbitrary. And in holding analogous statutory presumptions involid under the due process clause this court, in later decisions relied upon its decision in the Bailey case. Manley Vs. Ga.,279

Western and Atl. Railroad Co. Vs. Henderson. The pragmatic effect of a statute of this character is, as this court said in Bailey case, that the accused stands "stripped by statute of the presumption of innocence, and exposed to conviction for fraud upon evidence only of breach of contract and failure to pay".

Conclusion

The Ga. Statute is repugnant to 13 and 14th amendments and the federal legislation prohibiting peonage. It differs in no substantial respect from the statute condemned by this court in Bailey vs. Ala.219 US 219. The decision of the supreme Court of Ga. upholding of the statute should be reversed.

Respt. Submitted

Charles Fahy

Sol. General.

Wendell Berge

Assistant Att. Gen.

Robert Erdohl

Keith Brown

Fred G. Folsom Jr.

Atty.

From Supreme Court Reporter

Vol.6 - Feb. 1. 1942 No.6

Taylor Vs. State of Ga.

No 70

Argued Dec. 15, 16, 1941

Decided Jan. 12, 1942

Facts in Case given

Appellant demurred to indictment, asserting that 7408-7409, u upon which it was based, were repugnant both to 13th amendment and act of Congress passed pursuant to it, and to the due process clause of 14th amendment. The demurrer was overuled, exception was taken and case went to trial.------- The trial judge charged the jury in language of 7408-7409. He refused to instruct the jury that these sections are repugnant to 13 and 14 amendments of U. S. The jury returned a verdict of guilty and judgement of conviction was entered. Appellant moved for a new trial on ground that 7408-09 violated provisions of both the Federal and State constitution, and motion was denied. On appeal, the convictio

was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Ga, 191 .682, 3SF 2 647.

We are told that the manner in which these sections have been interpreted by courts of Ga. rescues them from invalidity. It is urged that the phrase "withoud good and sufficient cause", which appears in 7409, in effect requires proof of fraudulent intent at the time of making the contract and obtaining the money. But this argument is wide of the mark. The words without good and sufficient cause plainly refer to failure to perform the services or to return the money advanced. Since the subsequent breach of the contract by the defendant, however, capricious or reprehensible, does not establish a fraudulent intent at the initial stage of the transaction. The content which has been assigned to the phrase " without good and sufficient cause" by Ga. courts is immaterial. See Bailey Vs. Ala.

We think sections of Ga. Code upon which this conviction fests afe repugnant to 13th amendment,and to Act of 1867 and

The conviction therefore must be reversed.

Reversed

Mr. Justice Roberts took no part in decision of this case. The Junior Lawyer Mr. Thomas Taylor Purdom took great interest in the case of Ira Taylor, finding and fealizing the importance of such a"test" case as setting a precedent for breaking the Georgia Code. Mr. Purdom was admitted to U. S. Supreme Court practice on the preceding Monday Dec.15, 1941. This case wasimportant to him from an altruistic viewpoint and as well as establishing him as a competent lawyer in Atlanta Courts. His association with the experienced lawyer Mr. Haas furthered encouraged him in the undertaking of the trial case.

The C. R. I was determined to push the case and not only paid all fees in its connection, but assummed the sponsorship and the responsibility of such an undertaking.

This case excited great interest in colored a d white people for only by winning the test case could the old Ga. Code Law be nullified.

b) The colored and white press expressed the public opinion of both races.

The Pittsburgh Courier

Dec.20, 1941 writes " Supreme Court asked to outlaw Ga. Peonage. Brilliant Plea analyzes Status of Slave debtor,

Wash., D.C. Dec.18 " while all America was celebrating the 150th anniversary of the bill of rights Monday, the U. S. Supreme Court here was formally requested to issue a second " Emancipation Proclamation" to abolish widespread peonage in the State of Ga."

"Attack made on Slave System"

Attorneys Haas and Purdom appealed the case to the Ga. Supreme Court ruling, opposing such debt servitude. Although Taylors' case is being used to test the Ga. Code, the lawyers made it plain that they were attacking the whole widespread peonage system.

To prove how widespread this system is, the attorneys quoted a resolution from the Ga. Baptist convention (white)in 1939 which declared:" There are more Negroes held by these debt than were actually owned as slaves before the was between the

States. The method is the only thing which has changed."

The Attorneys also illustrated this intention of the Ga. Supreme Court to uphold this system by pointing out that this court has thrice upheld the constitution of the Statute since the U. S. Supreme court ruled against such peonage in the case of Bailey Vs. Alabama some 30 years ago.--------

" In a brilliant brief filed with the court, they quoted associate Justice Hugo Black's decision on the Fla. " Little Scottsboro case" which said:

" Today, as in ages past, we are not without tragic proof that the exalted power of some governments to punish manufactured crime dictatorially is the handmaid of tyranny. Under our constitutional system, courts stand against any winds that blows as haven of d) refuge for those who might otherwise suffer because they are helpless, weak, and outnumbered, or because they are non-conforming victims of prejudice and public excitement."

In a plea for outlawing of the peonage statute the lawyers told the court: " A ringing pronouncement from this tribunal,

declaring this oppressive statute unconstitutional and void, would constitute a second Emancipation Proclamation for the present debt slaves in Georgia."

In Pittsburgh Courier, Dec. 20, 1941 it was stated," The chief interest of the U. S. in this case," the brief said ,lies in the fact that the Ga. Statute hinders the enforcement in that State of Federal criminal statutes s feguarding Civil rights secured by the constitution and laws of the U. S."

The Atlanta Journal 1/12/42 has its head lines " Georgia's 1903 Statute Produces Peonage, Supreme Court Decision Rules. The Supreme Court held unconstitutional Monday a e) 1903 Ga. Statute challenged by the justice department on the ground that it produced " Peonage" called " Repugnant", Justice Byrnes said that the sections of the Ga. code under which the defendant was convicted were "repugnant to the 13th amendment" to the Federal constitution, which prohibits slavery or involuntary servitude except as punishment for crime. He added that"the conviction must, therefore, be reversed."

" The necessary consequences is that one who has received an

advance on a contract for services which he is unable to repay is bound by the threat of penal sanction to remain at his employment until the debt has been discharged.

" Such coerced labor is peonage." The 39 years statute has especial application to those perplexing relations between landlord and tenant in agriculture and the furnishing of supplies by landlord in the interior before harvest. It was written into Ga. code because there were, and undoublely have been since then, many cases in which croppers abused the relationship. They accepted the advances from the purse of the landlord and dishonestly evaded their obligations by flight. On the other hand, it is easily to be seen that what Justice Byrnes terms the " threat of penal sanction" could give to an unscrupulous landlord an arbitraru and unmerciful hold over the unfortunate and underprivileged humans whom he might desire to exploit.

It is against American Principle to imprison for debt, unless there be evident fraudulence in the transaction. Ga. itself was founded, partly, as a haven for imprisoned debtors, so if it

be true, as the Dept. of Justice has declared, that the involuntary service of debtors is being coerced in Ga. by threat of prosecution under this statutem we rejoice that the law has been declared null and void."

New York Times , Dec.11. 1941

Attack Ga. Act

Gov. Attorney Files Brief in Supreme Court.

Washington Dec.10 Reports that through a brief filed in the Supreme Court the Gov. today challanged the constitutionality of the Ga. Labor contract act, said to be invoked often to prevent prosecutions for violation of Fed. Statutes barring slavery and peonage.

Press Service C. I. C. R. B. Eleazer, Educational Director

Atlanta, Georgia Jan. 13, 1941

Georgia's labor contract law, sometimes called the "peonage law" was yesterday pronounced unconstitutional by U. S. Supreme court. The decision was written by Justice James Byrnes, former Senator from S. C.

The court gave an 8 to 0 verdict against the law on the grounds that it violates the 13th amendment which prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude.

Convinced that the law under which he was convicted encouraged peonage and believing it to be unconstitutional , the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with headquarters here, engaged the service of Attys. Leonard Hass and T. T. Purdom, of this city, to carry it through the courts.

The Negroes of Ga. and the South in general, have reason to be thankful to C. I. C. for the interest and support, both moral and financial shown in the test case of Ira Taylor Vs State of Ga. That two young white Ga. Lawyers took sufficient interest in seeing justice received by all men gives encouragement that the South will not allow color to stand in the face of freedom. Attys. Purdom and Haas pushed the Taylor case to its final decision in the supreme court of U. S., giving their time and service, without pay in the interest of humanity. No higher tribute can be paid to a cause. We feel that the test case of Taylor Vs State

of Ga. has set a precedent for the future in hope of a better condition. On the face of this decision can we hope that no longer will as many men of both races be forced into slavery. By the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court those unlawful landlords will think twice before taking advantage of a class of people who should be educated and helped with their problem of living. That the continuance of such cases cropping out will occur, but renewed hope since the Supreme Court of Ga. cannot endorse the wrongs may help correct many of the evils. On the one hand a brighter side exist. Some of the wrongs may be set right and the tenant farmer will get better treatment,i.e., will not be put in jail. The darl side of the picture will exist as long as there are tenant farmers and landlords. The landlord of an unscrupulous nature knowing of the decision of the Supreme Court will be careful not to bring his victim to court, but what is to prevent him from extracting every penny or ounce of work by coercion or threat of physical punishment"within the law".

Who is to educate the Tenant Farmer so that he shall know his rights and even after knowing the laws give him moral courage to ask for their enforcement?

This decision means the end of the "Peonage system". No, it is only the beginning of the fight by agencies like N.A.A.C.P., the C.I.C. and Justice seeking men like Haas and Purdom to try to enforce the law, to deal with ignorance and greed. That such a decision has won encourages and gives hope for such agencies to continue their work in helping those who cannot help themselves.

SRC

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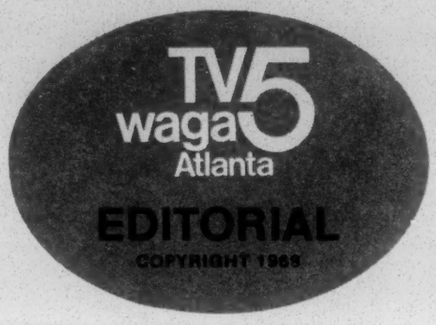

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ATLANTA, GA.
(404) 875-5551

FUNDS ON VOTER REGISTRATION SHOULD BE TAX EXEMPT

(Presented by Ray Moore)

Monday, December 1, 1969

Camera on Moore: There is one provision in the tax reform bill now before Congress that could hurt the organized efforts to get people registered as voters. It would prevent tax-exempt funds from being used for this purpose. It would just about wreck the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, an old organization with a great reputation and a great record of working for inter-racial progress. It is headquartered in Atlanta.

The Council's Voter Education Project has been financed largely from grants from about a dozen foundations. The money has sustained efforts in Georgia and other southern states to stir Negro residents into active citizenship by getting them registered to vote. Political activity is one thing; we think Congress should NOT grant tax-exemption to funds used in behalf of political candidates or causes. But getting people registered to vote is non-political and it's the course a lot of people have advocated to get protests out of the streets and into the voting booths in keeping with the democratic process. Most of this voter-registration effort is with black residents, because that's still where the need is greatest.

RP Although impressive gains have been made, only 62% of the black population of voting age in 11 southern states is registered, compared with 78% of the white population. And there is no question of dominance. The 1968

RP figures show 15.7 million whites registered in the 11 southern states, and 3.1 million blacks. Regardless of figures, the point is that active citizen-

Camera on Moore: ship makes for a healthy nation and a major responsibility of citizenship is to vote. TV-5 urges our Georgia Congressmen to fight to keep tax exemption for funds spent on voter registration. The tax reform bill is being considered now. A letter to your Congressman on this can help.

WAGA-TV offers a reasonable opportunity to reply to the views expressed in the editorial to a responsible person or group representing a significant opposing viewpoint, provided request for reply time is submitted to WAGA-TV within one week of this telecast.

M E M O

Sept. 11, 1972

TO: Doris Reed, Marsha Hudgins

FROM: Marge Manderson

Dr. R. Wheeler
Mr. Wright
Mr. Dabbs

To advoid duplication, here's what I know thus far about location of photographs and clippings:

1. Photos, Commission on Interracial Cooperation:

   a. Two photographs of Will Alexander, one credited Farm Security Administration, 1937; the other "Photograph by Leon Trice, New Orleans, From a portrait of Will Alexander painted by Betsy Graves, presented to Dillard University..." appear in SEEDS OF SOUTHERN CHANGE, Dykeman-Stokely, and presumably could be obtained from same source Wilma Dykeman used.

   b. The same applies to a photograph of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames (facing p. 177), no credits.

   c. According to Dykeman-Stokely, there were additional significant members of Will Alexander's staff, see. p. 112 and p. 117 SEEDS OF SOUTHERN CHANGE: "The four most important members of Alexander's staff during the twenty-five years of the Interracial Commission's existence were Thomas J. Woofter, Jr., Robert B. Eleazer, Arthur Raper, and Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames." (~~Raper/Research~~ Woofter: ~~RCs~~ Research Director, 1920-1926; Eleazer, Educational Director for Twenty years; Raper, presumably research and writing; Ms. Ames: probably ~~dir~~ director of women's work and definitely head of ~~Southern~~ Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of ~~Lynching/~~ Lynching.) Also, Miss Emily Clay, "...the exceptionally able secretary who frequently carried executive duties as well..."

   I mention these additions because Dr. Raper presumably will be at the annual meeting, and we perhaps don't want to play up Mrs. Ames without/~~presenting/Raper/as~~ giving Raper equal time by way of ~~phoness~~ mention, since he was also on staff. I don't know if Eleazer or Woofter are still living.

   Incidentially, I would hope this Dykeman-Stokely sentence could be repeated in written history: "Their office in Atlanta was the bond which held local and state committees, sometimes as many as eight hundred, to a common purpose..." (emphasis mine). I think it's profoundly significant that the Commission was able to carry out ~~the~~ its goal of ~~a~~/ operating through state and local committees in the era between 1919 and 1944.

   Second note: ~~I/was/to/a/de~~ While Mrs. Tilly was not on the paid staff of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (or is not mentioned as paid staff by Dykeman-Stokely) she is refered to as: "One of

Mrs. Ames most dedicated co-workers (in Association of Southern Women to Prevent Lynching). Perhaps we'd better show ~~here~~ her photo somewhere either in connection with ASWPL or in connection with The Fellowship of the Concerned, which was her baby during SRC employment (and quite an active force).

2.
So line-up on photos appears to be:
A.
Commission on Interracial Cooperation:

Staff:

Will Alexander (contact Wilma Dykeman for source of SEEDS OF SOUTHERN CHANGE photo

Jesse Daniel Ames (as above)

Arthur Raper (Do we want his photo?)
Thomas J. Woofter, Jr. (Do we want his photo?)
Robert B. Eleazer (Do we want his photo?)
Miss Emily Clay (Do we want her photo?)

Board or Officers:

(I don't know at this point who they were, but presumably we'll run across them in newsclip and material research and can make a decision about including ~~them~~ their photos.)

B. Fellowship of the Concerned or SRC staff or ASWPL: Mrs. Dorothy Tilly
Source: ~~Recent/Late~~ Photos were hard to come by. One drawing appears in New South. Perhaps family is good source.

C: Southern Regional Council

Presidents:
Howard Odum
Paul Williams
Marion Wright
James McBride Dabbs
John Wheeler
Dr. Raymond Wheeler

Directors:
Guy Johnson
George Mitchell
Harold Fleming
Les Dunbar
Paul Anthony
George Esser

~~D/~~ 3. FACE OF THE SOUTH
I'm apparently wrong; the "second" movie I remembered apparently is background to the George Mitchell map talk and both are called FACE OF THE SOUTH. ~~I/have~~ ~~such~~ I'll check further.

4. CLIPPINGS ON INTERRACIAL COMMISSION

Doris, if the clips you mention are incomplete, Dykeman & Stokely cites ~~personal~~ ~~collections/of/the~~ "the largest primary collections" as "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation files at Atlanta University." I'll be glad to look through (or share looking through) either or both.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Study Says South Imposes Heavy Tax Onus on Poor

(33) By B. DRUMMOND AYRES
Special to The New York Times 2/5/74

ATLANTA, Feb. 4 — The South, with nearly half the 20 million persons regarded by the Federal Government as below the poverty level, imposes an unusually heavy tax burden on the poor, according to a new study.

The study by the Southern Regional Council, an Atlanta organization that keeps tabs on sociological progress in the South, shows, for example, that in 1972 the average American earned $4,119 and paid $84.90 in sales taxes. But in Mississippi, the state with the lowest per capita income in the nation, the average person earned $2,772 and paid $124.54 in sales taxes. The Federal poverty level is $3,000 a year for a family of four.

"It is ironic," the study says, "that the lowest income states make the greatest use of those taxes which weigh most heavily on the poor.

"It might be expected that per capita sales taxes in the South would be lower, since incomes are generally lower than in the rest of the country. But the contrary is true."

The study contends that sales taxes discriminate against the poor because such taxes are not graduated according to income and therefore are "regressive" rather than "progressive." Most Federal taxes are graduated.

Reluctance to Change

The inequity is aggravated, the study asserts, by state reluctance to increase income, property, business and death taxes paid by more affluent Southerners.

For instance, in evaluating the combined burden of sales, income and property taxes on residents of Southern cities, the study found that such levies took 12.3 per cent of the income of a family living on $2,000 annually, but only 5.9 per cent of the income of a family living on $25,000 a year.

At the same time, the study found that sales, income and property taxes accounted for two of every three tax dollars collected by Southern states and cities.

Delineating the specific burden of the sales tax in the South, the study found that in 1972, the latest year for which complete figures are available, residents in eight of 11 Southern states paid a higher percentage of their income in such taxes than did residents of states outside the South.

For the country as a whole that year, the average American paid $20.66 in sales taxes for every $1,000 earned. However, Alabamians paid $24.40; Tennesseeans, $26.89; Floridians, $31.72, and Mississippians,

Three Below Average

While the average state used sales taxes to raise 29.4 per cent of its income in 1972, such taxes were used to raise 31.5 per cent of Alabama's income, 39.9 per cent of Tennessee's, 43.9 per cent of Florida's and 47.9 per cent of Mississsippi's.

The only Southern states to put less than average emphasis on the sales tax in 1972 were North Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

Looking at the over-all Southern tax picture, the Southern Regional Council study concludes:

"For the most part the Southern states are not taxing themselves as heavily as the rest of the nation. The low tax effort, however, is not consistent across the board for all taxes.

"Compared to all the state averages, the tax effort on regressive sales taxes in the Southern states is high, on progressive income taxes it is somewhat lower, and on property taxes it is considerably lower. NY Times

"Unfortunately, from the viewpoint of equitable taxation, when local governments have been hard-pressed for tax revenues in the Southern states, they have all turned to the regressive sales tax."

'No Significant Action'

The study says that the regressivity of sales taxes could be reduced if exemptions were applied to necessities like foodstuffs and medicines. However, only Texas and Florida allow such exclusions.

In Virginia last fall, exemptions were one of the hottest issues in a gubernatorial campaign. The candidate who advocated them was defeated.

In its concluding chapter, the Southern Regional Council tax study urges Southern states to put more emphasis on income taxes, particularly in the upper brackets. It notes that in 1971, the latest year for which figures are available, nine Southern states collected less than the national average of $17.05 per $1,000 of personal earnings.

On estate, inheritance and gift taxes, the study reports that 10 Southern states levy less than average amounts. It declares flatly:

"No significant action has been taken in the Southern states in the past five years to strengthen death taxes."

As for property taxes, the study notes a clamor across the South for relief despite the fact that "property taxes are low in the South and constitute the largest single unused potential for additional local revenue."

The study then asserts that relief should be restricted to "those in greatest need of relief — families and individuals with low-income and those with fixed incomes."

Of the South's 10 million low-income residents, two-thirds are white. However, poverty is more prevalent among the black minority, afflicting one of every three Negroes compared with one of every five whites.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Transportation-Segregation Study

Subject: Listing of Photographs Date:

Interviewer:

Reporter: Hadley, Carruthers, Slade, Lyons

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1 FIVE POINTS (1)

August 28, 1945

VIEW OF STREET CAR ON PEACHTREE AT FIVE POINTS (1)

2 Time: About 9:00 A.M. CWT
Date: August 27, 1945

3 SCENE AT PEACHTREE STREET AND AUBURN AVENUE (1)

August 27, 1945

4 SCENE AT PEACHTREE STREET AND AUBURN AVENUE (1)

August 27, 1945

5 VIEW AT PEACHTREE STREET AND AUBURN AVENUE ABOUT 5 P.M. (1)

August 28, 1945

6 VIEW OF PEACHTREE STREET AND AUBURN AVENUE ABOUT 5:40 P.M. CWT (1)

August 28, 1945

7 STREET CAR AND BUS AT PEACHTREE STREET AND AUBURN AVENUE
DURING MORNING RUSH HOUR (1)

August 28, 1945
Note separation of races on platform.

8 PEACHTREE AND AUBURN VIEW IN LATE AFTERNOON (1)

August 28, 1945

9 LOADING OF A CAR AT MITCHELL AND FORSYTH STREETS WHICH SERVES PREDOMINANTLY COLORED SECTIONS. (1)

Time: Approximately, 6:00 P. M., CWT
Date: August 28, 1945

10 A TRACKLESS TROLLEY BOUND FOR EAST POINT BEING LOADED AT MITCHELL AND FORSYTH STREETS, LATE AFTERNOON. (1)

August 28, 1945
Note: Whites enter first

11 THE FRONT STREET CAR STANDING AT FORSYTH AND MARIETTA STREETS IS MAGNOLIA CAR WHICH SERVES PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SECTIONS.(1)

Loading, late afternoon
August 28, 1945

12 VIEW AT BROAD AND WALTON STREETS ABOUT 8:30 A.M. CWT on AUGUST 27, 1945.(1)

Note: At this point many domestic and personal service people board trackless trolleys.

13 SCENE AT BROAD AND MARIETTA STREETS LOOKING NORTH (1)

August 27, 1945

SCENE AT BROAD AND MARIETTA STREETS LOOKING NORTH (1)

14 August 28, 1945
Note: Negroes load last

15 A STREET CAR WHICH SERVES PREDOMINANTLY COLORED SECTIONS IS BOARDED BY NEGROES DURING AFTERNOON RUSH HOUR. (1)

August 28, 1945
Note colored passengers occupying front seats
Location: Broad and Alabama Streets

16 VIEWS OF THE GEORGIA POWER COMPANY WAITING FACILITY AT WALTON AND FAIRLIE STREETS, EARLY EVENING. (3)

17 August 28, 1945
Note: View 2. See mixing of races at loading time.
18 View 3. See position of two colored girls at right. Whites occupy seats.

LINE: N. C. AND ST. L.
DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 11:30 A.M. EWT
19 DATE: August 25, 1945
COLORED COACH VIEW

LINE: N. C. AND ST. L.
20 DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 11:30 A.M. EWT
DATE: August 25, 1945
COLORED COACH VIEW

LINE: SOUTHERN (1)
21 DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 2:30 P.M. EWT
DATE: September 1, 1945

Ice in wash basin in men's toilet (colored)
Note: Obviously passengers cannot use basin.

LINE: SOUTHERN (1)
22 DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 2:30 P.M. EWT
DATE: September 1, 1945

View of Men's Room (Colored)

LINE: SOUTHERN
23 DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 2:30 P.M. EWT
DATE: September 1, 1945

24 Colored Coach Views (2)

25

LINE: GEORGIA RAILROAD (1)
DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 9:00 A.M. EWT
DATE: August 25, 1945

Negro passengers standing in baggage car.

Note: Baggage attendant in rear.

26

LINE: GEORGIA RAILROAD (1)
DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 9:00 A.M. EWT
DATE: August 25, 1945

Crowding on platform of colored coach

27

SCENE ON DAY COACH (1)
GEORGIA RAILROAD FROM ATLANTA TO AUGUSTA
VIEW TAKEN JUST OUTSIDE ATLANTA

Date: August 25, 1945
Time of Train Departure: 9:00 EWT

28

LINE: A. AND W. P. (1)
DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 1:25 EWT
DATE: August 25, 1945

Colored Coach View

29

LINE: CENTRAL OF GEORGIA
DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 5:00 P.M. EWT
DATE: August 25, 1945

View of Negro passengers in baggage car.

30

LINE: CENTRAL OF GEORGIA (1)
DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 5:00 P.M. EWT
DATE: August 25, 1945

View of Negro passengers in baggage car.

31 LINE: CENTRAL OF GEORGIA (1)
DEPARTED FROM ATLANTA - 5:00 P.M. EWT
DATE: August 25, 1945

Coach view — Other Negro passengers in baggage car of same train

32 GREYHOUND BUS TERMINAL (1)
Date of Picture: August 28, 1945

Note: Left of waiting room is entrance to baggage room. Right of waiting room is rear entrance to kitchen.

Garbage cans are always near entrance. Entrance is located on the side of bus station.

33 GREYHOUND BUS TERMINAL (1)
Date: August 25, 1945

Negro passengers seated on rail leading to waiting room for colored, while waiting room is crowded.

Note entrance driveway for busses, trucks, etc. Waiting room for colored faces this driveway.

34 GREYHOUND BUS TERMINAL (1)
Date of picture: August 25, 1945
Time: About 7:00 P.M., EWT
Colored waiting room interior

Note: Persons in rear are in line for tickets.

35 A VIEW OF UNION STATION MEN'S ROOM DURING RUSH HOUR ON MORNING OF AUGUST 27, 1945. (1)

36 MAN WEARING BUTTON OF DISCHARGED SOLDIER MANHANDLED BY WHITE MAN WHO APPARENTLY WAS "PLAIN CLOTHES MAN" (DETECTIVE).

Place: Union Station
Date: August 25, 1945
Time: 7:45 P.M., EWT

Four shots

TERMINAL STATION TICKET OFFICE ENCLOSURE. COLORED WAITING ROOM. (1)

37 Note: On far door where two men and one woman stand is Enter Here. At other door where one woman stands is out sign.

August 25, 1945

TERMINAL STATION ENTRANCE TO RESTAURANT FOR COLORED (1)

38 Date: August 21, 1945
Time: 4:40 P.M. CWT

Note: Restaurant for Colored is printed in water colored, faded.

See the Coca Cola machine — the only automatic device in waiting room.

TERMINAL STATION BARBER SHOP FOR COLORED (1)

39 Location: Basement of station below colored waiting room.

Date: August 27, 1945

TERMINAL TICKET OFFICE ENCLOSURE (1)

40 -During a lull.

Direct line to Western Union is the only telegraphic service provided in colored waiting room.

Men may be seen at the one window which is open to serve Negroes at this station. The two windows to the right were never open for service during observation.

August 28, 1945

TERMINAL STATION TICKET OFFICE ENCLOSURE IN COLORED WAITING ROOM (1)

41 August 21, 1945
Time: 3:30 P.M. CWT

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY

Removed 33 photographs + 6 negatives

out to SRC

MC
5/3/79

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

NORTH CAROLINA PLAN FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION AND STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Presented by A. E. Manley, Dean
North Carolina College at Durham
Durham, N. C.

***

[On] last October 30, [1946,] Dr. Shepard and Dr. Newbold called a meeting of Negro educators in North Carolina to discuss with members of the Veterans Administration the state-wide program for the education of veterans in North Carolina. The idea behind the meeting was to determine, as far as possible, the services that were available to veterans in institutions offering on-the-job training, high school and college training.

There were representatives from high schools, colleges and from state agencies such as the State Department of Education, School Health Coordinating Service, the Department of Public Welfare, etc. Following this meeting it was agreed that an Advisory Committee on Veterans Education should be organized to do what the name of the committee implies--advise the Veterans Administration with respect to educational problems. A follow-up meeting was, therefore, held at North Carolina College at Durham on February 6, 1947. The purposes of this meeting were (1) to organize a control committee to advise the Veterans Administration and the State Department of Education in the training of veterans in North Carolina, and (2) to develop a state-wide plan for the education of veterans.

To set the background for the meeting excerpts were read by the acting chairman from the report of a study of educational programs for veterans in the South. This study was made by Dr. George S. Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council and appeared in "South Today".

The type of programs for which funds were available from the Veterans Administration were given considerable attention. Dr. Virgil Clift, of A. & T. College, indicated that funds were available from the Veterans Administration

for: (1) the regular college program, (2) veterans who are high school candidates and who are interested in refresher work in order to gain admittance to college, (3) the accelerated high school program from which the veteran obtains his high school diploma upon completion of his high school work, (4) the college refresher program which is designed for those veterans interested in professional or graduate education, (5) combination vocational and high school work which offers trade courses on the high school level, (6) agricultural program for individuals taking on-the-farm training, (7) on-the-job training--here the applicant secures training through a business firm, (8) special schools--such as those providing training in radio mechanics, and (9) off campus centers where veterans pursue high school or college education which clears through some college.

In the discussion of this same topic it was further brought out that under Public Law 16 the Veterans Guidance Administration or Veterans Rehabilitation Administration, ex-service men are restricted as to school and type of training available and, under Public Law 346 no limitations are made and the veteran is able to choose the school and type of vocational training he desires.

The eligibility for compensation for work done outside the usual administrative duties expected of the principal was discussed and it was the consensus of opinion that any rulings on this matter would have to be issued by the State Board of Education since the Department of Public Instruction did not have any authority over such matters.

A second important topic related to the status of the Negro veteran in North Carolina. Specifically, the question was, "Who is the Negro veteran in North Carolina?" During this phase of the discussion it was reported that

only 1.4% of Negroes from North Carolina who enlisted in the armed services during World War II had four years of college training and up. The idea was expressed that before an adequate educational program could be established on a state-wide basis in North Carolina, it was imperative that the educational level be obtained of all Negro veterans residing in North Carolina. It was found, for example, that no statistics were available as to the educational level of the white and Negro veterans in North Carolina. Several possible sources for obtaining these data were suggested.

Another topic centered around the question, "What are the present programs for Negro veterans in North Carolina?" Mr. Harrill, of the Veterans Administration, gave the following as programs now in operation for veterans:

1. Adult program of education, veterans who desire practical knowledge and want to learn to read and write are enrolled at any academic level. Classes are small and must take place in an approved high school.

2. Accelerated course. Veteran enrolled at any academic level. The classes are small, individual attention is given. When the applicant has progressed fully he can get a high school diploma. The length of training is not limited, and instruction must be in an accredited high school.

3. Vocational school. The veteran learns a trade such as bricklaying, plumbing, carpentry, motor mechanics, etc.

4. Regular high school curriculum.

5. College education.

   a. Off campus training, (one in Fayetteville and one in Asheville). Here the student pursues a regular college course and his work clears through some college within the state.

At the end of this presentation the opinion was expressed that vocational offerings not based on high school level proved best for Negro

veterans. Furthermore that A. & T. College provides the best training of this type in the South for Negroes. There is none available for whites.

Mr. Hemingway, Chief Officer of the Veterans Administration, added two supplementary programs to the list given by Mr. Harrill, namely, the Junior High School Program and the Vocational Agricultural Program.

Following up the discussion of the funds available for veterans education, the Negro veteran in North Carolina and the present programs for Negro veterans in the State, the discussion turned to plans for meeting the training needs of veterans. It was agreed that instead of encouraging more types of training, more facilities should be provided to enable more veterans to profit from the available training programs; that wherever adult education takes place, the veteran should be consulted as to his needs and desires; that adult education should stress the point of training and special fields that are not covered in any other curriculum. For example, should the veteran be interested in housing, loans, real estate, qualified persons should be called in at different intervals to give the veteran information concerning the problem. Since many teachers on the secondary school level are teaching afternoon and evening classes composed of veterans, the question was raised as to whether a teacher may fail in the teaching of adults who succeeds with adolescents. The answer was that experts in adult education agree that this is highly possible. Generally adults work better under less supervision and in informal circumstances. In order to help teachers who are working with veterans on the secondary level it was felt that some institutes or workshops should be established for the purpose of training people who plan to work with veterans. The observation was made by the head of the Veterans Administration that the same problems now exist in the education of veterans which existed among

civilians in peace time. According to him, the need exists for the expansion of present programs. Furthermore that certain related subjects be carried on with on-the-job instructors through high schools, correspondence schools and community organizations.

The senior institutional training officer felt that great emphasis should be placed on citizenship courses in high schools and colleges. Also on courses dealing with people who are interested in broadening their general every day knowledge.

The following questions were raised concerning the job of the Advisory Committee: Is the committee designed just to advise? What shall be the structure of organization of the committee? Should there be qualified personnel to carry on further work in connection with the State Department of Education and the Veterans Administration? In answer to these questions it was pointed out that a committee should be set up to work with the Veterans Administration in dealing with institutional problems. It was further pointed out that in a meeting of registrars and representatives from the Veterans Administration, it was decided that a committee be organized among the Negro people and one among the white people to study the needs and problems of veterans. It was felt that committees should be made up of people who work with veterans from day to day.

At a later meeting held at North Carolina College, May 9, 1947, a committee was appointed to advise the Veterans Administration on the training of veterans from every educational level. Following are the members of the committee: Dr. N. C. Newbold, Director of Negro Education for the State of North Carolina; Mr. S. E. Duncan, State Supervisor of Negro High Schools; Mr. John R. Larkin, Consultant On Negro Work, Department of Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C.; Mr. W. A. Clement, Jr., North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance

Company, Durham, N. C.; Dr. Virgil Clift, A. & T. College, Greensboro, N. C., and Dr. A. E. Manley, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, North Carolina College at Durham.

At this point it is necessary to call attention to the plans under way for the summer. A poll will be made during the summer of a representative sampling of institutions offering educational programs to veterans. They will be asked to submit any criticisms or problems they are encountering in carrying the educational program of veterans forward.

The officers of the advisory committee, both white and Negro, together with representatives of the Veterans Administration, will hold a meeting for the purpose of screening out problems and drawing up plans at Duke University late in July. There the agenda will be drawn up for a meeting to be held in the main courtroom of the Forsyth County Court House in Winston-Salem on August 15, 1947. Specifically, Dr. Jordan and Miss Yow, of Duke University, Dr. Clift, of A. & T. College, and I will meet with Mr. Harrill, Senior Institutional Training Office, Veterans Administration, to carry out this assignment. At the meeting to be held in Winston-Salem, it is hoped that the white and Negro members of the Advisory Committee, in a joint session together with selected representatives of institutions in the State, will, with the aid of experts to be provided by the Veterans Administration, clafiry problems, clear up procedures and draw up the program for next year.

6-17/18-47

I. It is the concensus of opinion that the four pamphlets mentioned below (SRC, Its Origin and Purpose, Dec. 1946 New South; Index for New South for 1946; The South is Yours

be used as a basis for a simplified program to be distributed to individuals and especially to local organized groups in emphasizing and implementing the SRC's origin and purpose.

It is further recommended :

2. That more Field Workers ~~should~~ be secured by SRC to work with and to maintain closer contacts with local and state groups. And further to make these Fielld Workers available by formal offer from the Atlanta office.

3. That the minutes of this conference be sent to each representative attending and to the Chairmen of State Committees or Divisions to be passed on to their group.

4. That the members of the SRC STaff make every effort to secure invitations and to attend annual meetings of national business, professional and educational organizations.

5. That the SRC Staff send explanatory literature to each new member which will explain the origin, purpose and program of theCouncil.

6. That work-shops be periodically held to train leaders from various communities in the principles and purposes of SRC and to teach proceedures for carrying out its program in local communities.

Mrs. Jas S Gate

Chas. A. Shaw

R. Daves

Mrs. Hortense Young, Ky.

Mrs. Warren T. Zeuch - Fla.

SRC: Planning Suggestions from State Divisions

PROCEEDINGS

CONFERENCE OF STATE REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Atlanta, Georgia
June 17-18, 1947

DELEGATES ATTENDING SRC STATE MEETING

June 17-18, 1947

ALABAMA

Carl Kluge
2702 - 9th Ave., S.
Birmingham

ARKANSAS

Harry Bass, Sec'y
Urban League
914 Gaines Street
Little Rock

J. R. Ewbank
Philander Smith College
Little Rock

D. Mouzon Mann
2424 S. Tyler St.
Little Rock

FLORIDA

Mrs. Henry Havens
Field Worker, SRC
2845 Corinthian Ave.
Jacksonville

Edgar Ray, Chairman
Florida Division, SRC
and Editor, Daily Times
Tampa

G. D. Rogers
2503 - 21st Ave.
Tampa

Mrs. Warren Zeuch
Secretary-Treasurer
Florida Division, SRC
Vero Beach

GEORGIA

Thos. H. Brewer
1025½ - 1st Avenue
Columbus

GEORGIA (cont'd)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Georgia Interracial Comm.,
and Part-time Field Worker
for SRC
Wesley Memorial Church Bldg.
Atlanta

Mrs. W. A. Turner
Newnan

STAFF SRC

Leonard Haas, Counsel
Guy B. Johnson
Geo. S. Mitchell
Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Miss Margaret Price
J. O. Slade
Harold L. Trigg

KENTUCKY

Mrs. Hortense Young
Secretary, Kentucky Division
SRC
418 S. 5th Street
Louisville

LOUISIANA

Miss Isobel J. Chisholm
Y. W. C. A. Branch
1609 N. Robertson St.
New Orleans

Marion B. Smith
Dept. of Sociology, LSU
Baton Rouge

MISSISSIPPI

John Long, Pres.
Southern Christian Institute
Edwards, Miss.

MISSISSIPPI (cont)

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
Secretary-Treasurer
Mississippi Interracial Council
1116 Montgomery St.
Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

S. E. Duncan
State Dept. of Public Instruction
Raleigh

Cyrus Johnson, Director
N. C. Interracial Commission
336 S. Salisbury Street
Raleigh

A. E. Manley
North Carolina College
Durham

SOUTH CAROLINA

J. M. Dabbs, Chairman
S. C. Division, SRC
Mayesville

John P. Burgess
State A. & M. College
Orangeburg

Mrs. Eugene Spearman
Executive Secretary
S. C. Division, SRC
Newberry

TENNESSEE

J. H. Daves, Specialist
Negro Education and Training, T.V.A
404 Commercial Nat'l Bank Building
Knoxville

TEXAS

Mrs. Jas. S. Crate, Chairman
Texas Interracial Commission
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6,

J. D. McLeod
Sam Houston Teachers College
Huntsville

Chas. A. Shaw
Watchtower Life Ins. Co.
P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1,

VIRGINIA

Thomas C. Allen
Executive Director
Dept. of Race Relations
Virginia Council of Churches
1444 E. Main Street
Richmond

Miss Elinor Curry
3205 Seminary Avenue
Richmond 22,

GUEST SPEAKERS

J. C. Holbrook, Director
Vocational Rehab. & Ed. Services
Veterans Administration Br. 5
Marietta, Georgia

C. H. Munson, Chief
Vocational Training and Education
American Legion National Headquarters
Washington, D. C.

R. L. Williams
National Service Officer
National Council of Negro Veterans
Fort Valley, Georgia

Harry Wright
(Former Field Agent for SRC
Veterans Services Division)
Harlem Branch, Y.M.C.A.
180 W. 135th Street
New York, N. Y.

Conference of State Representatives

June 17-18, 1947

Delegates were welcomed by Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, at the opening of the conference on Tuesday morning June 17, in the offices of the Council, Atlanta, Georgia. Mr. Edgar Ray, upon request of Dr. Mitchell, acted as chairman, and called upon Mr. Ewbank to open the meeting with prayer.

The roll call showed those persons present whose names and addresses appear on the attached list. As requested by many of those attending, full names and addresses are given.

Local and State Groups.

Pointing out that he had no desire to see a rigidly uniform set-up of the various groups working with the Council throughout the South, Dr. Mitchell stated that, the work could be pushed with less difficulty and confusion if the various groups could adopt a more regular working relationship with Council headquarters. Response to calls for help from these groups, he stated, are all that could be asked for but he felt that a more closely-knit connection between headquarters and the groups within the states would result in the same type of progressive expansion which has been experienced by those states which have become formal Divisions or Affiliates of the Council.

As examples, he pointed to Florida and South Carolina, which have felt considerably strengthened since becoming State Divisions of SRC. A part-time or temporary field worker has been employed in each of these states, membership has increased, and the whole state program has seemed to take on new life. In Georgia the affiliated group is one of the most active in all the South and is doing an excellent job. The Mississippi Division recently elected a new chairman, and is working for an increased membership. Both North Carolina and Texas are Affiliates of the Council and are carrying on extensive programs within those states. Kentucky is a State Division and is continuously active. Virginia has a most alert committee, which is not formally affiliated with the Council. In Alabama the state group has been somewhat inactive, although there is an active local group in Birmingham. Arkansas, as a state, is not organized, but there is a local interracial committee in Little Rock which is quite active. The same thing is true in Louisiana, where the state itself is not organized but where active groups are at work in New Orleans and Baton Rouge. Tennessee and Oklahoma have no state groups, although there is a possibility of one being organized in Tennessee, since local groups are already active in both Knoxville and Nashville.

In the final analysis, Dr. Mitchell said, the real work is done by the state and local groups within their respective localities. Council headquarters desires to be of the utmost assistance to the various groups and he asked for discussion as to ways and means of accomplishing the maximum results in increased memberhip and progressive programs within the individual states.

Alabama

Rev. Carl Kluge, speaking for the Alabama group, stated that the state group, as such, had not been engaged in a continuous, active program, but that the local group in Birmingham, of which he is a member, meets regularly once a month. This is a small group, he stated, and while not approaching its problems in a very planned or organized manner, does keep its fingers on the pulse of local matters and leaders of both races are encouraged to feel that each has friends in the event of an emergency.

Arkansas

Mr. Harry Bass stated that, although there is a local interracial committee in Little Rock, there is no organized group of SRC members at the state level. Little Rock members are interested in having a state committee and asked that he bring back a report from this conference on ways and means of going about setting up such an organization. There are about 27 members of the Little Rock group.

Florida

Mr. Ray stated that in the State of Florida there are about 28 local committees, some operating as units of the Urban League, others known as the Good Neighbor Committee, and so on. Those heading the state group realize fully that the only truly effective way of tackling a community problem is through an awakened local citizenry.

Mrs. Zeuch stated that there is much strength to be gained by a state group in becoming a formal Division of the Council, in that the state group feels that it gains regionwide support through this close working relationship with Council headquarters. Local groups, in turn, become formally affiliated with the state group, feeling that in this way they gain strength and impetus from close association with statewide leaders who, themselves, have the backing and support of a regionwide organization such as the SRC.

Results in Florida since the group became a Division of SRC have been surprisingly good. As examples, Mrs. Zeuch cited, an increased membership, the employment of a temporary field worker, the work done with the Governor's Committee on Education, and the success of the state group in acquainting the public with the implications of the white primary bill.

Mrs. Havens stressed the importance of having, first, a specific objective in thinking of a state or local organization. This objective, must appeal to both races. Some groups have taken the matter of transportation, some law enforcement, some health problems--but, whatever the objective, it must be something close to the hearts of leaders of both races. Once this has been done, there is more likelihood of a permanent organization which will widen and grow. As an example, she cited the Jacksonville Survey, the story of which is covered in the June quarterly issue of New South.

Mrs. Zeuch presented a resolution from the Executive Committee of the Florida Division, recommending that the Florida Division be permitted to charge a membership fee of $1.00 to those members who are members of other groups working with the Council and have already paid membership dues to these other groups. After discussion, it was decided that this is a matter for final determination by the Florida Division itself, requiring a change in its by-laws, and should be presented to the Council for approval before adoption.

Georgia

Mrs. Tilly reported that the Georgia Committee, organized at the same time as the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in 1919, now raises its own budget. Membership dues are $3.00 annually, $1.00 of which goes to SRC for a one-year subscription to New South.

She stressed the importance of the work of local groups and agreed thoroughly with Mrs. Havens that any group, to succeed, must first choose its objective. In Macon, for instance, a Community Center for Negroes was taken as the group's first objective; in Griffin a swimming pool; in Atlanta the Negro Boys' Club, now one of the finest in the South. At the same time these local programs are going on, a statewide program is being promoted. She listed some of the fields in which the Georgia Committee is actively engaged such as hospitalization, equalization of teachers' salaries and of educational facilities; arousing public opinion against injection of the race issue into political campaigns; education against mob violence and other forms of violence, and investigations into such cases.

Dr. Brewer stated that, although there is no formal, organized committee in the city of Columbus, interracial meetings are held and his group feels encouraged with the support they receive from many sources. Negroes are voting without difficulty; Negro doctors and nurses work together with white doctors and nurses in the hospital; however, he stated, the police situation is the cause of a great deal of criticism. He felt that a formal, organized committee could accomplish a great deal, but so far, he said, no one has been found who wishes to take on the chairmanship. Mr. Shaw suggested that a leader might be found among the white women of the community. Mr. Ray stated that local newspapers often can be most helpful, once the cold, bare facts have been laid before them, in pointing up local needs and arousing right-thinking local citizens to head up a movement to better conditions.

Kentucky

Mrs. Young stated that the Kentucky Division of SRC is in its infancy, having become a Division only this year, but that it had been active prior to this for many years as the Kentucky Interracial Committee. Among the fields in which the Division is active are hospitalization and general health conditions of Negroes; attempting to arouse support for the admision of Negro doctors into hospitals; and, recently, enlisting the assistance of SRC headquarters in a program for obtaining proper professional and graduate educational facilities for Negroes of the State. It is planned to hold a Health Clinic, she said, for the purpose of educating both races on the urgent need for more adequate health facilities.

Louisiana

Miss Chisholm said that she could speak only as a member of the New Orleans group. There is no formally organized state group, although there are active groups at both Baton Rouge and New Orleans. She wondered whether it would not be comparatively easy to bring the 77 members of SRC together as an organized state group. She commented that it seemed to her the wrong approach in setting up a local group to ask the Negro leadership to state specifically what it wants. These are problems of all citizens, she stated, and not of an particular race or particular group within a race.

Mr. Smith, a member of the Baton Rouge group, said that his local group was entirely in accord with the aims of the Council; that the members feel that the Council's program is sound. Progress is being made, he said, and there is cause for encouragement. In a recent million dollar bond issue a certain amount of money was set out specifically for Negro schools. In planning for the Southwestern Students Association meeting last spring, the student body at the University voted two to one for Negro student participation.

Mississippi

Mrs. Lyells stated that she felt the Council's aims to be, basically, those which are set out in Rayford Logan's book, "What the Negro Wants" --the same simple things the white man wants; that is, to share equally in the privileges of a democratic society, as well as in the responsibilities; to fit into his local community without racial barriers; to be counted in when white ministers say all men are brothers. She felt the need, she said, of the Council's program for attaining its objectives being set out clearly and specifically, leaving to local people the working out of the necessary techniques.

North Carolina

Mr. Johnson reported that the North Carolina Interracial Commission has something like 500 members, some of whom are somewhat inactive but help financially. Over $3000 has been raised through subscription from members this year. One diffuculty, he said, has been the difference of opinion among the Negro leadership as to exactly what phases of human welfare they wish to have the group concentrate its major efforts upon. He expressed the feeling that a state's program will make much greated progress once the Negro leaders have stated clearly what they want to see accomplished.

South Carolina

Mr. Dabbs stressed the importance of working together in a spirit of Christian love, bridging the gap by working together for a common cause. He felt that any group of people can be cemented firmly together when they have chosen a common goal and all are working diligently together for achievement of that goal. Betterment of conditions for all the people will come about, he said, when we band together in this manner.

Mrs. Spearman made a plea for what she said might be termed the South's large percentage of "second-class citizens", including the Negro. It is necessary to reach all these people, she said, if real progress is to be made. She expressed her confidence in the Council's expanded program, which goes beyond mere race and looks at the overall problems of the entire region. She stressed the importance of remembering the following in carrying on the Council's program: rural people, labor unions, economic and social legislation, and coordinating community activities of various other groups.

Tennessee

Mr. Daves stated that he would like to see the Council set forth some definite aims and goals; the South's problems have been studied from every angle, he said, and the time has come when we should state definitely what we hope to accomplish ultimately. The Negro people ask only for sincerity; they are a patient people, he said, but they are anxious to know in which direction the Council is going and by what methods it intends to attain its objectives.

Texas

Mrs. Crate pointed out that, while her group was organized shortly after World War I as a purely interracial goodwill enterprise, it has through the years branched out into various phases of state and community welfare. There are active local units in many cities, among them Houston, Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, Huntsville, San Antonio, and Bryan. These local groups themselves chose those areas of work within their respective localities where they feel they are needed. In Houston monthly meetings are held, with three large meetings a year, held in the largest downtown white churches. The state group has a number of formal committees, each with a definite objective.

Mr. Shaw told something of the way in which the Houston group went about its reorganization. As had Mrs. Havens, he pointed out the importance of having a common objective to begin with. He urged a program of education as an effective means of enlarging the membership of any group. Once your aims and purposes are understood, he said, many people will come forward who are of like mind and will be glad to join hands in a common cause.

Mr. McLeod stated that some twenty-five years ago he was sold on the purposes and aims of the Interracial Commission and that, should the Texas Commission and the Council both go out of existence, he would continue his interest and enthusiasm. As a teacher he has found that often one has to step up his own pace to keep up with the youth when it comes to fellowship among the races. Herein lies much reason for hope and encouragement.

Virginia

Explaining the organizational set-up of the Virginia state group, Mr. Allen stated that his group operates as the Department of Race Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches, with the various local committees operating independently within their own localities, on their own individual programs.

There are three factors to be considered in the overall picture, Mr. Allen said, if any real progress is to be made, and these are economic, political, and civil rights. At the present time the Virginia group is considerably concerned over the resurgence of mob violence in the South, and he expressed the hope that the Southern Regional Council would spearhead a movement to combat this growing evil. He mentioned the new Community Hospital in Richmond which is to be dedicated as a war memorial. Negro doctors will be admitted to the staff and there will be 100 beds for Negro patients. Another project has been obtaining proper recreational facilities for both the YMCA and the YWCA. Five cities in Virginia now have Negro policemen, all of them having increased the number since the initial step was taken.

Discussion of Political Activity

Mr. Leonard Haas, SRC counsel, discussed the question of political activity under SRC's charter. Those present were anxious to have some clear definition of what constitutes political activity and how it may be distinguished from educational or welfare work.

Mr. Haas explained that there are no rulings on what constitutes political activity. The mere fact of the Council's being a non-profit organization does not in itself mean that the organization is tax-exempt. But, it would be tax-exempt if no "substantial part" of its activities are devoted to political propaganda or political activity. What may constitute " a substantial part", he went on to say, is up to the Revenue Department to determine.

Mr. Haas pointed out that, while he did not have the slightest doubt that SRC will be ruled to be tax-exempt, he did not think it wise to take na aggressive attitude on large national controversial issues. In answer to questions as to whether working indirectly, in a purely educational manner, for or against specific legislation, might be determined to be political activity, Mr. Haas re-emphasized that the restriction specifies that "no substantial part of its activities may be devoted to political activity." He was of the opinion that the methods employed by members of state and local groups stood in no danger of being misconstrued as political activity. Mr. Haas did feel, however, that if complaints should go to the Revenue Department in several instances, there would be a possibility of the organization losing its tax-exempt status.

Mr. Ray told something of the effective manner in which the Florida Division has cooperated with the Governor's Committee on Education; Mr. Allen pointed out that much good can be accomplished through working with other groups; Mrs. Tilly told of the experience of the Georgia Committee in remaining in the background and at the same time carrying on an educational campaign with church and civic groups.

Membership Report

The total membership of the Southern Regional Council, Miss Price reported is now around 2,000. Indications are that at least an additional 3,000 Southern people could be brought into the membership in the fairly near future.

In explaining the procedures followed by the Council in its effort to build membership, Miss Price described the plan being used by the Mississippi Division's new chairman. This is to write a letter to a prospective member over his own signature. The prospect's name and address is then forwarded to the regional office and a second letter of invitation is sent from there. Thus, the initial invitation comes to the individual from his own state group, before he is written to by the Atlanta office.

In Florida, when a part-time field worker was employed, this worker called on a great number of individuals and explained the Council's program, with particular emphasis, of course, on the major objectives of the Florida Division. These names were sent to the Atlanta office and further cultivation was carried on from that point. Also, each Florida member received a letter from the state chairman and secretary-treasurer, asking him to obtain five new members.

After some screening, many of these prospects are placed on a three-months free subscription list to receive New South. At the end of this time, they are asked to become members. A number of persons are also selected from college catalogues and other likely sources and cultivated in this manner.

Miss Price distributed to those present the names and addresses of all SRC members in their respective states, with the suggestion that each of these persons be invited to membership in the state group. Likewise, she asked that state groups let the Atlanta office have names and addresses of their own members for cultivation on the regional level.

Membership Dues

Dr. Johnson stated that the Council's by-laws, adopted at the charter meeting in 1944, provided that "members shall pay such dues as the Board of Directors may prescribe". The first year dues were set at $1.00. Eventually, however, after much consideration and discussion, dues of $2.00 were decided upon. It has been found, Dr. Johnson stated, that this $2.00 membership fee barely covers the actual cost of "carrying" a member.

When a state group becomes a formal division of the Council, he explained, $1.00 of the state's $2.00 membership fee is kept by the Council and $1.00 is returned to the state division. In Georgia, where the state group is an affiliate of SRC, members pay $3.00, $1.00 of which goes to SRC for one-year's subscription to New South. Georgia Committee members who wish to become members of SRC pay the usual membership fee of $2.00, but reduce their state dues by $1.00 since SRC membership automatically entitles them to New South.

Contributions by state division members, Dr. Johnson explained, may be designated for distribution in any way the donor sees fit. The entire amount is returned to the state, if the donor specifies that his contribution is for work within the State. When no instructions are given on the division to be made, the Council has followed the general practice of retaining one-half and returning the other half to the state division.

There is some confusion, Dr. Johnson stated, where the state groups are affiliates rather than Divisions, in that members of affiliates often think they automatically become SRC members upon payment of dues to their state groups. He

wondered if a satisfactory arrangement might be worked out whereby persons sympathetic with the Council's aims, and desiring to keep in touch with the program, could be enrolled possibly as Associate members at $1.00 a year. Such a membership would not entitle them to voting privileges but would put them on the mailing list to receive all publications as they appear.

Mrs. Zeuch expressed the opinion that, after all, the idea is to spread the Council's program over the South, reaching as many individuals as possible. Referring to the possibility of agency memberships, she went on to say that this type of membership, with one or two representatives from eacy agency, did not seem to her nearly as desirable as reaching many move individuals, even with a reduced membership fee and no voting privileges.

Mrs. Spearman commented that there were many persons interested in the Council's program and wishing to cooperate, but who already have paid dues into a number of other organizations and do not feel financially able to pay additional dues. She mentioned specifically heads of some public agencies, whose salaries are comparatively small but who could make invaluable contributions to the regionwide, statewide, and communitywide work of the Council.

Mrs. Crate called attention to the Texas set-up, which provides for a $5.00 membership fee for active members; $2.00 for Associate members, and 50 cents for student members.

Mrs. Spearman asked if the present trend within state groups is toward becoming fullfledged Divisions of the Council. Dr. Johnson answered Yes, once a state group affiliates with the Council, it seems to see the need and advantage of becoming a Division; most of the State Divisions asked for this closer connection with SRC not long after becoming Divisions.

Conclusion of
Tuesday's Session

Concluding Tuesday's session, the following motions were unanimously adopted:

1. That a copy of the report of the proceedings of this meeting be sent to each member of the Council's Board of Directors and to the heads of all local units cooperating with the Council.

2. That the Chairman of the conference appoint a committee to make recommendations from this body to the Council's Board of Directors.

THE WEDNESDAY SESSION

June 18

Vocational Education
for Negro Veterans

In opening the discussion on vocational schools for Negro veterans in the South, Dr. Mitchell strongly urged those present to direct some definite efforts, within their respective communities, toward the establishment of vocational training schools for veterans. Once these schools are established, he said, the chances are more than good that they will be continued.

Dr. Mitchell mentioned the splendid work done on veterans' services by Mr. Harry Wright, while he was employed by SRC, and the equally fine work which Dr. Trigg was able to carry on in this connection after Mr. Wright left. Although it meant adding to an already-heavy work schedule, Dr. Mitchell said, Dr. Trigg did a most admirable piece of work. Now that he is leaving the Council, and budgetary problems make it imperative to observe the strictest economy, there will be no one to carry this work on, and Dr. Mitchell urged all those present to make this one of their major objectives when they return to their own localities. One main purpose in calling this meeting, he said, was to put onto the shoulders of State leaders the job of developing across the South a network of new schools, at secondary level which could afford veterans full opportunity to use their several years of entitlement to educational benefit.

He introduced Mr. J. C. Holbrook, Chief of Vocational Rehavilitation and Education Services, Branch 5, Veterans Administration, Atlanta, Georgia, who had been invited to tell the group something about the educational benefits available to veterans through the Veterans Administration.

Mr. Holbrook emphasized that the objective of any course of study under Public Laws 16 and 346 must be employment for the veteran. The VA provides the tuition, the books, and necessary supplies, but the states themselves must provide the institution. There is no provision for the VA to build these schools, and each such training institution must be approved by the state approving agency, which in most cases is the State Department of Education. The South is considerably short on training facilities and many, many veterans are having to wait.

In answer to a question as to how often these schools are inspected after they are established, Mr. Holbrook said that usually this is done three times a year, but that experience has shown that once a school is well established the local school people are eager to have the "inspectors" call, not for inspections but rather for the assistance they might be able to give.

Mr. Williams stated that at Fort Valley, where there is both a Negro college and a Grade A Negro High School, with some 700 or 800 veterans in the area, efforts to establish a vocational school have met with failure so far. Some of these veterans, he said, are paying from $25.00 to $30.00 a month for transportation to other points to obtain training. Mr. Holbrook stated that the VA is not permitted under the law to attempt to influence the approving agency in any way in taking action on a request for approval of a given institution. The states retain complete control of their school systems, he said.

Dr. Mitchell pointed out that the general practice in the South is to limit vocational training of Negroes to those trades commonly accepted as the most likely sources of employment for Negroes, and said that if the veterans were to be got into trade schools in large numbers, it would be necessary for the schools to offer work in the newer skills. Mr. Dabbs pointed out that indications are that soon there will be complete mechanization of agriculture, with increasing industrialization of Southern towns, and it seemed to him just good common sense to plan for this change. Mr. Shaw and Dr. Brewer pointed out, however, the difficulty to be overcome in selling local school authorities on the need for this training for Negroes, now that the war is over.

Mr. Ray told the group that in Tampa they had been successful in retaining the training facilities set up for Negro workers during the war. For a time, he said, it looked as though the training would be withdrawn now that the war is over, but local newspapers got behind the thing, cooperating with a very fine school superintendent and local businessmen who were unable to obtain need skilled workers, and this training is still available. He expressed the feeling that most school superintendents, like the one in his area, are delighted to have an expanded program to administer and wondered if the basic problem does not lie elsewhere, possibly with organized labor and the farm owners.

Mr. Holbrook stated that self-proprietorship on the part of Negroes might be an opening wedge for Negro workers branching out into fields of employment heretofore closed to them. For instance, he said, a Negro radio repair shop proprietor has an opportunity there to give employment to trained Negro radio mechanics.

In reply to Dr. Mitchell's question, Mr. Duncan stated that North Carolina now has approximately 30 Negro vocational schools for training veterans. (See Dr. Manley's paper attached, giving details on how North Carolina went about accomplishing this; and Mr. Duncan's paper attached which gives a progress report on the project. At the request of many attending the conference, these two papers are reproduced in full.)

Dr. Mitchell brought out that in North Carolina the Veterans Administration has employed four Negro Training Officers. As pointed out by Mr. Holbrook, the VA cannot establish the schools for training, but both Dr. Manley and Mr. Duncan gave full credit to VA officials in North Carolina for their excellent cooperation and support.

Mr. Harry Wright, former field representative of the Veterans Services Division of SRC, was aked by Dr. Mitchell to tell the group something of the manner in which he went about his work while with the Council. He said that, first, he met with Negro community leaders, who then took him to meet with the white leaders. This done, he went into the amusement places frequented by ex-GI's, to learn, first-hand, how the veterans' program was operating in a particular community.

All too often, he said, these men - and sometimes even their community leaders - had little or no knowledge of benefits available to them. In fact, often where community committees have been set up for handling veterans' problems, no Negro had been appointed to the committee,or even had attended any committee meetings.

After he had spoken to the white and Negro groups on veterans matters, he said, he almost invariably met with the question: What can we do? His answer was, Do something toward getting educational advantages for the Negro veteran. Do this, get facts and figures before those in places of authority. Show the number of white educational institution for a given white population, as compared with the number of educational institutions for the Negro population, etc. too many of the best-thinking people in a community are not in touch with what is going on. When they are confronted with the facts as they stand, you will find most of them eager to help to do the right thing.

He stressed the importance, when a Negro talks to white leaders, of speaking honestly, man to man, on what the Negro wants. This will pay, he concluded, for you will find the majority of white people ready to assist when you give them the facts and convince them of your sincerity.

Mr. Rogers remarked that, as he had listened to the discussions, he had felt that there did not seem to be the link which should exist between Negro leadership and progressive white persons. He mentioned two forthcoming meetings of Negro business leaders and urged SRC to send a representative to each meeting. He felt that cooperation between these Negro leaders and SRC would prove mutually beneficial. For instance, he said, if this problem of on-the-job training for Negro veterans were properly presented to these employers, they no doubt would see to it that many opportunities were made available to Negro veterans for such training in their own establishments.

Mr. C. H. Munson, Chief, Vocational Training and Education, the American Legion National Headquarters, Washington, D. C., was next introduced to the group by Dr. Mitchell.

In thanking Dr. Mitchell for the invitation to attend this meeting, Mr. Munson remarked that letters sent into the South inquiring as to the standing of the Southern Regional Council had brought forth most commendatory statements regarding the Council's program and what Southern people think of it.

Pointing out that it is not the American Legion's intention to attempt in any way "to dictate to state people" in the educational field, Mr. Munson stated that the actual working out of education opportunities for veterans, regardless of race, should rest within the States themselves. People must forget to look to Federal agencies to set up schools for these veterans, he said, and begin to look to their own state and local authorities. He joined with Mr. Wright and Mr. Rogers in their statements that the Negro leaders must, themselves, lead out in obtaining the educational benefits provided under Public Laws 16 and 346.

Mr. Munson stated that reports prepared by the Veterans Services Division of SRC had been quite helpful to Legion headquarters; that the Legion is anxious to have the Negroes themselves tell it exactly what they feel the Legion can do to assist with their problems. He expressed particular interest in Dr. Manley's and Mr. Duncan's reports of what had been accomplished in North Carolina, and requested that a copy of each be sent to him. He stated that he would make a report of this meeting; and offered to send a copy of his report to any local Legion officials who desire it.

There was some discussion of Negro membership in the American Legion. Dr. Mitchell pointed out that there are a number of Negro posts of the Legion in the South, each post having its own Negro Post Commander. He felt that despite the

barrier of segregation a good deal may be accomplished through these post commanders and their contacts with white posts. Dr. Trigg said that, following World War I, the veterans in North Carolina asked officers of the American Legion if they might organize a post. The answer was No. The Negro veterans themselves went ahead and organized, he said, and were thereupon taken in by the white post. He felt that headway may be made with much less difficulty once the Negro veterans unite together in some such organization.

Mr. Munson said that " this meeting is in itself an education for me. We in the Legion are anxious to know the Negro people's needs and to help where and when you wish us to."

Mr. R. L. Williams, Service Officer, National Council of Negro Veterans, Fort Valley, Georgia, was then introduced and asked to tell the group something of the activities of his organization.

Mr. Williams agreed with Mr. Munson that the problems of the Negro veteran must be faced and solved through the sympathetic help of local people, but painted a rather discouraging picture of the difficulty his organization encounters in arousing the interest of community leaders and agency officials.

The general purpose of his organization, he said, is (1) to cooperate with the VA and State Veterans Service Officers and other agencies in assisting veterans; (2)to disseminate information concerning educational opportunities; (3) maintain contacts with school officials in the interest of veterans; and (4) render advisory service to individual veterans.

Mr. Williams said that his experience with state educational people had disclosed a discouraging lack of conscientious planning with regard to vocational educational training of the Negro veteran. Negro school officials,in far too many instances, he said, are themselves none too well-informed on benefits available to veterans or the source from which such benefits are to come. In 1946, he handled something like 3,000 requests concerning vocational opportunities in his area. His inquiries to various agencies often failed to bring in the necessary information.

He asked that those present be acutely conscious of the difficulties facing Negro veterans in their quest for proper vocational training and, in their respective communities, do what they can to see to it that the Negro veteran is represented when committees are set up or meetings are called to plan for the welfare of veterans.

Dr. Mitchell commented that he felt there was some hope for alleviation of the situation described by Mr. Williams, in what North Carolina and some other Southern states have done for its Negro veterans. He recommended Advisory Committees like that in North Carolina for each of the Southern States, one function of such committees to be to work closely with the State Directors of VA.

Police Administration

Opening the discussion on police administration in the South, Dr. Guy B. Johnson pointed out that one of the very definite objectives of the Council's program since its organization has been the improvement of administration and enforcement of the law.

The Council has promoted the use of Negro policemen; has conducted investigations of lynchings; prevented lynchings, riots and near-riots; and has worked with the churchwomen of the South in an effort to revitalize the good work done by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

On May 14, he said, he appeared before the President's Committee on Civil Rights and laid before that body some suggestions on how to deal with abuses of police power, lynching, and other violations of civil rights in the South such as suffrage restrictions and abuses of provisions for separate but equal facilities.

While giving due credit to the South's law-enforcement authorities for a difficult job to be faced, Dr. Johnson pointed out that the level of qualifications for these officers is below standard and should be raised. An upgrading of salary scales might help, since the low salaries presently paid bring into the service persons who are vulnerable to graft and crooked politics.

Dr. Johnson stated that not only is there abuse of police power, but also that railroad conductors, street car operators and bus drivers are empowered to enforce the state laws on segregation, and all too often make quick use of their guns, resulting in the death of many Negroes every year in the South.

The police manual is now under preparation by the Council, Dr. Johnson reported, and is to be ready for a try-out early in August. In this manual it is planned, first, to show the police officers that their job is recognized as a particularly tough one; second, to give them some factual background information on the South's greatest minority group; third, to examine the nature of race prejudice; and, fourth, to try to outline some suggestions as to what constitutes good, professional, courteous, fair, but firm administration of the law.

It had been hoped to have the manual tried first in Atlanta, but in the event this is not possible, then in Savannah, where Negro policemen have been recently employed. Experimenting with the manual in several places, Dr. Johnson said, will show up changes which will need to be made before the manual is finally printed for general use. It is the Council's hope that some Police Department or Department of Public Safety will sponsor this manual, with the Council itself acting as a consulting agency.

Mr. Allen mentioned the possibility of getting the Department of Public Safety in Richmond as a sponsor; and Mrs. Crate said there might be a possibility of obtaining a sponsor in Texas, where schools for policemen are being held in various places. Representatives from the Texas Commission have gone to these people she said, and asked that the police training include a course in race relations.

Dr. Brewer stated that in Columbus, Georgia, the Negro soldiers hardly dare to come into town from nearby Fort Benning because of the brutality of the local police; and this does not stop with the Negro soldiers. It has spread to the white soldiers, and, in at least one instance, a white soldier's wife has been slapped by a policeman there.

Mr. Ray told of the set-up between local police in Tampa and the Provost Marshal, with respect to the activities of Negro and white servicemen stationed at Drew Field. A most effective system has been worked out between the Marshal's men and the men on the local force; and recently, as the result of a complaint that the sheriff's deputies had mistreated a Negro soldier, two deputies were suspended pending an investigation.

Mr. Bass told of the success of the Little Rock group in obtaining Negro policemen. After trying "everything in the book," he said, they finally told their story to a woman newspaper reporter, who said she would discuss the desirability of publishing their story with her editor. The first article appeared on Saturday morning and another in the afternoon paper that day. On Monday morning, local authorities called in the group and asked for their assistance in finding qualified Negro policemen. Six are now on the force.

Public Relations

The role of the press in cementing good racial relations cannot be over-emphasized, said Mr. Ray, who is editor of the Daily Times of Tampa, Florida, and also Chairman of the Florida Division of SRC.

As a source of needed information your newspapers fill a great need; this lack of proper information on the part of veterans which has been discussed at this meeting, he said, can be overcome through newspaper cooperation with the various groups. His own newspaper assigned a reporter for this special task, gathering information needed by returning veterans. The Tampa Daily Times has a special section for the Negro citizens of Tampa, which carries information of particular interest to them.

Mr. Ray told how the newspapers in Tampa cooperated in obtaining Negro policemen there. A white minister and a Negro minister were asked to call a meeting of the ministers of the town. Newspaper reporters attended this meeting and gave the story to the public, including the action of the group in naming a special committee to call on the Chief of Police. This committee called on the Chief and then went on to see the Mayor. The Mayor suggested experimenting with three Negro policemen. A list of ten trained persons was prepared by the Negro community leaders, and from this list three men were chosen. This number has now been increased to six.

Newspapers did a good job in acquainting the public with true conditions in Florida's schools, Mr. Ray said, even before the Governor's Committee on Education was formulated. His own newspaper ran a series of articles, showing the condition of each school in the county, white and Negro. Leaders were embarrassed that they lived in a place where such conditions were allowed to exist, and plans now call for the floating of a nine million dollar bond issue to get better schools.

When you solicit newspaper cooperation, Mr. Ray said, go to top personnel, not to reporters. But, he warned, go with your facts, not generalities. Be graphic be brief. Newspapers are not too anxious to print speeches or protest stuff, but if you will take some facts on a given local condition, you will find a sympathetic ear.

The radio is another most useful medium for building good public relations, Mr. Ray said. NBC carried an Urban League financial campaign program recently, which was reproduced in Tampa, with very good results. The radio reaches a large audience, he pointed out, and its potentialities should by no means be under-estimated or overlooked.

Mrs. Young asked that the Negro press not be overlooked. Its headlines may be somewhat sensational at times, she stated, but since Negro newspapers are almost wholly dependent upon individual subscriptions for their existence, they must appeal to the masses who read them. These papers, she stated, do not have the large amounts of advertising which most white dailies have. If you disagree with a Negro newspaper, she said, a letter from you will get a sympathetic reception. She expressed the hope that SRC will continue to cultivate the Negro press, keeping it informed on all activities.

Mr. Bass wondered if a concerted newspaper campaign would help in the matter of Negro homicides. Mrs. Zeuch and Mrs. Havens told of the success met with in Florida in this connection, as did Dr. Clement on the Atlanta homicide situation. Recently, he said, a death sentence had been obtained in the case of a Negro homicide.

Mrs. Lyells and Mrs. Spearman expressed the hope that SRC headquarters would be able to send out to the press stories of achievement of Negroes. Stories of crime, they said, are published glaringly, and they felt that achievement stories might very well get space in the press and thus give white people another side of the picture.

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Reportof the Committee
on Recommendations

1. It is recommended that the four pamphlets mentioned below be used as the basis for a simplified program to be distributed to individuals, and especially to local organized groups, in emphasizing and implementing the SRC's origin and purpose:

   SRC - Its Origin and Purpose
   December 1946 New South
   Index for New South for 1946
   The South is Yours

2. That more Field Workers be secured by SRC to work with and to maintain closer contacts with local and state groups. And, further, to make these Field Workers available by formal offer from the Atlanta Office.

3. That the minutes of this conference be sent to each representative attending and to the Chairmen of State Committees or Divisions, to be passed on to their groups.

4. That the members of the SRC staff make every effort to secure invitations and to attend annual meetings of national business, professional and educational organizations.

5. That the SRC staff send explanatory literature to each new member which will explain the origin, purpose and program of the Council.

6. That workshops be held periodically to train leaders from various communities in the principles and purposes of SRC and to teach procedures for carrying out its program in local communities.

Mrs. Jas. S. Crate
J. H. Daves
Chas.A. Shaw
Mrs. Hortense Young
Mrs. Warren T. Zeuch

AMENDMENT was made to the foregoing as follows:

That Dr. Mitchell, as Executive Director of the Council, present this report of the Committee on Recommendations to the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

UPON MOTION, duly made and seconded, the Report of the Committee on Recommendations was unanimously accepted.

- -

CONCLUSION

Mrs. Havens, speaking for herself and Mrs. Tilly (who could not be present for the final session), told the group that either of them will be delighted to come into the States at any time they are invited, to assist in any way possible. Some engagements already have been made far into this fall, she said, but some dates are open and they will be glad to make every effort to attend any meetings to which they have invitations.

In his closing remarks, thanking the group for coming, Dr. Mitchell said he hoped the conference had given all who attended inspiration to go back to their own localities and carry on with renewed strength and vigor. He said, again, that Council headquarters is not too concerned with the kind of organization each state has, just so the work moves ahead vigorously. Let the Council know when you need help, he added, and the staff will do anything possible to be of assistance.

Money is short, but the recommendations just made by the Committee are good, and if financially possible, the Staff will try to get them put into effect. The police manual will soon be ready in its initial form, and to do the proper job in this matter of police training, he said, the Council should have a greatly increased budget. How this will be done. he said he did not at this time know. But he added, we are looking forward to the future with hope.

NORTH CAROLINA PLAN FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN VETERANS ADMINISTRATION AND STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM

A. E. Manley, Dean
North Carolina College at Durham
Durham, N. C.

Last October 30, Dr. Shepard and Dr. Newbold called a meeting of Negro educators in North Carolina to discuss with members of the Veterans Administration the state-wide program for the education of veterans in North Carolina. The idea behind the meeting was to determine, as far as possible, the services that were available to veterans in institutions offering on-the-job training, high school and college training.

There were representatives from high schools, colleges and from state agencies such as the State Department of Education, School Health Coordinating Service, the Department of Public Welfare, etc. Following this meeting it was agreed that an Advisory Committee on Veterans Education should be organized to do what the name of the committee implies--advise the Veterans Administration with respect to educational problems. A follow-up meeting was, therefore, held at North Carolina College at Durham on February 6, 1947. The purposes of this meeting were (1) to organize a control committee to advise the Veterans Administration and the State Department of Education in the training of veterans in North Carolina, and (2) to develop a state-wide plan for the education of veterans.

To set the background for the meeting excerpts were read by the acting chairman from the report of a study of educational programs for veterans in the South. This study was made by Dr. George S. Mitchell of the Southern Regional Council and appeared in "South Today".

The type of programs for which funds were available from the Veterans Administration were given considerable attention. Dr. Virgil Clift, of A. & T. College, indicated that funds were available from the Veterans Administration for: (1) the regular college program, (2) veterans who are high school candidates and who are interested in refresher work in order to gain admittance to college, (3) the accelerated high school program from which the veteran obtains his high school diploma upon completion of his high school work, (4) the college refresher program which is designed for those veterans interested in professional or graduate education, (5) combination vocational and high school work which offers trade courses on the high school level, (6) agricultural program for individuals taking on-the-farm training, (7) on-the-job training--here the applicant secures training through a business firm, (8) special schools--such as those providing training in radio mechanics, and (9)off campus centers where veterans pursue high school or college education which clears through some college.

In the discussion of this same topic it was further brought out that under Public Law 16 the Veterans Guidance Administration or Veterans Rehabilitation Administration, ex-service men are restricted as to school and type of training available and, under Public Law 346 no limitations are made and the veteran is able to choose the school and type of vocational training he desires.

The elegibility for compensation for work done outside the usual administrative duties expected of the principal was discussed and it was the consensus of opinion that any rulings on this matter would have to be issued by the State Board of Education since the Department of Public Instruction did not have any authority over such matters.

A second important topic related to the status of the Negro veteran in North Carolina. Specifically, the question was, "Who is the Negro veteran in North Carolina?" During this phase of the discussion it was reported that only 1.4 % of Negroes from North Carolina who enlisted in the armed services during World War II had four years of college training and up. The idea was expressed that before an adequate educational program could be established on a state-wide basis in North Carolina, it was imperative that the educational level be obtained of all Negro veterans residing in North Carolina. It was found, for example, that no statistics were available as to the educational level of the white and Negro veterans in North Carolina. Several possible sources for obtaining these data were suggested.

Another topic centered around the question, "What are the present programs for Negro veterans in North Carolina?" Mr. Harrill, of the Veterans Administration gave the following as programs now in operation for veterans:

1. Adult program of education, veterans who desire practical knowledge and want to learn to read and write are enrolled at any academic level. Classes are small and must take place in an approved high school.

2. Accelerated course. Veteran enrolled at any academic level. The classes are small, individual attention is given. When the applicant has progressed fully he can get a high school diploma. The length of training is not limited, and instruction must be in an accredited high school.

3. Vocational school. The veteran learns a trade such as bricklaying, plumbing, carpentry, motor mechanics, etc.

4. Regular high school curriculum.

5. College education.

   a. Off campus training, (one in Fayetteville and one in Asheville). Here the student pursues a regular college course and his work clears through some college within the state.

At the end of this presentation the opinion was expressed that vocational offerings not based on high school level proved best for Negro veterans. Furthermore that A. & T. College provides the best training of this type in the South for Negroes. There is none available for whites.

Mr. Hemingway, Chief Officer of the Veterans Administration, added two supplementary programs to the list given by Mr. Harrill, namely, the Junior High School Program and the Vocational Agricultural Program.

Following up the discussion of the funds available for veterans education, the Negro veteran in North Carolina and the present programs for Negro veterans in the State, the discussion turned to plans for meeting the training needs of veterans. It was agreed that instead of encouraging more types of training, more facilities should be provided to enable more veterans to profit from the available training programs; that werever adult education takes place, the veteran should be consulted as to his needs and desires; that adult education should stress the point of training and special fields that are not covered in any other curriculum. For example, should

the veteran be interested in housing, loans, real estate, qualified persons should be called in at different intervals to give the veteran information concerning the problem. Since many teachers on the secondary school level are teaching afternoon and evening classes composed of veterans, the question was raised as to whether a teacher may fail in the teaching of adults who succeeds with adolescents. The answer was that experts in adult education agree that this is highly possible. Generally adults work better under less supervision and in informal circumstances. In order to help teachers who are working with veterans on the secondary level it was felt that some institutes or workshops should be established for the purpose of training people who plan to work with veterans. The observation was made by the head of the Veterans Administration that the same problems now exist in the education of veterans which existed among civilians in peace time. According to him, the need exists for the expansion of present programs. Furthermore that certain related subjects be carried on with on-the-job instructors through high schools, correspondence schools and community organizations.

The senior institutional training officer felt that great emphasis should be placed on citizenship courses in high schools and colleges. Also on courses dealing with people who are interested in broadening their general every day knowledge.

The following questions were raised concerning the job of the Advisory Committee: Is the committee designed just to advise? What shall be the structure of organization of the committee? Should there be qualified personnel to carry on further work in connection with the State Department of Education and the Veterans Administration? In answer to these questions it was pointed out that a committee should be set up to work with the Veterans Administration in dealing with institutional problems. It was further pointed out that in a meeting of registrars and representatives from the Veterans Administration, it was decided that a committee be organized among the Negro people and one among the white people to study the needs and problems of veterans. It was felt that committees should be made up of people who work with veterans from day to day.

At a later meeting held at North Carolina College, May 9, 1947, a committee was appointed to advise the Veterans Administration on the training of veterans from every educational level. Following are the members of the committee: Dr. N. C. Newbold, Director of Negro Education for the State of North Carolina; Mr. S. E. Duncan, State Supervisor of Negro High Schools; Mr. John R. Larkin, Consultant on Negro Work, Department of Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C.; Mr. W. A. Clement, Jr., North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, N. C.; Dr. Virgil Clift, A. & T. College, Greensboro, N. C., and Dr. A. E. Manley, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, North Carolina College at Durham.

At this point it is necessary to call attention to the plans under way for the summer. A poll will be made during the summer of a representative sampling of institutions offering educational programs to veterans. They will be asked to submit any criticisms or problems they are encountering in carrying the educational program of veterans forward.

The officers of the advisory committee, both white and Negro, together with representatives of the Veterans Administration, will hold a meeting for the purpose of screening out problems and drawing up plans at Duke University late in July. There the agenda will be drawn up for a meeting to be held in the main court-

room of the Forsyth County Court House in Winston-Salem on August 15, 1947. Specifically, Dr. Jordan and Miss Yow, of Duke University, Dr. Clift, of A. & T. College, and I will meet with Mr. Harrill, Senior Institutional Training Office, Veterans Administration, to carry out this assignment. At the meeting to be held in Winston-Salem, it is hoped that the white and Negro members of the Advisory Committee, in a joint session together with selected representatives of institutions in the State, will, with the aid of experts to be provided by the Veterans Administration, clarify problems, clear up procedures and draw up the program for next year.

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF NORTH CAROLINA SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN PROVIDING VOCATIONAL COURSES FOR NEGRO VETERANS THROUGH VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

S. E. Duncan
Supervisor Negro High Schools in
North Carolina

The results of our efforts in getting Negro Veterans into the secondary schools of North Carolina for vocational training have been neither spectacular nor phenomenal when viewed in the light of our objectives and the expenditure of our energies; and regardless of the progress made its limitations have been evident; first, because of the lack of training facilities and equipment; second, because of the lack of special education for the veteran whose chronological maturity places him far out in advance of the average high school pupil, but whose educational achievement is confined to that of the elementary grades; and third, because of the lack f Negro personnel to act as counselors and supervisors and thereby provide increased stimulation for the promotion of additional and more effective programs. However, it is believed that the Veterans Administration and the State Department of Public Instruction have cooperatively devised techniques and formed the necessary organization by which the job of making available more courses for Negro veterans can and will be accelerated.

In October of the past school term our records showed but six Negro secondary schools holding contracts with the VA for vocational training, while the picture for the whites was much brighter. Six months later there were approximately thirty schools in the program, or approximately 17 % of the accredited schools for Negroes in the state. (The on-the-farm training program, not included in the above figures, was in operation in 77 schools as of January 1, 1947.)

The procedures followed by most schools while preparing to offer vocational courses to Veterans were:

1. Surveyed plant, facilities and available personnel for establishing school's readiness for offering vocational courses.

2. Obtained consent and cooperation of local superintendent in the project.

3. Made informal surveys through schools, churches and other sources to ascertain the approximate number of veterans interested and qualified to become enrollees.

4. Held preliminary meeting with interested veterans concerning certain aspects of the program as courses, time, cost, credit, place and faculty.

5. Requested that a representative of the VA be present at a subsequent meeting to further explain details of the program and to help provide for a contractual agreement between the VA and the local unit.

Fortunately, enrollment has been no serious problem. The average Negro veteran who returned from the war, through serious thinking, has made and evaluation of his personal assets and consequently feels the need for additional training. Many have had enjoyable and profitable experiences in the schools as pupils and rather like the idea of returning to further their education. Some are influenced by other veterans who have even taken the initiative and requested of the

school authorities that courses be offered to them. Publicity through newspapers, P. T. A. groups and through other channels has also served well to attract veterans to the courses. These courses offered in particular schools have been somewhat limited in variety. This is especially true in respect to the smaller schools where facilities and equipment are very limited. The range seems to be from one to six different courses offered in a particular school. Some of these are bricklaying, auto mechanics, carpentry, radio, agriculture, electricity, plastering and tailoring. One of the outstanding aspects of the program has been the degree of cooperation demonstrated by veterans in the selection of courses to be offered in the small secondary schools where it was a particular coure or none due to available equipment and instructors.

In conclusion, the Negro veterans of North Carolina have demonstrated their interest in acquiring vocational training on the secondary school level, and the greatest need of the present is not to get the veterans to the courses but to get the courses to the veterans.

COPY

NORTH CAROLINA COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

P. O. Box 1208

Raleigh, North Carolina

March 17, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sending the number of pamphlets asked for under separate cover. We have arranged with the State Dept. of Public Inst. to have copies sent to all superintendents, principals, and supervisors. The State Dept. is sending them, and saying that more copies can be secured from our office. That is as far as any arrangement goes.

I mentioned to you that I would like to see the S. R. C. put out such pamphlets under such a process that it would look like a local state job. It could in our case have the relationship, an affiliate of the SRC on it of course, and in other states what ever there was. I think a pamphlet on the Supreme Court ruling and cases in inter-state transportation would be of value to us. Also one on the opening of graduate schools to Negroes would useful. Another might well be on the use of Negroes in law enforcement which would deal with juries, police, etc. These should site what has happened and what should happen and effects. Maybe nothing can come of the idea, but I like it.

Sincerely,

/s/ Cyrus M. Johnson
/t/ Cyrus M. Johnson

I would like to receive a copy of the resolutions passed at the Civil Rights meeting.

April 12, 1948

Mrs. James S. Crate, Chairman
Texas Commission on Interracial Cooperation
2410 Inwood Drive
Houston 6, Texas

Dear Mrs. Crate:

The February 25 meeting of the Executive Committee directed the staff to ask the several State Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees to make recommendations during the Spring and Summer to the staff in Atlanta for the Council's program for the year 1949.

As the Council's Annual Meeting will occur in November, as usual, these recommendations should reach us here in Atlanta at some date early in September.

Will you, therefore, be good enough to make it an order of business, in the next suitable meeting of your group, to discuss and make recommendations on what you want done next year by the Council as a whole.

The Executive Committee and the Board of the Council will welcome the fullest possible statement. The Council would get very useful guidance from a listing of topics, in the order of importance which your group thinks they merit. Thus, extension of the franchise, first; police protection, second; employment opportunities, third; improved educational opportunities, fourth; and so on.

If the Council could be of more use to good causes in your State by doing quite other things than it has been doing, please say so and say what other things. For instance, is building membership in the Council important or unimportant? Is publishing New South worthwhile or not worthwhile? Are pamphlets worth doing or not?

We are still a young and healthy organization. The freest interchange of planning by the State units and the central office will do us all good.

Sincerely,

GSM:eb

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

April 12, 1948

The Reverend Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

The February 25 meeting of the Executive Committee directed the staff to ask the several State Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees to make recommendations during the Spring and Summer to the staff in Atlanta for the Council's program for the year 1949.

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Sincerely,

GSM:eb

cy To Mrs Ruby Lyells

George S. Mitchell

April 12, 1948

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

The February 25 meeting of the Executive Committee directed the staff to ask the several State Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees to make recommendations during the Spring and Summer to the staff in Atlanta for the Council's program for the year 1949.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb Cy To Mrs McLeod

April 12, 1948

Dr. R. L. Russell, Director
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Russell:

The February 25 meeting of the Executive Committee directed the staff to ask the several State Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees to make recommendations during the Spring and Summer to the staff in Atlanta for the Council's program for the year 1949.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Copy To Mrs Heyman

April 12, 1948

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson, Director
North Carolina Commission
on Interracial Cooperation
P. O. Box 1208
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Johnson:

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Sincerely,

cy To Mrs Spaulding

George S. Mitchell

April 12, 1948

Dr. Thomas C. Allen, Director
Department of Interracial Cooperation
Virginia Council of Churches
1444 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Allen:

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

April 12, 1948

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
R. F. D. #1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

cy to Miss Reid
and Mrs Spearman

April 12, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

The February 25 meeting of the Executive Committee directed the staff to ask the several State Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees to make recommendations during the Spring and Summer to the staff in Atlanta for the Council's program for the year 1949.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Copy to Mrs. Hortense Young

SRC - [illegible]

Planning
Suggestions from
State Divisions

April 14, 1948

Mr. William H. Gray
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Gray:

The February 25 meeting of the Executive Committee directed the staff to ask the several State Divisions and affiliated Interracial Committees to make recommendations during the Spring and Summer to the staff in Atlanta for the Council's program for the year 1949.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
cy to Mrs Zeuch

State Committees - Ky

April 16, 1948

Mr. R. B. Atwood, President
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Atwood:

I was sorry to miss you at the meeting and at the College, too. Thank you for your note.

I was greatly impressed with the things that Mr. Tydings had been able to get under way. Two other things could be picked up by the Kentucky Division. One would be a series of local meetings educating people on the contents of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The little Digest and the accompanying pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights," are very useful for such study groups.

The other thing, which came up somewhat at the Louisville meeting, would be a series of small town surveys, done in cooperation with the sociology people at the University of Kentucky. I should like to see the Council get up a manual for such community self-surveys and, through its help and through the loyalty of the Council's membership, coordinate a series of such local inquiries. Thus coordinated, they could be statistically comparable and, with a manual to work against, studies that otherwise might be feeble, would be efficient. Of course, the greater value of such a study in any locality is bound up with the skill used in choosing those who make the study. Properly chosen, those who do the study become automatically an enthusiastic follow-up committee; and the changes beg to be made.

I got some idea that Kentucky might be willing to be a guminea pig for getting something of this sort rolling. I realize, of course, that the Urban League does these for big cities. The Urban League will never get to the little places. We are in those little places now. And the Urban League would be glad to work with us in giving their experience. The Council learned a lot about it in the Jacksonville Survey.

I am mailing you a copy of the mimeographed pamphlet, "The Condition of Our Rights." We think it can be very useful. We are begging money to print it, but haven't found it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: Digest of Civ Rts Report;
"Condition of Our Rights"
GSM:eb

New file: Planning [illegible] Divisions
SRC

ALABAMA DIVISION

CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT A. D. BEITTEL

VICE-CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM
THE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY

SECRETARY
MRS. J. FLETCHER McLEOD
BRUNDIDGE

TREASURER
MR. ROBERT DURR
1602 - 6TH AVENUE. N.
BIRMINGHAM 3

Southern Re[redacted]

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ALABAMA DIVISION
TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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BIRMINGHAM

MRS. H. R. COGBURN
MOBILE

DEAN CHARLES G. GOMILLION
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

REVEREND WILLIAM H. MARMION
BIRMINGHAM

MR. J. E. PIERCE
MONTGOMERY

REVEREND THOMAS R. THRASHER
MONTGOMERY

REVEREND FRANK WADE
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ATTORNEY CHARLES V. HENDLEY
BIRMINGHAM

DR. D. V. JEMISON
SELMA

REVEREND CARL K. KLUGE
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MR. WILLIAM MITCH
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND J. B. NICHOLS
PRATTVILLE

PRESIDENT F. D. PATTERSON
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

MR. D. R. PRICE
BIRMINGHAM

REVEREND A. S. TURNIPSEED
MONTGOMERY

MR. J. K. WILLIAMS
BIRMINGHAM

June 28, 1948

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Replying to your letter of June 18th concerning the recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Alabama Division held at State Teachers College in Montgomery on May 25th, I am sending you the following excerpt from the minutes of that meeting:

"A letter from Dr. Mitchell of the Regional office in Atlanta was read asking for suggestions of topics to which the Southern Regional Council should direct its attention. We approved for consideration the topics suggested by the Regional Office such as extension of the franchise, police protection, employment opportunities, and improved educational opportunities, and we added one other topic, namely, welfare services for children. It was also agreed that we should work for an increase of membership of the SRC, and that publication of "The New South" as well as occasional pamphlets should be continued.

"The Executive Committee agreed that Dr. Beittel would get out a letter to our membership asking them to send in five names of prospective members to be invited by our chairman to join the organization.

"Mr. Durr spoke of the need of organizing local chapters of the Alabama Division in Birmingham, Montgomery and Mobile. It was voted to ask the following members of the Alabama Division to act as conveners of these local groups as follows: Reverend William H. Marmion in Birmingham: Mrs. Louis Kaufman in Montgomery: Miss Erma M. Appleby in Mobile; and Dean Charles D. Gomillion in Tuskegee. The advisability of organizing a local group in Talladega County was discussed, but no action was taken. Dr. Trenholm suggested we ask local conveners to report on their activities at the September joint meeting of the Executive Committee and the Advisory Council."

If any of this material will be useful in New South be free to use it.

I am glad to say that the Birmingham News Herald published practically all of the housing pamphlet in three or four sections. Due to my absence from the office at the time these items appeared I do not have the clippings for you. I was delighted, however, at the cordial response given to my suggestion.

Sincerely yours,

A D Beittel

A. D. Beittel, Chairman
Southern Regional Council
Alabama Division

ADB meb

Memo

August 10, 1948

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell

FROM: Agnes McKoy AMcK

RE: Preparations for the next meeting of the Executive Committee on September 15.

We were instructed by the Executive Committee at its last meeting to query our State Divisions for proposals covering program and policy for 1949. Such proposals (if any) are to be drawn up in the form of general recommendations and sent to members of the Committee not less than two weeks before its next meeting. The proposed budget for 1949 is to accompany these general recommendations.

On further checking, I note that it is the Executive Committee rather than the Staff who are instructed by the Board of Directors in the meeting of November 11, 1947, "to study the program and personnel of the Board of Directors and to create appropriate standing committees to work constantly with the Staff and on the program, along the lines of the particular talents of the members of the Board."

If you think well of it, we can prepare for the use of the Executive Committee a list of the Board members, showing occupations and/or professions.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
GUY B. JOHNSON, CHAPEL HILL
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 13, 1948

RECEIVED
AUG 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

The Reverend Mr. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

I wrote you on April 12 asking for a list to reach us by early September giving us the views and wishes of your organization as to program and policy for the Council for 1949.

This is a reminder of the approach of that date and a request for your careful attention.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:jdh

It seems to me that the Council is doing fine work and needs no special change in program or policy. If some provision could be made immediately after the national elections to hold public meetings all over the territory and present the stand of the Council, and definite statements of position be formulated, it might consolidate opinion and awaken new study and interest on the part of many. Have we decided "How far the Council is ready to go" and "How far have the people come"?

The Church could be a great factor in supporting an atiitude of justice and good will. We have been trying to arouse support (open and positive) for some position among the ministers here - so far without success. The whole question comes up at the September meeting.

PS Requested Division Report will be mailed next week.

H Brent Schaeffer

SRC - Planning Suggestions from State Divisions

Follow-ups to
Ky - Tydings
Miss - Schaffer
Ala - Beittel
Ga - Russell
N.C. - Johnson
Va -
Sc - Dabbs
Texas - Crate
cc to Sec-Treas of each Div.

August 13, 1948

Mr. William H. Gray
Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Gray:

I wrote you on April 14 asking for a list to reach us by early September giving us the views and wishes of your organization as to program and policy for the Council for 1949.

This is a reminder of the approach of that date and a request for your careful attention.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

SSM:jdh

cc: Mrs. Warren Zeuch

Aug 16, 1948

A Statement from the Director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation for the Report of the Director of the Southern Regional Council

1. I should like to see the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation launch a more intensive program on the worth of the individual. Meetings for cultivation and ground work should be had in every county in the state. It might be necessary to hold these meetings first in separate racial groups. Each of the major groups in Georgia need some education and direction which they could better have by meeting separately. Then after a period of such cultifation, joint meetings might be had. In this matter of education, the Council could very much help the local state committees or divisions.

2. Some plans should be devised to finance these state committees that they may more adequately implement the program of the Council. We would very warmly welcome more direction from the parent body. In the major activities there should be no difference in our group set-up and program.

3. All free literature gotten out by the Council and sent to persons in the territory of any given committee should be labeled by that state group with a statement furnished by them. This would tend to show the kinship of the Council with all of its children.

4. Certain sections of any given state should be selected for a survey of the economic, health, education and recreational facilities of that particular state. The state committee should aid the Council in its leadership of making these surveys, and the result of such surveys should be published and sent to the leaders of our committee in that state.

5. With the help of the state committees, the Council would do well to make an intensive effort to place some Negro policemen in the major cities of that state and to encourage the use of Negroes on our juries.

R. R. Russell

SRC - Planning Suggestions from State Divisions

Sent to: Dr. Beittel (Ala. Division)
Mr. J. M. Tydings (Ky. Div)
The Rev. Mr. Schaeffer (Miss. Div.)

August 20, 1948

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Beittel:

The Fall season is almost here and it is again time to think in terms of Fall meetings, either of the Executive Committee or of the memberships of our State organizations.

In an effort to get a clear set-up here in the office, I am writing to you to ask the date of your Fall meeting andalso to ask whether you think it would be wise for someone from the Council to attend the meeting. As you know, we are always glad to be at State meetings, as it not only gives us a closer contact with the workings of the groups, but also keeps us aware of the problems each group has to face, and gives direction to the work of the Council.

We should appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

DT:eb

TELEPHONE 3-1911

North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.

An Affiliate of The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

P. O. Box 1208

Raleigh, North Carolina

DIRECTOR
CYRUS M. JOHNSON

August 21, 1948

GENERAL OFFICERS
HONORARY CHAIRMAN
GOV. R. GREGG CHERRY
RALEIGH
STATE CHAIRMAN
REV. LEON RUSSELL
GOLDSBORO
SECRETARY-TREASURER
C. C. SPAULDING
DURHAM
CHAIRMAN BOARD OF FINANCE
GURNEY P. HOOD
RALEIGH

RECEIVED
AUG 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have been out of the office most of the Summer and will be out of the office until the end of next week. I hope to write soon after I come back some kind of account for a report to the membership that you will receive arround the first of September. This will be primarily an account of what we have tried to do in the Commission and rather little on the general condition of the State as regards to major changes.

I'll try also to get some dope on the Pender County farmer week after next and perhaps work it into a special article depending on what I find.

I'm afraid we will be of little help in giving suggestions for program and policy of the Council for 1949. We are having so much dificulty in working out our own that we have little to offer. Our next Executive Committee meeting will be in September but at that time we have enough decisions to make about our own group to keep us busy a full day, which we won't have. Until we decide what we are going to do it is rather impossible to know how you might help us.

I'll do the best I can on all the points.

Sincerely,

Cyrus M. Johnson

Cyrus M. Johnson

VICE-CHAIRMEN

MRS. ROSE D. AGGREY
C. H. HAMLIN
MRS. MARY C. HOLLIDAY
DAVID D. JONES
J. W. SEABROOK
W. A. STANBURY

OTHER MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FRANK L. ATKINS
L. E. AUSTIN
ROY M. BROWN
MASON CRUM
R. P. DANIEL
G. H. FERGUSON
N. NORFLEET GARDNER
W. L. GREENE
WALTER J. HUGHES
W. C. JACKSON
HAROLD E. JENSON
GUY B. JOHNSON
R. E. JONES
JOHN R. LARKINS
A. E. MANLEY
N. C. NEWBOLD
HAROLD L. TRIGG
E. T. THOMPSON
GERTRUDE WEIL
R. D. WELLONS
MRS. L. B. YANCEY

SRC - Planning Suggestions from State Divisions

August 26, 1948

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
R. F. D. #1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

It will be all right for South Carolina to send us what you can about program and policy for 1949 after your September meeting. There still will be time for us to include it in the matters to be considered by the November membership meeting.

Thank you greatly for your letter about Father and for the appreciated clipping from the Columbia State, which I had not seen.

Father cherished his every link with South Carolina and always looked forward to the day when her rich reserves of character and independence of mind would make themselves predominant in the State's public life.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

JAMES MC BRIDE DABBS · RIP RAPS · MAYESVILLE, S. C.

August 22, 1948

RECEIVED
AUG 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In regard to the wished of our State Division as to program and policy of the Council for 1949, I am writing to inquire whether it will be too late to give you this information around the 22nd of September. We are planning to have our next board meeting about that time. I had the matter in mind at our last board meeting, but our time was so taken up with the civil rights matter that we did not get around to the question of future policy, etc. Also, we expected in May to have another meeting about the middle of the summer, but for one reason or another have postponed such a meeting.

If the date I mention above is too late to do you any goodd, I shall try to learn what I can on the matter through correspondence with several membersof the executive committee, and let you know the findings.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs, Chairman,
S. C. Division of the SRC., Inc.

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

A. D. BEITTEL,
PRESIDENT

August 30, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 13th asking for a reply to your letter of April 12th requesting views and wishes of our organization as to program and policy for the Council for 1949.

This information was given to you in a two-page letter of mine dated June 28th. If you do not have this letter please let me know and I shall have a copy made for you.

A joint meeting of our Executive Committee and the Advisory Council will be held at St. Mary's-on-the-Highlands in Birmingham on the afternoon of September 23rd at two o'clock. We shall be very glad to have you attend this meeting if possible.

Cordially yours,

A D Beittel

Chairman Alabama Division

ADB:jh

Write him there
(I'd be "sot" am

SRC - Planning Suggestions from State Divisions

Supplementary Memorandum to the Executive Committee

September 15, 1948

The request to the State Divisions and State Committees for advice on policy and program for 1949 brought little response. Each organization was originally written to April 12, 1948, with a follow-up August 13, 1948. Replies were requested for "early September". Thus far we have had replies from only Four organizations, summarized as follows:

Alabama. The Executive Committee of the Alabama Division approved the topics tentatively suggested by the Council (extension of the franchise, police protection, employment opportunities, and improved educational opportunities) and added welfare services for children. They wished more work done to build membership, and wished New South and occasional pamphlets to be kept up.

North Carolina. The Director wrote August 21 that they were having so much difficulty working out their own program that they had little to offer.

Mississippi. Mr. Schaeffer wrote August 13 "The Council is doing fine work and needs no special change in program or policy. If some provision could be made immediately after the national elections to hold public meetings all over the territory, and present the stand of the Council, and definite statements of position be formulated, it might consolidate opinion and awaken new study and interest on the part of many. Have we decided 'How far the Council is ready to go' and 'How far the people have come'?".

Georgia. Dr. Russell wrote August 16 advising locality meetings to educate people in the worth of the individual, better finances for State Committees, any free literature distributed by the Council to have the label of the State Committee and an accompanying statement, linking the work of the two agencies, the state committees and the Council to work intensively on getting more Negro policemen and more Negro jurymen.

POLICE MOLEST NEGROES ON PRIVATE PROPERTY. (STORY TOLD BY A RESIDENT ON P. AVENUE AND CONFIRMED BY THREE OTHER RESIDENTS OF THE SAME BLOCK ON P. AVE.)

"During the hot summer months, like anybody else, we sit out on our porches at night to cool off before going to bed. Just any ol' night the cops will drive up and stop in front of any house in this block; turn their spot light on your porch and say, 'what are you niggers doing sitting out there, get on in the house.' Some times they wait until we go in; other times they tell us we'd better be gone when they come back by."

POLICE BLACK-JACKING RESULTING ON THE LOSS ON ONE EYE (STORY TOLD BY VICTIM).

"One Saturday night, my buddy and I were standing in front of this very beer joint, kidding, telling jokes, and playing. A girl we both knew came up and joined us in our fun. After she had been there about five minutes my buddy asked her to come and run with him that night. She said o.k. I said, no baby, you are going to run with me. My buddy embraced the girl and just as he did, I reached for her to come to me. The cops must have seen me just as I reached for her. We were just having fun, but as soon as they stopped the car one jumped on me with his black-jack. I don't know why, but he tried to beat me to death. I was crazy for a long time. That's why I don't have but one eye today. Nothing was done about it though."

NOTE: This story was verified by the owner of the beer place, who added that the policeman hit the victim with his black jack many times after he had fallen to the sidewalk.

CONSTANTLY RECURRING POLICE BRUTALITIES IN A NEGRO (COMBINATION) BUSINESS AND RESIDENTIAL SECTION OF ATLANTA AS TOLD BY A NEGRO MAN WHO OPERATES A BUSINESS IN THIS SECTION.

"Periodically the regular policemen on this beat "beat up some heads of Negroes for no reason at all. I have stood in my door many times and seen them ride to a stop in front of my place or a few yards away; call just any Negro on the street, ask him a question and slap him before he could answer the question. As soon as they (the policemen) slap the Negro they jump out of their car, grab him, search him, and let him go. Of course they never do this to a well dressed Negro."

AN ATLANTA CASE IN WHICH GROUNDS FOR ARREST WERE QUESTIONABLE. BRIBERY INVOLVED. EXCEPT POLICEMEN, ONLY NEGROES INVOLVED.

When an estranged male lover was informed that his former "girl friend" was in attendance at a "house party," he immediately contacted two local policemen, with whom he had had considerable dealings, and asked them to raid the party. These policemen who were giving protection to the Negro lover, in the business he operated (for a fee) proceeded, without question, to make the raid. The sole objective of the business man who requested the police to make the raid was to embarrass his girl friend whom he suspected attended the party with another man.

A minute or so after the police reached the house where they found the party orderly, the "other man" arrived on scene. Sensing immediately what was happening he waited until members of the party were loaded in the police car. With this, the man demanded an audience with the arresting officers. The man explained to the officers that he suspected they had been sent by the estranged lover to make the raid; he explained that if one woman, in particular, in the group were arrested she would lose her job, etc. He then offered the policemen a handsome sum of money to release the one woman in question. The policemen refused the bribe, whereupon the man disregarding their refusal placed a sum of money in the pockets of each policeman, after which the policemen ordered the woman out of the car and proceeded with the rest of the party to the police station.

travel to Southern towns, cities, county seats, making the acquaintance of Mayors, Directors of Public Safety, County Commissioners, sheriffs, chiefs, and others. He would be advantaged by prior visits made by a Negro representative, who would pick the story up locally as the police protection for Negroes, and give the layout to the white inquirer. The experiences of various cities, particularly in the use of Negro policemen, would be passed on to other cities.

After about a year of such travel, the best method of further work would shape up. It might be by pamphlets, articles, and conference. It would seem wise to unlimber local citizen pressure, which could be done effectively. One useful method would be an annual award, available for each three years, to the police officer in the South, who had done an outstanding job in protection of civil rights. Such an award, we are advised, would need to be a thousand dollars. Citations would be given to eight or ten others, the candidates to be passed on by State Committees, which we think we could get Superior Court judges to head. The award would have the incidental, but important, function of making easier the establishment of friendly relations on the part of the visiting Representative of the Council.

The two representatives would have to be engaged for two years each. The award should run for three years, at the least. We figure the whole cost at $37,500.

We think this is a practical way to get improvement rapidly. If it interests you, I am sure you will see changes in the method which will get a better job done. Will you be good enough to write us whether you find it worth your further inquiry? We have pamphlets galore about the Council, and lists of its supporters, and more about this project. I would of course be happy to come to New York for more explanation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

EE

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PAGE (s) MISSING

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travel to Southern towns, cities, county seats, making the acquaintance of Mayors, Directors of Public Safety, County Commissioners, sheriffs, chiefs, and others. He would be advantaged by prior visits made by a Negro representative, who would pick up the story locally as the police protection for Negroes, and give the layout to the white inquirer. The experiences of various cities, particularly in the use of Negro policemen, would be passed on to other cities.

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The two representatives would have to be engaged for two years each. The award should run for three years, at the least.

We figure the whole cost at $37,300.

We think this is a practical way to get improvement rapidly. If it interests you, I am sure you will see changes in the method which will get a better job done. Will you be good enough to write us whether you find it worth your further inquiry? We have pamphlets galore about the Council, and lists of its supporters, and more about this project. I would of course be happy to come to New York for more explanation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:EE

Collection
Clarence Mann Sr.

PAGE (s) MISSING

Final

REPORTING SCHEDULE FOR SRC FELLOWS
ON ACTS OF VIOLENCE (OTHER THAN LYNCHINGS) IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

1. Place of incident

City _____ County _____ State _____

Street, address or other location _____

2. Date and Time of Incident DD Month

3. Persons involved

Name	Age	Sex	Race	How Involved	Occupation

4. Brief Discussion of Incident, Including alleged provocation for act of violence

_____

5. Outcome or Present Status of Case, Including Legal Action

_____

6. Remarks _____

7. Source(s) of Information _____

8. Name of Fellow Reporting _____

Date of Submission _____

Final

A STUDY OF ACTS OF VIOLENCE (OTHER THAN LYNCHINGS) IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

PURPOSE

A more accurate knowledge of the principal factors involved in the incidence of acfs of violence, especial y between whites and Negroes, in the Sout is desirable.

The enclosed schedule is designed to make available to the Council information which will present a picture of a variety of factors connected with acts of violence occurring in a sample of communities in the South. This information would not only point up the areas which require special attention but would offer a basis for devising techniques for the reduction of these acts.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. Data for the enclosed schedule should be collected in the community where you reside for the period beginning January 1 and ending November 1, 1947. Fellows should report "leads" to acts of violence in other communities in your state when specific information is not conveniently available.

2. Schedules should be mailed to the Southern Regional Council when final disposition is made of cases of violence. In the event that final action is delayed over a considerable period of time, submit the incomplete schedule and report other developments thereafter as they occur.

3. Newspaper clippings (name and date of paper) covering the story should be submitted with schedules. If the newspaper story to be submitted includes all the known and available facts relative to an act of violence, it is not necessary to send a schedule with the clipping.

4. Incidents of special urgency should be reported to SRC, separately and immediately, by special delivery, by telegraph, or by telephone, when deemed advisable.

5. When information is not available write a check (✓) for "unknown" in the space provided.

1st draft

MEMORANDUM

To: SRC FELLOWS

From: Dr. Guy B. Johnson

Subject: Law Enforcement in the Southern Region

In comtemplating general improvement in the character of law enforcement in the Southern Region through police training, and the prevention of violence, a knowledge of prevailing methods and practices of police officers in a sample of Southern communities would serve to point up the areas which require special attention.

Discrimination, laxity, unfairness, brutality, and "inhumanity" in police work are effective in furthering poor community and race relations. The nature and extent of such practices in police work in your community may be determined through discussion and interviews with persons who have had direct contact with police officers. When feasible, get information also from the officers themselves. (Reporting on discussion and interviews with a small number of persons will be satisfactory for our purpose.)

With special reference to the handling of minority groups by the police in your community, please submit to SRC brief statements covering each of the following areas of police work:*

1. Methods of Arrest
2. General Tactics
3. Brutality
4. Identification of Suspects.
5. Methods of Collecting Evidence
6. Reliability of Testimony in Police Courts
7. "Third Degree" methods.

* Actual cases are preferred.

MEMORANDUM

TO: SRC Fellows

FROM: Dr. Guy B. Johnson

RE: Law Enforcement in the Southern Region

In contemplating general improvement in the character of law enforcement in the Southern Region it is important that pertinent information be gathered from reliable sources so as to present a factual picture which will include names, dates, places, and a brief description of incidents involved in relations between law enforcement, quasi-law enforcement officers and the people.

The Council is interested in obtaining accurate reports from you on the following types of situations:

1. Gross discourtesy, intimidation, or brutality on the part of the police in connection with arrests, investigations, identification of suspects, obtaining confessions, and collection of evidence;

2. Conflict in which it seems that street car or bus operators use unnecessary force in dealing with passengers.

The incidents need not be restricted to incidents involving Negroes.

Whenever there is a reliable newspaper story carrying an account of the incident being reported, please attach the clipping (name and date the newspsper) to your report.

SOME AREAS OF INTERESTEX IN SRC'S LAW ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM

1. Reporting of all threats by hate organizations and other groups or individuals.

2. Reporting of all averted lynchings, how, by whom?

3. Killings by posse and authorization of posse.

4. Number of shootings of Negroes not resulting in death; alleged offenders, etc.

5. Total slayings; total slayings by police officers.

6. Murder without formation of mob.

7. "Legal lynchings" - promise to police and court by vigilante leaders of quick trial and certain death penalty.

8. The number and description of circumstances surrounding the killing of Negroes by more than three whites when the act is not defined as a lynching.

DIGNIFIED COLORED WOMAN OF ABOUT 40 YEARS OF AGE GIVEN EXTRA CHARGE AND FINEFFOR SAYING "YES" TO A TRAFFIC POLICE OFFICER.

"I was parked on the opposite side of the street from the post office in the zone where the "no parking" regulation is in effect from 4 to 6 p.m. I came out of the post office at exactly 4:05. As soon as I got to my car, I was approached by a traffic officer. He curtly yelled: 'Girl, what do you mean blocking traffic this way?'

I said; I unintentionally stayed in the post office a little overtime. 'Well, I am going to give you a ticket for illegal parking,' the traffic officer explained. After writing the ticket the officer handed a copy to me. At a glance I saw he had marked me up at 4:25. I questioned the officer about the time and referred him to my wrist watch which showed only 4:09 then. The officer said: 'I put 4:25 on there and that's what it'll be in court. A brief discussion followed in which he asked me a question -- I have forgotten what the question was -- and I answered, yes. 'Girl, did you say yes to me? Give me that ticket; I am going to put another charge against you on it so it'll cost you more money and teach you how to say, yes, sir to a white man.' He wrote on the ticket: 'Insulting a police officer."

I gave the ticket to a white lawyer and explained the incident to him. The lawyer later reported he had the case dismissed and refused to charge me for his services."

A COLORED OPERATOR OF A FOOD AND BEER BUSINESS IN ATLANTA EXPLAINS WHY WHITE POLICE OFFICERS PREFER TO HAVE A COLORED BEAT.

"Those guys (policemen) make money on a colored beat. Man, they wouldn't change to a white beat for the world. They can't get away in the white section with the stuff they pull on us (Negroes).

"Every time they (policemen) come by here I gotta give 'em something. If I don't that's me. You don't have to be doin' anything crooked. If you don't give 'em something they'll make it hot for you by coming around often enough to run your customers away, or they'll trump up something on you."

"Just about all they guys around here in my kind of business do the same thing for the cops I do. They know they better."

"Now you see they (policemen) would be afraid to mess with white folks in business the way they mess with us."

METHOD EMPLOYED BY TWO POLICEMEN IN NEGRO SECTION OF INDUCING GIFTS FROM NEGRO BUSINESS MEN. STORY TOLD BY A NEGRO WHO HAD RECENTLY OPENED A BEER PARLOR FOR THE FIRST TIME.

"I noticed shortly after I had opened my place those sun-of-a-guns (policemen) came in here almost every day. They'd go all over the place, scare my customers, look around and then leave. I didn't know what the score was, so I finally asked them was anything wrong. They said nothing was wrong.

"One day I was telling the man who sold me the place about the cops coming by so much. He said, man don't you know what that's for? They gonna keep on doing that until you start handing 'em something. Fix 'em up; they'll lay off you."

THE FOLLOWING STORY WAS TOLD BY A COLORED VETERAN, AGE APPROXIMATELY 26 YEARS, WHO WAS ARRESTED ON SUSPICION OF THEFT OF A RING FROM ONE OF TWO SOLDIERS:

"They (police officers) came to the place where I worked to get me. They were very nice to me there and on my way to the police station.

After I had been in a cell for a little while, a man came and got me; took me to a small room where there were two big white men. These men started in on me right away: Boy, where's that ring you stole, one of them asked me. As soon as I said I don't know anything about any ring, the man hit me full force in my stomach with his fist. It bent me double. He asked me some more questions. Then he hit me in the stomach again. As I was straightening up the other man slapped me, and as he raised his foot to kick me I knocked it down with my hand. That made them mad and after I backed into the wall they beat me in the stomach for about 10 minutes between questions.

"I had never been to jail before. When I told some guys who had been to jail about what happened to me, they said that the cops don't slap as much as they used to, because it shows on the face. They would rather injure you internally so it can't be seen".

POLICE COURT JUSTICE

THE FOLLOWING STORY WAS TOLD BY A NEGRO CAR OWNER IN ATLANTA WHOSE EXPERIENCE HAD NEVER INCLUDED WITNESSING POLICE COURT METHODS AND PROCEDURE:

"I had had my new Ford just two months when I had my first little misfortune with it.

"One Sunday afternoon just after I had parked at the curb and had time to get to the ~~porch~~ porch or some friends I was to visit, I heard a sudden crash. A colored driver, whom I later learned was the chauffeur for a white doctor, Doctor B., had entered a private driveway across the street from my car, and in attempting to turn around in reverse out of the driveway his bumper smashed my left fender. Instantly I left the porch to check damages and get an understanding from the driver relative to repairs, etc. As I reached the sidewalk, the driver pulled away in his car: a case of hit and run. On a handy piece of paper I wrote the number of his license plate as he left the scene.

"I immediately called police headquarters, reported the license number and the incident.

"Sometime later I received my call to the police court. When the case was called and I appeared before the judge, I looked around for the Negro driver whom I felt sure I would recognize. He was not there. His white employer, and owner of the car, Doctor B. was there to answer. I was permitted to speak first. I presented a diagram to the judge of the incident, explained that my car was parked legally, and that the Negro driver for Dr. B. left the scene without attempting to explain anything. After my statement, the judge understandingly, addressed this question to Dr. B: Dr. B., were you on A. Avenue on Sunday afternoon about 3 O'clock Dr. B. answered: I was never on A. Avenue Judge, your Honor. I spoke out hastily to explain that it was Dr. B's chauffeur who was on A. Avenue and crashed into my car. 'Listen boy' said the judge defiantly, 'Dr. B. says he was not on that Avenue

and if you say another word I'll cite you for contempt of court. Case dimissed!

We're sorry to have bothered you Doctor.

NOTES ON LAW ENFORCEMENT

1. Through unfairness and brutality to Negroes in the performance of their duties, it is very probable that many policemen expect to get and maintain the esteem of their fellow workers and the approval of those who constitute their immediate social class. The number of "niggers" I have slapped, kicked, beat, blackjacked, and killed" is the loud and proud boast many members of a typical Southern police force. Such police officers are frequently "glorified" by other police officers and by a fairly large number of people in the community. High ranking city officials and police officers should concertedly strive to discredit all acts of unwarranted brutality of police officers against minorities. Esteem of policemen should be achieved only through the intelligent performance of their duties. The least efficienct police organizations have the highest rates of brutality; the most efficient organizations show low rates of brutality and a high incidence of prevention of crime and social unrest.

2. It has been suggested that sometimes younger and less vicious police officers clamour to become the partners of those officers whose record places them high in the Brutality Against Negroes League. The result of the pairing of two such police officers needs no explanation. Unfortunately, too, the "well meaning " policeman is often paired with a seasoned partner whose record of brutality to Negroes soon sets a new pattern for the younger and less experienced officer. While there is no official authority for this view, practically every Negro in a Southern city who has had considerable contact with policemen will tell you in effect: "They (the Police Department) wont let two good ones (policemen) work the same beat." Further questioning brings this kind of answer: " You can at least talk to Mr. "A", but all Mr. "B" knows is to reach for that stick and that gun." That the more "inhuman" partner in the pair exerts a greater influence has its answer in this typical statement:

"Mr. 'A' was all right when he first came on this beat, but now he's just like Mr. 'B' or worse".

3. Methods of administering justice in the police court may serve to influence the character of law enforcement by the police in the community.

(As long as policemen are generally incompetent and prejudiced, it is dangerous that their testimony in the police court against alleged offenders is frequently final and conclusive).

The informal, unfair, and partial procedure in the police court in a system which gives the first and last word to the officer preferring charges or making arrests, almost always works to the disadvantage of the Negro.

4. Some Southern police officers prefer charges against Negroes who say "yes" to them rather than "yes sir."

5. Improved police work in race relations would be encouraged through open commendation of officers who acquit themselves as fair and just "umpires" in incidents of race friction and misunderstanding.

6. Occasional forums and discussions in which the officers themselves are permitted to report their "human" methods and strategy in the handling of actual, or would-be, Negro offenders would tend to foster increased fairness in police administration.

A JUDGE MIXES HIS EMOTIONS WITH HIS AUTHORITY.

An Atlanta Negro undertaker was officially ordered by a superior court judge to release a body to an out-of-town undertaker. A white Barnesville, Georgia lawyer acting in behalf of the relatives of the deceased Negro had made the necessary contact with the Atlanta judge.

Four hours before the body was to be released, the local undertaker was visited by the wife of the deceased and her white woman employer, who insisted that the body be kept in Atlanta and buried here. When the undertaker explained his court order, the white woman, who as a personal friend of the judge who gave the order, insisted that she could "fix" it. The undertaker provided transportation for the two women to the office of the judge. He remained outside the office while the women engaged in a twenty minute conference with the judge. At the end of the conference the white woman instructed the undertaker that the judge had rescinded his order. Funeral arrangements were then made for the following day in Atlanta.

When the Barnesville funeral director called for the body late afternoon of the same day, the local funeral director refused to release it. During the night the local director received a telephone call from the judge and was ordered to appear in court the following morning. He made his appearance with a white lawyer. The judge refused to hear the defense for the undertaker and sentenced him to ten days in jail and a fine of $200 for contempt of court.

After spending two days in jail the services of a second lawyer were procured by the undertaker. This lawyer arranged a hearing at which time the woman employer of the wife of the deceased was to appear. In her testimony, the woman immediately made it clear to the judge that he had

instructed her that the body need not be released from the Atlanta funeral home. During her testimony, the judge interrupted her and dismissed all charges.

Pilot project

August 6, '47

Mr. Gordon Gray
Winston Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, N.C

Dear Mr. Gray,

I enclose the "project" of yesterday, retyped with one or two minor changes.

Mr. Whittaker was out, and was not to be available later in the day. I was advised to see him later, by appointment. No better luck with the Chief, though after a longish wait I left a note, which I hope will establish a connection next time I can be in town.

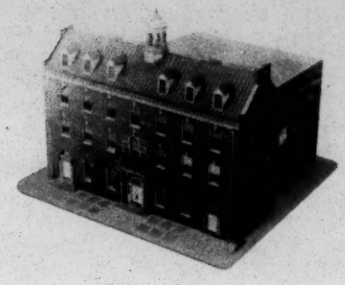
I greatly appreciated your kind attention. If the idea finds some further expression in your thought we would be most grateful for word from you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

WINSTON-SALEM TWIN CITY
JOURNAL AND SENTINEL
MORNING SUNDAY EVENING

Published by
PIEDMONT PUBLISHING CO.
GORDON GRAY, PRESIDENT & PUBLISHER
WINSTON-SALEM 1, N. C.



30 July 1947

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1947
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Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of July 28.

Following what I have previously written to you, I will not decline to see you on August 5. However, I doubt that I can be of much help to you.

Yours very truly,

Gordon Gray

Gordon Gray

GG:im

Police Project

July 28, '47

Mr. Gordon Gray
Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Dear Mr. Gray,

Thank you for your letter of July 24.

I ~~mainly~~ need your advice, as to persons to whom I might apply for possible help. We have a plan for taking on two people, one white and one Negro, who would become deeply familiar with Southern police problems, and would learn also the best Northern experience in interracial situations involving police administration. ~~Xxxx

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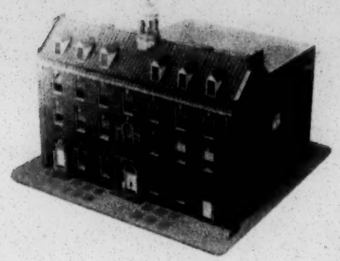

24 July 1947

RECEIVED
JUL 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. (Room 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of July 18 which I have not sooner answered because of absence from the city.

Obviously, it is too late now to arrange a meeting before the 25th. I do expect to be in my office until the last week in August when I shall probably take two weeks vacation, and will be glad to talk with you.

Now, as to the subject matter of the proposed conference. I might as well say frankly to you that I am not willing to undertake an assignment of raising money for any cause at this time. Within the last year, I have had the chairmanship of two drives in this community, and I am not having any more of that for a while. So if you intend to ask me to take an active part in your program, however meritorious it may be, and if that is the purpose of your wish to see me, I think I might save you the trouble and expense of a trip.

If, under the circumstances, you still wish to talk with me I will be glad to see you.

Sincerely,

Gordon Gray

Gordon Gray

GG:im

WINSTON SALEM JOURNAL and SENTINEL WSJS IS THE JOURNAL AND SENTINEL RADIO STATION. NBC 5000 WATTS 600 KILOCYCLES

Police project

July 18, '47

Mr. Gordon Gray
The News-Sentinel
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Dear Mr. Gray,

I was sorry to miss you in a stop-over call the other day.

We have worked out a project for improving police administration in the South. It will take somewhere around forty thousand dollars, stretched over a period of two or three years. I would like to raise some or all of this amount in the South. In this connection, your advice would be greatly valued.

If you will be good enough to let me know of a time when you expect to be in Winston-Salem I would like to go up for a brief discussion of the matter.

I am free July 22-25, and in the early part of August.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

September 8, '47

Dear Bill,

Here's the extended write-up of our Police Project.

Many thanks for your letter to Finch.

Let me know when you hear further, please.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Tentative Draft

of

THE POLICE AND THE NEGRO

A BRIEF TRAINING COURSE IN
HUMAN RELATIONS
FOR
POLICE OFFICERS
IN THE SOUTH

Prepared By -

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

1947

Contents of Roposed Manual

on

THE POLICE AND NEGRO CITIZENS: A BRIEF TRAINING COURSE IN HUMAN RELATIONS

INTRODUCTION: The purpose of this course; appreciation of the policeman's tough job; what the lessons will deal with.

1st Session I

RACE AND RACE PREJUDICE: Origins of the races; unity of mankind; scientific conclusions concerning the natural abilities of races; why race prejudice exists; minorities have prejudices too; races can get along in harmony.

2nd Session II

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4th Session IV

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INTRODUCTION

We Southerners like to say that "We know the Negro." But how much do we really know about Negroes? Isn't it a fact that most of us know only a few colored people? Don't we get most of our impressions about them from the colored woman who helps us in the kitchen, from the man who does odd jobs for us, from reading about their crimes in the newspapers, or from just seeing them on the street? Can we honestly say that we know very much about the problems and the achievements of our Negro citizens, or that we really understand what Negroes are thinking and why? The fact is that less than ten white people out of a hundred can answer an honest "yes" to these questions.

The policeman, of all, people, should have a good understanding of human beings. He has a special obligation to try to understand people of different races or nationality or religion. When he has that understanding, he will be able to do a fairer and more efficient job of protecting all law-abiding citizens and dealing with those who break the laws.

The purpose of this brief course of training is to give you some facts about Negro citizens and to present some suggestions which might help you to discharge your duties more efficiently and more understandingly. The course is divided into the following subjects and sessions:

Subject	Hours	Sessions
Race and Race Prejudice	1	1
Some Facts About Negro Citizens	1	1
Attitudes of Negroes Toward Police	1	1
Standard of Police Behavior	2	2

You can help by attending all of the sessions, by raising questions, by contributing comments from your experiences, and by keeping an open mind.

RACE AND RACE PREJUDICE

1. What is Meant by Race?

"Race" is a biological term. It refers to inherited physical characteristics. A race, therefore, is a group of people descended from a common source and who have thus inherited so many similar physical traits that they look very much alike. Race is often confused with nationality. When anyone speaks of "the English race" or "the German race" or the "French race", he is speaking loosely, for these are not races, but nationalities. All of these people are a part of the white or Caucasian race. There is no "Jewish race." The Jews are a people bound together by religion and intermarriage. They are without a territory or nationality, and they have mixed to some extent with the Gentiles in many countries, with the result that Jews range all the way from very blond to very brunette. They are members of the Caucasian race. Likewise the Chinese are a nation, not a race. They belong to the same race stock as the Japanese and most of the other people of Asia, namely, the Mongolian or yellow race.

Are there any "pure" races? Science says "No." Remembering that in the strict sense the people of a race should look pretty much alike, try to name a "pure" race. The American white people? Not at all! We are made up of white people from all over Europe, and we are the most mixed-up people in all the white race. The Africans? No. They range all the way from the tallest people in the world (round the headwaters of the Nile River) to the shortest people (the Bushmen and Hottentots); and their color ranges from light copper to jet

black. The Negroes of America? Again, No. They were of various types when they were brought over from Africa, and in America they have acquired a good deal of white and Indian blood. To tell the truth, the anthropologists (the scientists whose business is "the study of mankind") have decided that the nearest they can come to finding "pure" races is among small savage tribes which have inbred so long that their members all look as if they were really close kin. Most of the scientists have given up trying to make a scientific classification of races. They say that there are three great stocks, the white or Caucasian, the yellow or Mongolian, the black or Negro; that these stocks fade into each other because of inter-breeding; and that within the stocks there are many varieties or "sub-races" of people. Some simply say, "There is just one race — the human race."

2. The Origin of Races

How did the human race get divided up into so many different colors and sorts of people? We shall probably never know exactly, but the best explanation at present is as follows: (1) Mankind originated in a warm climate, probably in southwestern Asia, and his original color was brown. (2) During the thousands of years of his early existance, little groups began to scatter out, and those that survived would in turn migrate further and further from the homelands, until much of the earth was populated with human beings. (3) During the several hundred thousand years that it took to do this, man had ample time to adapt himself to new climates, new conditions of all sorts. This adaption changed him into many different physical types. The people who stayed in hot climates became darker. That was necessary, else they could not have lived there. Those who went into cold climates went through a process of natural selection which made them lighter and lighter, because the smaller amount of sunshine gavored the survival of those whose skins were light. (4) Then, after the

various colors and other physical traits had been established and man had expanded until he was numbered by the millions, he began to develop civilizations. He invented things, explored, migrated, and rediscovered his brethern in far off places who were now very different. There was always mixing, of course, but now the mixing increased, and today we have all possible mixtures of human beings.

Perhaps you have heard people refer to "the curse of Ham" and say that the Bible teaches that Noah put a curse on Ham. They say that God caused Ham to turn black and condemned him to be a servant to other people. This is not only contrary to science, but it is a misinterpretation of the Bible. If you look this up in the ninth chapter of Genesis, verses 20-25, you will find that the Scripture reads as follows:

> An Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard;
> And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent.
> And Ham, the father of Cannan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethern without.
> And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness.
> And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him.
> And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethern.

Note that it says nothing about Ham being cursed and nothing about anyone's being turned black. "The curse of Ham" is pure folklore, and it was invented long ago in a effort to justify Negro slavery.

3. The Unity of Mankind

One thing that all scientists are agreed on is the fact that all human beings belong to the same species. When you look at a very dark African and a very blond Swede, you might be inclined to think that there is more difference between them than there is between a house cat and a wildcat or a lion cub, but

this is not true. The members of a species can mate together and produce offspring. All types of human beings can do this, therefore they are all descended from the same stock and are members of one species. The house cat and the lion and a lot of other animals are members of the feline family, but they are different species of that family, and they cannot mate. The difference between human races, then, are like the differences between breeds of cats or dogs or horses, and not like the difference between species of animals.

You have heard of types of blood, and you know that some types cannot be mixed safely in giving blood transfusions. Now, the basic blood types are found among all races. It is true that one type may be more common in one race than in another, but no one race has only one blood exclusively. In other words, there are plenty of Indians, Negroes, Chinese, and Hindus whose blood matches yours or mine, and if our lives depended upon a blood transfusion their blood would save us as quickly as anybody's as long as it matched.

And so we see that when the preacher says that we are brothers in the sight of God, or when he quotes the Scriptures saying that "God hath made of one blood all men to dwell upon the earth," he is stating not only a deep spiritual truth, but something which is backed up by the facts of modern science.

4. The Meaning of Racial Differences

The differences in skin color, texture of hair, bodily build, shape of head of face, etc. are quite obvious. It is a temptation for us to believe that these differences have a lot to do with people's mental ability, or their character, or their ability to become civilized. Well, the weight of science is very much against such conclusions. Here is a brief summary of the findings of science with respect to the physical differences between races:

A. All human beings have the same kind of structure, skeleton, organs, nerves, etc. They all have basically the same kind of thinking apparatus, the same kind of emotions and feelings.

B. All races have the same capacity for mental development. A great deal of scientific research has been done on this subject. At first, the scholars who experimented with mental tests thought they had found proof that important racial differences in mentality do exist. Then they began to find such facts as these: that white children from underprivileged slum areas average lower than white children from well-to-do families; that children who are taken out of a bad and discouraging environment and are given better opportunities and better nourishment show improvement in their I.Q., or Intelligence Quotient; that Northern colored recruits in World War 1 averaged higher than white recruits from Mississippi. Such findings kept showing up the very great importance of environment and opportunity. Science now believes that race has nothing to do with mental ability. All races have their idiots, their morons, their average people, and their geniuses, but have a better chance to show what they can do and achieve in life.

C. What we call civilization is not the creation of any one race, and the capacity to become civilized is not lacking in any race. The white race is "on top" right now, but we would do well to remember that this has been true for only a few hundred years and that there is no assurance that it will always be true. When Ceasar's armies invaded Britain about 2000 years ago, they found our ancestors living in a barbaric tribal state. Ceasar later expressed his opinion of them as follows: "Don't get your slaves from Britain. They are a lazy, barbaric sort of people." Yet it was the British who, after being invaded numerous times and fighting internal wars for hundreds of years, finally settled down to a unified government about 500 years ago and began to make their great contributions to civilization. The same is true for other white people of Western Europe. They had had little, if anything, to do with the making of the great ancient civilizations. In fact, the great early civilizations were developed among the brown-skinned people of Syria and Egypt, the Chinese of Eastern Asia. Later the leadership passed on to Greece and Rome, and finally our ancestors in Western Europe "caught on" and took over the leadership Their race had not changed, but they took on new ideas, new ideas, new habits, new ambitions, because of their contacts with other civilizations. That is the way great civilizations have always grown. They flourish where trade, commerce, conquest, and politics bring together people with many different ideas and backgrounds. The people who are backward and retarded are those who are off the main paths of commerce and social intercourse and who have therefore got into a rut, and people of this kind are found in all races. Given time and opportunity, such people can become as civilized as anyone. Let's remember that it took our ancestors about 1500 years to make any major improvements over Greek and Roman civilization. Under present conditions of communication and education, backward people can change from "uncivilized" to "civilized" within the space of a few generations.

D. The physical difference between races, then, are actually of little importance in themselves, but they have been the cause of a lot of havoc and misery and bloodshed because too many people have <u>believed</u> them to be important.

5. Race Prejudice

Prejudice means pre-judgment, or judging without having sufficient knowledge about the thing we are judging. There are all sorts of prejudices. Some of them are purely personal or individual, and they don't do a great deal of harm perhaps. For example, one of you in this group may dislike certain other men in this group because of various little personal traits, but another one of you may happen to like those same men very much and dislike others, But you don't all agree in your prejudices or dislikes, so there is no one person whom all of you consider to ne "the ideal policeman" and no one person whom all of you consider to be "a no-good skunk." The result is that your little personal prejudices within your group concel each other out more or less, and you work together pretty smoothly "for the good of the police force."

However, it is the prejudice which one <u>group</u> of people has toward another whole <u>group</u> of people that we are primarily interested in now. As policemen you are a sort of special group, and you know that sometimes the general public seems to have some queer ideas about what you are like as a group! Those ideas do not get "set" because, after all, police work is one of many honorable occupations, and you are a part of that general pyblic yourself. The fellow who got so mad at you yesterday when you tagged his car may meet you at a church social tomorrow night, get acquainted with you, and decide that you are a darned swell guy after all.

But when we come to prejudices between groups that differ in religion or race or color, we are up against real prejudices, It is race prejudice that has created the most havoc in modern times. Why does it exist. The main factors

seem to be as follows:

A. Preference for our own kind. Every person is born into a certain family, community, and racial group. Other things being equal, he likes his own kind of people better than he does others. All races prefer their own types unless they have been mistreated, degraded, and made ashamed of their racial type.

Now it is quite natural for us to prefer our own kind and to be more at ease in social relationships with them than we are with people of another race. However, this does not mean that we should dislike or hate or mistreat the members of another race. This is a moral problem, and it is at this point that we, as members of the white race, have fallen short.

B. Competition and domination. All of life is a competition. We compete with others for our jobs, for wives, for honor, for social position, for power. Some of us make out better than others, some of us just don't make the grade, but all of us find it very difficult to resist the temptation to take advantage of another person in order to get ahead. Most of us like to feel that we are better than certain others and that we have a certain amount of power or authority over them. As a race, we have been accustomed to power and domination, and many of us have come to believe that we are a sort of super race, appointed by the good Lord to do what we please with other races.

C. Physical differences. Now we can see more clearly the part that race differences play in race prejudice. People can change their occupations, their religion, their social class, and escape being permanently tagged as the objects of prejudice. The white immigrant can come overfrom Poland or Italy, learn our language and customs, and lose all of his foreign labels in our great "melting pot." But if a person has a distinctly different color, then he has a badge of race which is permanent. We can easily identify him, classify him, and pigeon-hole him. If there are very many like him, it is easy for us to get to thinking about them in a stereotyped way, and their racial marks make mighty convenient pegs for us to hang our prejudices on.

D. Relative size of populations. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of a minority race in the total population, the more the dominant race fears it as a threat to its own domination, and the stronger is the feeling of race prejudice, If we were to see only occasional visitors from some strange race, we would probably consider them interesting, odd, or exotic; but if they kept coming and settling among us until they made up from five to ten percent of our population, we would no doubt begin to feel that we have "a race problem" on our hands.

Now we can put these various ingredients together and see how race prejudice and race problems come about. Given a strong or dominant group with a strong

preference for its own kind, bring it into contact with a minority or less advanced group of another race, and it will take advantage of the minority race group in the competition for power, for wealth, and for comfort. The greater the physical differences, the easier it will be to set the minority group apart and treat all of its members alike. And the greater the numbers of the minority, the harder will the dominant race strive to preserve its own supremancy.

All race problems have a history. By that we mean that race prejudice is not inborn. It is learned, it is acquired. Children who have been taught nothing about other races do not have race prejudice. If they were taught to treat all people according to their individual worth rather than according to their racial affiliation, we would have much less of a race problem. When we first settled in America, there was no race problem, but we soon made one. We wanted riches, comfort, and power in this great new country, but we didn't want to do the hard work unless we had to, so we yielded to the temptation to hold Negroes in slavery. Our conscience bothered us for a long time, but we finally fixed that. We argued: "Just look at those dark people. It is obvious that they are ignorant, savage, unchristian, and very inferior to us. Maybe they don't even have soulds like we do. Wouldn't God want us to take charge of them, use their labor for developing our own great civilization, Christianize them, and try to civilize them?" We used religion, science, philosophy, and everything we could lay hands on to justify slavery, and thus we let ourselves in for problems which plague us to this day.

6. Scapegoating

One of the tragic things about the presence of a minority group which can be easily identified because of its race or religion is the opportunity which is created for unscrupulous persons to use the minority group as scapegoats. In other owrds, when there is a condition of depression or discontent in a nation or in some local area, some person or group of persons can fan the fires of race prejudice by circulating wild rumors and by saying over and over to discontented people, "It's the Jews' fault" or "The Negor is the cause of the trouble."

Adolph Hitler did this in Germany. He was a "little man" with a burning inferiority complex. He had no reason whatever to hate Jews. What he wanted was power and revenge on the nations that had defeated Germany. In the beginning his gang was no stronger than the recent Columbians of Atlanta. But the discontent and disorganization of the German people made them suckers for his doctrines. He came to power, plunged the world into a war which caused the deaths of many millions, and left his country broken and beaten.

In our country we have seen "little men" start hate organizations by playing upon certain people's fears and discontent. They cause beatings, lynchings, riots, or at least a condition of race tension which is potentially dangerous. Some of these sellers of hatred may be sincere though misquided fools, but most of them are just plain racketeers who are out to exploit race hate for personal profit.

Our politicians are also sometimes guilty of exploiting race prejudice in order to get elected to office. You can probably think of several throughout the South who ordinarily do not concern themselves with the race relations, but when election times comes around raise the race issue in order to get votes.

One such politician had a Negro mistress, and he had a good many colored friends for whom he had a high regard. When his close friends would chide him about fanning the flames of race prejudice during his campaigns, he would say, "Now, you know I don't believe all that stuff, but it gets the votes, and that's what I need."

7. Need for Cooperation and Tolerance

Race is one of the greatest moral and political issues in the world today. Unless we deal with race problems intelligently, they can keep us in turmoil and hold back our progress as a community or a region of a nation.

Races, with all of their differences, are here to stay, and the sensible thing is to develop attitudes of tolerance and understanding between people who are different. We need more getting together of people of different races to discuss our problems frankly and openly. If we would approach these problems with the same calmness and intelligence that we use on other civic problems, we would not only save ourselves a lot of trouble but would have more harmony and understanding between the races.

SOME FACTS ABOUT NEGRO CITIZENS

It would take months of close study to gain a really adequate understanding of Negro citizens, their achievements, their problems, their thinking, and their behavior. We can only hit the high spots and try to get at a few of the basic facts about them.

(The instructor might find it interesting to begin with a quick information test. Here are ten suggested questions:

		Correct Answer	No. Right
1.	The first Negroes who came to America after the English began settlement came before the Pilgrims Landed at Plymouth Rock. True or False.	True	
2.	Every Negro who was brought over here was kept in slavery until Emancipation in 1865	False	
3.	More than two-thirds of the white families of the South never owned a slave	True	
4.	What is the proportion of Negroes in the population of the U. S. - One half? One fifth? One tenth?	1/10	
5.	What is the proportion of Negroes in the population of the South - One half? One third? One fourth?	1/4	
6.	How many states have a majority of Negroes in their population - None? 1? 2? 3? 4?	None	
7.	Negroes are increasing faster than whites.	False	
8.	The only living person who has been to the North Pole is a Negro	True	
9.	About 95% of the Negroes in the U. S. can read and write	True	
10.	About 1 million Negroes served in World War 11	Tfue	
	Total Correct		_____

Taking the total correct answers and the total possible correct answers the instructor can quickly compute a score of percent correct. If it is 50% or below, the group is about like others who have never had any special training on these facts.)

1. Some Historical Facts

It is a surprise to most people to learn that Negroes set foot on American soil long before our ancestors began to make settlement in what is now the United States. Some historians think there is evidence that a Negro servant accompanied Columbus on his voyage which led to the discovery of America in 1492. It is certain that several colored men were with the early Spanish explorers, such as Coronado, in the early 1500's. The first permanent English settlement was made at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, and only twelve years later, in 1619, twenty Negroes were brought into Jamestown and sold to the officials as servants. This was two years before the famous Pilgrim Fathers landed farther north at Plymouth Rock in Massachusette to set up another great colony.

Those first twenty Negroes had been "hi-jacked" from a Spanish ship by a Dutch shipmaster in the West Indies. Remember that the Spanish had been in the West Indies for quite a while and had already brought over Africians to be slaves. These twenty Negroes had already been baptised as Christians (Catholics) and had taken Christian names. The English at Jamestown were not used to holding slaves, and their consciences bothered them about using these people as slaves. In fact, at first they treated them like the white indentured servants, that is, people who contracted to work for a certain number of years in return for their ship passage to America and their "keep" until they worked out the debt. Some of these twenty servants worked out their freedom and wound up by having property and servants of their own.

However, as more Negroes were brought in - some of them directly from Africa - the temptation to make lifetime servants or slaves out of them grew stronger and stronger. After forty or fifty years they got the church and the law on the side of slavery, and thus they set the course for some tragic events in our history.

For more than 150 years slavery grew very slowly. Many people were opposed to it, and only a few of the wealthier white people owned slaves. The Northern colonies began to abandon slavery as soon as the Revolution was won, and even the Southern colonies were talking about abolishing it. But in 1795 came the invention of the cotton gin, and this changed everything. The Deep South was opened up as a great Cotton Kingdom, and people went hog-wild over the money to be made in cotton. Oglethorpe tried his best to keep slavery out of Georgia, but the tide was too strong. Although Congress had prohibited the bringing in of any more slaves after 1810, hundreds of thousands were smuggled into the South right on up to the time of the Civil war.

The North, having given up slavery and being jealous of the prosperity of the cotton states, wanted slavery abolished. The harder the Abolitionists worked, the angrier the South became, and the harder it was for anyone in the South to talk about some sensible gradual plan for doing away with slavery. Finally the question became a great political issue, and with the election of Lincoln on an anti-slavery platform in 1860, we were soon in a Civil War. That great tragedy ended in the economic ruin of the South and the emancipation of the slaves in 1865.

Then came Reconstruction, which was dominated by a group in Congress which wanted to punish the South and keep the Republican Party in power. Reconstruction did some good things, such as broadening the suffrage and settling up free public schools, but it branded many of the Southern white people as traitors, disfeanchised them, and set race against race in a way that we had never known before. When the white people regained control, they went to the extreme and passed a lot of laws which they considered necessary in order to control the Negroes and keep them from having any voice whatever in the governments of the Southern states. We are still living in the shadow of that tragic era, and we find it hard to think fairly and sensibly about the human rights of the Negroes although it has been more than eighty years since Emancipation.

Even during slavery, Negroes made considerable progress. They became Christians and took on the ways of white civilization. Many thousands had bought their freedom or had been set free by their masters who no longer wished to hold human beings in bondage. A slave girl who was brought from Africa to Boston before the Revolution became a noted poet and received praise from George Washington. A Negro astronomer and surveyor, Benjamin Banneker, helped to lay the city of Washington out. A North Carolina Negro accompanied his young master to Princeton University, studied under great scholars, and later opened a private academy in North Carolina where he helped to train some of the men who later became governors and senators. There were notable colored preachers, free and slave, and in a few cases they served white churches. Other Negroes became teachers, mechanics, business men, and farmers. A few even owned slaves!

2. Population and Migration

When we bacame a nation and took our first census in the year 1790, one person in every five was colored. The white population has grown faster than the colored, and today one person in ten in the United States is a Negro. To be exact, Negroes make up 9.8% of the total population. The total population is 140,000,000, and the Negro population is 13,000,000.

A little over, 9,000,000 Negroes, or three-fourths of them, live in the South. The other fourth lives in the North and West, mostly in the North, as only about 2% of all Negroes are in the West.

Of the total population of the South, Negroes make up a little less than one-fourth — 24%. Because many colored people have been moving out of the South, and because the white population grows faster, the ratio of Negroes in The South's total has been gradually getting smaller.

Until about ten years ago there was one state, Mississippi, which had more Negroes than whites. But today there is no state which has a Negro majority.

The percentage of Negroes in the populations of the thirteen Southern states according to the Census of 1940 is as follows:

Mississippi	49%	North Carolina	27%
South Carolina	43	Arkansas	25
Louisiana	36	Virginia	25
Georgia	35	Tennessee	17
Alabama	35	Texas	14
Florida	27	Kentucky	7

Oklahoma ?

The time was when the great majority of the Negroes were country dwellers and farmers. That time has bout passed. They have been going to town more and more, and they are now about fifty-fifty urban and rural. They have been moving not only to the cities of the South, but to the cities of the North and West. In fact, when they migrate to the North and West they go almost entirely to the large cities, rarely to the farms. There has always been some migration away from the South, but the big movement began during the first World War. It slackened off during the depression, but World War 11 set another great movement in motion. Today there are about two million more Negroes living in the North and West than there were 25 years ago.

There are now eleven cities which have 100,000 or more Negroes. New York City now has well over half a million, which is more than there are in the State of Florida, or Tennessee, or Kentucky, or Arkansas, or Oklahoma. The cities having 100,000 or more Negroes according to the Census of 1940 are as follows:

CITY	NEGRO POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION
New York	458,444	6.1
Chicago	277,731	8.2
Philadelphia, Pa.	250,880	13.0
Washington, D. C.	187,266	28.2
Baltimore, Md.	165,843	19.3
Detroit, Mich.	149,119	9.2
New Orleans, La.	149,034	30.1
Memphis, Tenn.	121,498	41.5
Birmingham, Ala.	108,938	40.7
St. Louis, Mo.	108,765	13.3
Atlanta, Ga.	104,553	34.6

3. Contributions and Achievements

It is doubtful whether any race in history has made as much progress as the Negro American has made in the relatively short time since he was emancipated from slavery. It is a bit startling to us to remember that in the early lifetime of persons now living more than four million human beings were still being held in slavery. During slavery and in the eighty-odd years since slavery ended, Negroes have made contributions to American life and have made notable progress. We can outline the facts briefly as follows:

A. Labor. Negroes have done much of the hard, back-breaking labor that has gone into the making of our great nation. As slaves and as free men, they have sweated on farms, in mines, on railway construction, on heavy construction, and on many other tough jobs that have helped this country to become rich and powerful.

B. Folk Music. Negroes brought with them a great gift of song and dance. Mixing this with the great misical heritage of the white man, they have produced what many authorities call America's best folk music. The spirituals are loved and sung by white and black alike, and hundreds of secular songs -- blues, comic songs, sad songs, work songs, ballads - testify to the musical genius of the Negro race.

C. Folklore. Negroes also brought with them a great store of folk tales, riddles, witty sayings, folk medicine, and the like. The best example of their contribution to our folklore is the Uncle Remus tales, which were collected and published by Joel Chandler Harris, the great Georgia author and editor. Most of these tales were brought over from Africa, but now they are known and loved by the great majority of American children of all races.

D. Economic Progress. In spite of the handicaps, Negroes have made considerable economic progress. They now own nearly a million homes, nearly a million farms, over 70,000 businesses, land equal in area to the New England states, 200 insurance companies with insurance in force for more than half a billion dollars, and total accumulated wealth of more than three billion dollars.

E. Educational Progress. Starting almost from scratch at emancipation, when fewer than 5% could read and write, Negroes have come to the point that only about 5% cannot read and write. It is only recently that the Southern states have begun to make anything like adequate provisions for the public education of colored people, but in the South there are more than two million Negro children enrolled in elementary schools and 300,000 in high schools. There are 109 Negro colleges, all of them in the South expect three or four. About 5,000 people receive college degrees each

year. About 250 Negroes have earned the Ph.D degree, and about the same number have been elected in Phi Beta Kappa, the great honorary scholarship fraternity.

F. Religious Progress. Negroes have more than 40,000 churches, valued at about $250,000,000. Nearly six million people belong to these churches, or about ten percent of the total church membership in the nation. The great majority of Negroes are Baptists and Methodists, because these are the denominations which were the strongest in the South during slavery times and because they appealed to the Negroes more than other faiths did. Colored churches carry on a great deal of missionary work in Africa, South America, and the West Indies. They spend about thirty million dollars a year on this work.

G. Literature, Art, and Drama. Even during slavery a number of Negroes won distinction for their poetry and other writings. For example, Phillis Wheatley, a young African girl who was brought to Boston, was educated by her white mistress and published a volume of poems in 1773. George Moses Horton, a North Carolina slave, who sometimes worked as a janitor at the University of North Carolina, published a book of poems in 1829 entitled The Hope of Liberty. In later times, hundreds of colored writers have gained distinction as poets, novelists, and scholarly authors. Booker T Washington's Up From Slavery is one of the classics of American literature. Negroes have written more than a hundred novels. One of these, Native Son, by Richard Wright, was a Book-of-the-Month Club selection in 1940.

One of the most popular plays of all time was "The Green Pastures," played by an all-Negro cast headed by the late Richard Harrison, who played the part of the "The Lord." In the movies a number of colored actors have made good. Everyone is familiar with Hattie McDaniel, who played the part of Mammy in "Gone With the Wind", and with Eddie Anderson, who plays "Rochester" in Jack Benny's radio show. In painting, sculpture, and other arts, Negroes have won distinction, and their contributions are become greater year by year.

H. Science and Invention. Most white people do not think of Negroes as having done much in science and invention, but here are some examples; A Louisiana Negro, Norbert Rilleaux, invented the vacuum pan method of refining sugar; J. E. Matzeliger invented the shoe lasting machine now in general use; Elijah McCoy invented the lubricating cup which we see on almost all machinery. Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, a Chicago Negro, is said to be first surgeon to operate successfully on the human heart, and Dr. Charles Drew of Howard University helped to set up the blood bank system which played such an important part in saving lives in the World War 11. The late Dr. George Washington Carver of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, who as a slave child was traded for a horse, won international fame for his work as an agricultural chemist.

I. Newspapers and Periodicals. Negroes published their first newspaper over a hundred yeqrs ago. Today they publish over 200 newspapers. One of them, The Daily World of Atlanta, is a daily. They also publish over 130 magazines, including literary magazines, news magazines, and all types of fraternal, professional, and scientific publications.

4. Some Civic Problems

In spite of great progress, Negro citizens face greater problems than the average American. Let us outline the main problems briefly.

A. Making a Living. Handicapped by their heritage of slavery, by poor educational opportunities, and sometimes by plain old race discrimination, Negroes are still working largely in the unskilled and poorly paid occupations. Two-thirds of all colored workers in the nation are in unskilled trades. Among white people about 8% are in professional work, among Negroes only 2½%. In the South, two lines of work, farming and domestic service, account for nearly four-fifths of all colored workers. The average income of the colored family is less than half the income of the white family. Half of all white farmers in the South own their farms, but only one-fifth of the colored farmers. During the war, when there was a deman for manpower all kinds, thousands of Negroes went into manufacturing and skilled trades, where they made good. They are making progress, but it is slow, and they are not going to get rid of some of their great problems until they have economic security.

B. Housing. Poor housing goes with poverty, of course. About two-thirds of the houses occupied by Negroes are sub-standard, and many of them are really not fit for human habitation. Many white people are just as bad off, of course, but there is one factor which operates differently against the Negro: he lives in segregated areas which usually get tighly surrounded by white areas and which get more and more crowded and run down, thus building up a pressure for expansion and causing friction on the edges. Even the well-to-do Negroes, who could afford to build good homes in good sections, find it almost impossible sometimes to purchase the kind of property which they want. Slum housing is one of our great problems, and we would get rid of a lot of bad health and delinquency if we would get rid of the slums.

C. Education. Public schools and colleges for Negroes have been greatly improved in our day, but they still lag for behind white schools. One simpke measure of the adequacy of public schools is the amount of money which is spent per pupil. For example, Alabama spends about $40 a year per white child, about $12 per colored child; Georgia about $45 per white child and about $14 per colored child; and Mississippi spends almost five times as much per white pupil as it spends per colored pupil. State colleges are likewise less adequate for Negroes, and professional training is almost non-existent. Teachers' salaries have been put on an equal basis in a few states, but in most of the Southern states a colored teacher gets about two-thirds or three-fourths what the white teacher gets, even though his training and experience is of the best quality.

D. Recreation. Under modern conditions of city life, the problem of getting wholesome and inexpensive recreation is a serious one. Most of our cities provide public parks and playgrounds for white people, but they do very little for Negroes. In fact, some cities with large Negro populations have no public recreation whatever for them. We would all probably agree that this is shortsighted. Whatever money we are

saving on parks and playgrounds for colored children we are more than losing in the cost of crime and vice and poor health. Much of the mischief and delinquiency among colored youth would disappear if they had adequate, wholesome, supervised recreational facilities.

E. Suffrage. Seven states still require payment of a poll tax as a condition of voting. This discourages many Negroes and poor white people from trying to vote. The United States Supreme Court has about made the "white primary" impossible to maintain, but several states are trying to hold on to it in one way or another. This is an outgrowth of the old days when white people feared that Negroes might get control of certain areas. That time is long past. Most progressive white people now argue as follows: It is all right to put reasonable requirements on the ballot - - such as requiring a person to read and write and show and understanding of our form of government, but to deprive a person of the ballot just because his skin is dark is ridiculous and unfair. To tell a competent, educated colored man, "You cannot vote" or "You cannot be a member of the Democratic Party", is to make him feel that he has no voice whatever in the government under which he lives and to cause him to wonder whether it is worth while after all for him to try to be a decent and respectable citizen. Democracy needs the participation of every qualified person, and every citizen needs the sence of taking part in the process of government.

F. Lynching. Lynching has long been a blot on our civilization. Fortunately, it has decreased greatly, and during the recent war it came close to disappearing. However, it has increased somewhat since the war. In 1946 at least six persons were lynched, all of them Negroes. The killing of four Negroes in Walton County, Georgia, three of whom were not charged with any crime what-ever, blackened the name of Georgia all over the civilized world; and the fact that not one of the lynchers has ever been caught has brought additional condemnation on the state. The failure of a jury in Greenville, S. C., to convict the men who had admitted lynching a Negro was another blow to law and order. Lynching breaks the law. It is a vicious form of murder which undertakes to do something which the courts should be allowed to do. It does not stop crime. Rather it gives rise to revulsion and a desire for revenge on the part of the people whom it attempts to scare or control. It brutalizes those who take part in it, and it frequently deprives a totally innocent person of his life. Officers of the law have been known to connive with lynchers or fail to make honest efforts to protect prisoners. This is a flagrant violation of their oath of office.

When we stop lynching, our Negro citizens will have a great deal more respect for the law. As long as there is any lynching, many Negroes are going to wonder whether there is any such thing as "equal protection of the laws," and they are going to be tempted to cast their lot with various "isms" that promise quick solutions to all of their grievances.

G. Equal Justice in the Courts. The average Negro feels that the laws and the courts are in the hands of white people and that he does not get equal justice in the courts. He believes that in cases involving Negroes who have offended against white people the punishment is, on the average, unduly severe; that in cases involving offenses of whites against Negroes, there is likely to be very light punishment or none at all; and that in cases involving Negroes only, the Negro offenders are usually let off too lightly. Crime studies made at the University of North Carolina and elsewhere have shown that these criticisms are true. The following suggestions have been made for improving the administration of justice; (1) The courts, and especially police courts, should be conducted with more dignity and with an atmosphere which encourages the cooperation of colored witnesses rather than an atmosphere which causes them to be non-cooperative or "shut-mouthed". (2) The police should try harder to collect evidence which will enable the courts to reach a fair and accurate decision. (3) More Negroes should be put on juries, not only because they probably have better insight into the behavior of colored offenders but because they are citizens and have a right to jury service. (4) Negro police in Negro areas would come nearer catching some of the Negro offenders who go unpunished and would lead to better cooperation with the police in Negro communities.

5. What the Negro Wants

There is a lot of rumor and loose talk about what Negroes want and what they are trying to get. You hear such things as: "The Negro wants to dominate the white man", and "All Negroes want social equality", "Every Negro man wants a white wife", "Give a Negro an inch and he'll take a mile", "Negroes are all becoming Communists". These are the creations of our own imaginations.

Every race has its crack-pots and loud mouths, and the Negro is no exception. In fact, minority groups, which all of their frustrations and grievances, usually produce an extra crop of this sort. However, we must not let the mouthing of a few radicals obscure the solid fact that other 99%-plus love this their native country, have a great desire to see the American democratic system work, and want about the same things as the rest of us. For the most part, they are hard-working people who take things rather philosphically and who do not look for any magical solutions for their problems but rather to their own earnest efforts and to the good will and cooperations of white people.

In 1942 nearly one hundred of the outstanding Negro leaders in the South met at Durham, N. C. and formulated a public statement on what the Negro in the South wants and needs. Their statement can be summarized as follows:

The right to vote
The right to serve on juries
Fair treatment by the police and the courts
Freedom from lynching, beatings, and other illegal punishments
Equality of separate facilities for public transportation
Opportunity to work at all levels of industry without discrimination
Equal pay for equal work
No discrimination by labor unions on account of race
Higher standards, better hours, and better pay for domestic servants
Equality of educational opportunity
Representation on school boards
Better conditions of tenancy and farm labor, including written contracts
Opportunity to purchase farms and homes on long-term loans
Opportunity to serve in the armed forces of the nation, and advancement in rank and responsibility according to ability
Better public health facilities
Better opportunities for Negro doctors and nurses
A greater public program of slum clearance and low-cost housing

That is a fair and honest statement by Southern Negro leaders. These leaders went further and said that they had no disposition whatever "to invade the privacy of family life", but were interested in "simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices". If we want a prosperous and a peaceful South, we would do well to recognize this list of wants as reasonable and do our part as citizens to work toward their realization. As Booker T. Washington once said, "You can't hold another man in the ditch without staying down there with him."

III

ATTITUDES OF NEGROES TOWARD THE POLICE

Most Negroes in the South feel that they "don't have a chance" with the police, that policemen are discourteous, that they are brutal and abusive, unfair and partial, that police officers are crooked, that, in general, the police have little regard for the private and property rights of colored citizens, and that they do not try to protect the Negro community as they do the white community. The resulting attitudes are those of fear and distrust on the part of Negroes.

The "feelings" toward the police presented in this section, and the examples of police treatment of Negroes are the results of talks and interviews with Negroes.

Carbon Copy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

1. Police officers are thought to be generally discourteous and curt in their dealings with Negroes. Too many police officers, it is felt, seem to enjoy belittling or embarrassing any Negro.

Examples:

A. Frequently policemen are abrupt when Negroes request information or assistance.

B. Large numbers of Negroes suffer the embarrassment of being called "boy" or "nigger" by the average policeman. This inclines the Negro to feel that most police officers actually deal with Negroes as "boys" and not as colored citizens in the community.

C. Discourtesy to Negroes by the police frequently takes the form of vulgar and profane language. The Negro resents all of these discourtesies but feels that to register his resentment would result in certain injury or even death to him.

2. Most Negroes feel that brutality is characteristic of the average policeman; that this brutality is largely directed against Negroes.

Examples:

A. "The average Negro...believes that if he gets arrested he will immediately get his head beaten in with a club."

B. Many Negroes believe that some police officers who are excessively brutal to Negroes are trying to impress other police officers. Observers report that they have heard policemen boast to their associates of the number of "niggers" they have slapped, kicked, beaten, black-jacked, or killed.

C. It is believed by many Negroes that some brutality results from the inefficiency of police officers. Some persons contend that top police officials are sometimes responsible for police

brutality, in that the police department encourages a "police partnership" between a young and "human" officer and an officer with a record of brutality.

D. A Negro veteran was recently arrested in one of the largest cities in the South. He was arrested on suspicion of theft of a ring. The suspect was treated with courtesy at the place of his arrest and on the way to the police station, he reports. The veteran's own statement, which follows, is evidence of the kind of treatment he received at the hands of the police:

> After I had been in a cell for a little while, a man came and got me; took me to a small room where there were two big policemen. These men started in on me right away: "Boy, where's that ring you stole?", one of them asked me. As soon as I said, "I don't know anything about any ring," the man hit me full force in my stomach with his fist. It bent me double. He asked me some more questions. Then he hit me in the stomach again. As I was straightening up the other man slapped me, and as he raised his foot to kick me I knocked it down with my hand. That made them mad and after I backed into the wall they beat me in the stomach for about 10 minutes between questions.
>
> I had never been to jail before. When I told some guys who had been to jail about what happened to me, they said that the cops don't slap as much as they used to, because it shows on the face. They would rather injure you internally so it can't be seen.

E. In order to "keep Negroes in their place" some police officers are said to make examples of Negroes who are innocent of any offense. One police officer is reported to have put it this way: "If you want to keep all of the 'niggers' afraid of you, just beat up one or two once in awhile".

A Negro business man made the following report on police brutality:

> Periodically the regualr policemen on this beat, beat up some heads of Negroes for no reason at all. I have stood in my door many times and seen them ride to a stop in front of my place or a few yards away; call just any Negro on the street, ask him a question. As soon as they (the policemen) slap the Negro they jump out of their car, grab him, search Hm, and let him go.

F. Brutality first; investigation later or never. A Negro tells the story which cost him an eye:

> One Saturday night, my buddy and I were standing in front of this very beer joint, kidding, telling jokes, and playing. A girl we both knew came up and joined us in our fun. After she had been there about five minutes my buddy asked her to come and run with him that night. She said O.K. I said, no baby, you are going to run with me. My buddy embraced the girl and just as he did, I reached for her to come to me. The cops must have seen me just as I reached for her. We were just having fun, but as soon as they stopped the car one jumped on me with his black-jack. I don't know why, but he tried to beat me to death. I was crazy for a long time. That's why I don't have but one eye today. Nothing was done about it though.

Note: This story was verified by the owner of the beer place, who added that the policeman hit the victim with his black-jack many times after he had fallen to the sidewalk.

3. <u>Almost all Negroes seem to believe that southern police officers are generally unfair and partial</u>.

A statement made by a captain of one city's police department pictures the situation as it should be:

> I believe that if the policeman were not to show any partiality one way or another, if he should judge each case as if there were all Whites or all Negroes involved, he would be doing his job as he should. He shouldn't lean over backwards to protect the Negro, nor should he discriminate against the Negro. He should enforce the law as it is.

The great majority of Negroes believe that they are far less likely to get a fair and impartial deal from the police than whites get. Police officers are considered partial to white persons.

Example:

A white woman, who observed a collision between an ambulance driven by a Negro and a passenger car driven by a white man, made this statement:

I was sitting in an upstairs window looking down at the corner when the wreck occurred. The Negro had the right of way, the green light, and everything. The white man was at fault. A few minutes after the wreck the officers came to the scene. When they arrived I said to myself: Watch them pin it on the Negro. They did just that, but I took it upon myself to appear as a witness in that case. My testimony was the only thing that saved the Negro a fine, and possibly a suit against his company. The police testified against him as if they were at the scene of the accident when it occurred.

4. Some Negroes believe that police officers have a special distaste for "prosperous looking" and educated Negroes.

Examples:

A. Many Negroes report that they have learned that they are much more likely to be charged by the police with a traffic violation in a big new car than they are in a little new car, or any old model car. This does not mean, they say, that they are actually guilty of "breaking the law".

B. It is reported that a Negro who uses correct English, or has what is thought to be a northern accent is referred to as a "smart nigger". Police officers, it is said, deal more harshly with these Negroes than with "ordinary" Negroes.

C. A Negro who operates a business in a slum area of a large city reports that the policemen on his beat "allow some alley Negroes to sell illegal whiskey, and to engage in other unlawful practices with the understanding that these Negroes will tell the police all they know about other Negroes, who are either 'big niggers' or in some big money racket."

5. The belief is rather popular among Negroes that large numbers of policemen are crooked; will accept bribes; can be "fixed", etc. This lessens respect for, and confidence, in the police. It appears that the few Negroes who give hand-outs to police officers are given special protection.

Examples:

A. There is evidence that some police officers employ subtle or indirect methods to induce special favors from Negro business men. The following story, told by Negro beer parlor operator, illustrates the kind of pressure some policemen bring to bear for their personal gain:

I noticed shortly after I had opened my place, those son-of-a-guns (policemen) came in here almost every day. They'd go all over the place, scare my customers, look around and then leave. I didn't know what the score was, so I finally asked them was anything wrong. They said nothing was wrong.

One day I was telling the man who sold me the place about the cops coming by so much. He said, 'man don't you know what that's for? They gonna keep on doing that until you start handing 'em something. Fix 'em up; they'll lay off you'.

B. A Negro operator of a beer and food business in a southern city with a population of more than 300,000 explains why some white police officers prefer a colored beat, and why there is opposition on the part of some of these white officers to the employment of Negro police:

I tell you one of the reasons we don't have Negro policemen in this town. These (white) cops don't want to give up the 'gravy train' they got on those Negro beats.

They know they would make less 'easy money' and receive fewer favors on a white beat. They wouldn't have the courage to demand from white folk what they take from colored folk when they make their rounds.

Those guys (policemen) make money on a colored beat. Man, they wouldn't change to a white beat for the world. They just couldn't get away in the white section with the stuff they pull on us (Negroes).

Every time they (policemen) come by here I gotta give 'em something. If I don't, that's me. You don't have to be doin' anything crooked. If you don't give 'em something they'll make it hot for you by coming around often enough to run your customers away, or they'll trump up something on you.

Just about all the guys around here in my kind of business do the same thing for the cops I do. They know they better.

C. An estranged Negro male lover, who was alleged to have done many special favors for cops on his beat, engaged these policemen to raid a house party. The object of the raid was the arrest and embarrassment of the woman who reportedly had jilted the male lover. While the small group of six persons was found orderly when the policemen "rushed" the house, everybody was ordered out to the police car for a trip to the police station. As the group was being loaded into the car, an interested Negro male bystander, apparently sensing foul play and the probable cause of the raid, offered a cash bribe to the police officers to release, then and there, the woman for whom the raid was intended. The police officers hesitated to accept the bribe, but when the bystander placed a sum of money into the pockets of each policeman, the woman was released on the spot. The other members of the group were taken to the police station.

6. <u>Many Negroes have the opinion that failure to say "yes sir" or "no sir" to a police officer may result in abusive treatment, a fine, or even arrest.</u>

Example:

A dignified colored woman of about 40 years of age reports that she was fined for illegal parking, and for saying "yes" to the traffic officer. She reports:

> There was some discussion between us relative to the time he (the officer) indicated on the "copy". He asked me some question to which I replied "yes". "Girl, did you say 'yes' to me?" "Give me that ticket; I am going to put another charge against you on it, so it'll cost you more money, and teach you how to say 'yes sir' to a white man". He wrote on the ticket, "Insulting a police officer".

7. <u>It is rather generally thought that the Negro in the police court "doesn't have a chance".</u>

Negroes who have had experience in the police court report that the "cards are stacked against you the moment you enter the room". The judge is unfair and partial; the policeman is usually prejudiced. "For God's sake", said one Negro, "don't go there (police court) when you and a white man have <u>any</u> kind of trouble.

Example:

A Negro chauffeur for a white doctor, in attempting to turn the doctor's car around in the middle of a block smashed the fender of a parked car which was owned by a Negro. The chauffeur immediately left the scene in hit-and-run fashion. The Negro car owner luckily got the number on the license plate of the doctor's car. The incident was reported to the police department.

The experience of the Negro in the police court shows that he "never had a chance".

> Sometime later I received my call to the police court. When the case was called and I appeared before the judge, I looked around for the Negro driver whom I felt sure I would recognize. He was not there. His white employer, and owner of the car, Doctor B. was there to answer. I was permitted to speak first. I presented a diagram to the judge of the incident, explained that my car was parked legally, and that the Negro driver for Dr. B. left the scene without attempting to explain anything. After my statement, the judge understandingly, addressed this question to Dr. B.: "Dr. B., were you on A. Avenue on Sunday afternoon about 3 o'clock?" Dr. B. answered: "I was never on A Avenue Judge, Your Honor". I spoke out hastily to explain that it was Dr. B's chauffeur who was on A Avenue and crashed into my car. "Listen boy", said the judge defiantly, "Dr. B. says he was not on that A Avenue, and if you say another word I'll cite you for contempt of court. Case dismissed! We're sorry to have bothered you, Doctor."

8. <u>The feeling prevails amongNegroes that police officers in the South have very little regard for the private and property rights of colored citizens.</u>

Examples:

A. It is a rather common practice in some communities for a policeman to accost a Negro and search his person for no special or justifiable reason. Likewise the unlawful search of Negroes homes is sometimes a common police practice in some southern communities.

B. In one large city in the South it is not uncommon in a certain vicinity for the police to deprive Negroes of the right to sit on their own porches.

The following story was told by a resident of P Avenue and confirmed by three other residents of the same block:

During the hot summer months, like anybody else, we sit on our porches at night to cool off before going to bed. Just any old night the cops will drive up and stop in front of any house in this block; turn their spot light on your porch and say, "what are you niggers doing sitting out there, get on in the house." Sometimes they wait until we go in; other times they tell us we'd better be gone when they come back by.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing attitudes or "feelings" of Negroes toward the police in the South are at least suggestive of some of the problems in police work wh'ch require serious attention.

The "charges" against southern police officers need not apply everywhere in the Southern Region, nor must they apply to the great majority of policemen in the South. The fact remains, however, that the methods employed by many of these law enforcement officers in dealing with Negroes encourage fear, distrust and a lack of confidence in the police. This condition hurts and hinders the effectiveness of law enforcement officers.

That the police have a difficult job has already been acknowledged, but as long as they make one section of citizens equal before the law, and place another section of citizens in a specially less favored position before the law, they make their own work even more difficult and, in so doing betray a community trust.

IV

PROPER STANDARDS OF POLICE BEHAVIOR

The contents of each of the preceding sections point the way to successful and effective police work; that is, if the police officer will accept the "testimony" of science, history, and "fact".

In Section I we found basis for the unity of mankind. On the other hand, we found scientific basis for the belief that the natural abilities of all races are equal. So called superiority everywhere seems to be a matter of mere chance, favorable circumstances, or special advantage.

In Section II, after a review of some of the Negro's history, and after recounting the impact of slavery, war, and reconstruction upon both races, we painted a picture of the status, achievements, and contributions of the Negro in the American scene. These facts gave evidence of the Negro's ability to measure up to whatever America expects of him.

In Section III, however, we found that while America expects much of the Negro, that the Negro himself feels that in the southern part of this country, in the field of law enforcement, he is placed at a distinct disadvantage: Before "the law" he "doesn't have a chance".

1. Key Principles of Police Work

Courtesy, common sense, firmness and fairness are some of the essentials to effective police work. These essentials not only insure effective work by the police but they offer an additional guarantee that general respect for, and confidence in, the police will increase.

A. Courtesy

All persons, especially Negroes, would benefit from the "human" approach to police problems.

While much has been said about "key principles" elsewhere, another word here under "Proper Standards" may serve to emphasize their importance for the purpose intended.

Except in unusual cases where it is absolutely necessary, one of the first duties of a police officer is courteous treatment to the citizens he has been selected to serve. Too frequently the policeman forgets that he is, in a very special sense, a public servant, whose livelihood is made possible from public taxes. The policeman, then, has a more direct responsibility to the citizen than the great majority of workers in a community. The public has a peculiar right to expect courteous treatment from the police.

B. Common Sense. It is impossible for the written law, or even unwritten regulations governing police work to anticipate all of the problems and situations which might arise in the policeman's performance of his duties.

Common sense is the answer to many of the daily problems which confront the police. Lack of common sense can cause innocent people to suffer unduly; can contribute to unfair "charges" by the police; and can cause many persons to be arrested and brought to court for minor infractions which the law enforcement officer could settle himself.

C. Firmness. Firmness is essential to respect for those who are engaged in police work. Whether quick, or deliberate, action by the officer is required, he should first strive to be "sure of his ground" and then maintain his position. Here, the more experienced officer should have the advantage. In this connection, however, it should be remembered that firmness can be overdone or abused in the event that new facts are brought to light after a positive stand has been taken by the police.

D. Fairness. The proper standards of fairness in police work seem aptly summarized in a few lines on "A Professional Attitude" taken from the Police Training Bulletin, published by the Department of Justice, State of California (1946):

A Professional Attitude is essential to success in the problems of human relations. Neutral, impartial, unbiased, inquiring---these are the attributes of the professional.

Fundamental principle of law enforcement: All citizens are equal before the law. Race, color, politics, or religion make no difference.

The policeman is the arm of the law — therefore all citizens must be equal in his official eyes. This is the starting point of professional policemanship.

Adopt a professional attitude, basing decisions and action on observation, evidence, and probability rather than on prejudice, rumor and possibility...

2. Punishment Not the Policeman's Function

In America we frequently hear the phrase:" A man is innocent until he is proven guilty." The responsibility for proving a suspect guilty rests with the courts, not with the police. The policeman's responsibility is that of preserving the peace, and that of making arrests when necessary. Once guilt is established the courts should impose penalty or punishment, but never the police.

3. Casual Contacts

While in the policeman's official role, he should be firm when the occasion requires it, through casual and friendly contacts with individuals and groups in the community he can make his work easier, more productive of desired results, and at the same time cause more respect to be accorded to persons engaged in police work.

Casual contacts between the police and the public, on a friendly basis, may lay the foundation for a helpful exchange of suggestions, so that, on the one hand, law enforcement may be improved, and on the other hand, more public cooperation with the police may be assured.

These police contacts should reach official and non-official persons and groups.

4. Traffic Violators

It is true that some traffic violators have been, and are, involved in crime at the time the police apprehend them, but the average traffic violators belongs to another class of persons. Many traffic violations are innocent acts, some grow out of the personal emergencies confronting the driver. In such cases as these, the traffic officer should not be harsh and abusive to the violator. If there is no reason to believe that the violator is guilty of frequent or intentional disregard for traffic laws, the officer should strive to be helpful to him. In any event, if the traffic violator does not endanger the security or life of other persons, he should not be dealt with by the police in the same manner as an escaping gangster or known criminal.

5. Making Arrests and Handling of Drunks

Since a great number of the arrests made are for drunkenness, the topics, making arrest and handling of drunks can be combined. This does not mean, however, that proper standards are, or can be, identical for arrests in general and the handling of persons whose condition makes them at least temporarily irresponsible for their conduct.

While the policeman has every right to protect himself from personal harm in making arrests, his special training, his developed technique, and experience should equip him to take the average suspect of misdemeanor or felony into custody without mishap or incident.

There is absolutely too much man-handling by the police of persons accused, or suspected of, volation of the law. The right of arrest does not carry with it the right to abuse or punish, unless of course there is no other way open for the policeman to perform his duty. Brutality or unnecessarily abusive treatment in making arrests

amounts to punishment by the policeman. The police who are guilty of this practice are exceeding their authority.

The arrest or handling of drunks frequently presents a peculiar problem. Sometimes "the drunk" is overbearing; often he is submissive and apologetic. There is no excuse for inhuman treatment of the submissive "drunk", and intelligent and quick action with the overbearing type can avert any need for rough treatment, beating, or black-jacking by the police.

A wise police officer knows that there are many social and economic forces at work in the community which contribute to drunkenness on the streets and in public places. He should keep this fact in mind when dealing with drunks.

6. Gathering Evidence and Getting Confessions

Police work is becoming more and more a science. Guess-work counts for nothing. Real policeman-ship requires that one take nothing for granted. What seems to be may not be. It is the policeman's job to get all the information he can about any problem or person confronting him in the performance of his duties.

On the beat, for example, if the police officer has conducted himself so as to deserve the respect of the people there, it is very likely that he will get cooperation in gathering whatever evidence he seeks.

Here again, "a man is innocent until he is proven guilty". In the police court where the police officer is the "prosecuting attorney," he should strive, just as diligently as a "real" prosecutor is supposed to do, to have at hand and to present all the facts so that justice may take its course.

So-called circumstantial evidence is not enough. It is practically impossible to get more than circumstantial evidence unless a thorough, impartial, and "professional" investigation is made.

In the matter of getting confessions, which is one means of gathering evidence, good policemanship, or just plain sportsmanship, strongly favors calm and intelligent action. Forced confessions are not in keeping with good policemanship.

7. Use of Weapons

In many southern cities too much emphasis is placed upon the use of weapons and too little emphasis upon expert policemanship. It sometimes appears that top police officials are responsible for this emphasis.

An observer who recently made a tour of the premises of the police headquarters in one of the largest southern cities made this report:

> I observed the physical fitness room, the lecture room, and the shooting range. (Apparently, there was no library on the premises). In the physical fitness and lecture rooms, the equipment, fixtures, and furnishings were literally covered with dust. The guide admitted that little use was made of these rooms by the policemen. Such was not the case in the quarters set aside for shooting practice; here it was that the guide boasted of the accurate markmanship which large numbers of policemen frequently demonstrated.

Weapons should be used by the police when absolutely necessary. In those countries, or places in this country, where the best records of police work are found, efficiency (more frequently) takes the place of weapons.

Higher educational standards for police work would reduce the unwarranted use of weapons by the police. The following questions are raised in the previously quoted Police Training Bulletin: Is modern

police work any less exacting or responsible than school teaching or social work? Should not professional standards for police be at least as high as for social workers and school teachers?

It seems reasonable to assume that when a police officer is thoroughly qualified for his job that he wil rely first on his technical knowledge, his skill, his judgment and intelligence, and last, if necessary, upon his pistol or "stick."

8. Dealing with Tension Situations

There are many tension situations which come to the attention of the police. Races, hate groups, and mobs are the source of many of these situations.

Major trouble or friction, involving large numbers of persons, is never the result of a single or sudden incident — it is "the explosion of long-accumulated tensions.[2] There are always "symptoms and signs of danger."

One of the first duties of the police in dealing with tensions is prevention, if possible. Naturally, if the police are to prevent a major disturbance they must be alert to the forces at work which may cause an outbreak. Intelligent, quick, and organized action can prevent many major disturbances.

The police officer who has the good will and respect of key people on his beat is in a favorable position to get the information necessary to avert serious tension incidents and situations. Likewise, community agencies can and will be helpful to the police officer who warrants respect and confidence.

In The Police and Minority Groups, a manual prepared for use in the Chicago Park District Police Training School, the policeman's role in conflict situations is set forth summarily:

The symbolic importance of the uniformed officer's role in conflict situations requires that he be continuously alert, cautious, and tactful. The following precautions should be noted in any and all situations of tension and conflict:

1. Ascertaining the facts is a first necessity. The police officer must refrain from impulsive action, for this has often led to dire consequences.

2. Once the true facts have been gathered, the police officer should act quickly. A quick decision can anticipate and cut short a gathering crowd. Furthermore, a ready disposition of a matter has the effect of neutralizing the consequences of a race complication, if such an element is present.

3. The police officer should strive constantly to give evidence of a fair and impersonal attitude and conduct. Such an attitude commands the confidence and cooperation of the best elements in any gathering of people.

4. If the parties are excited and emotionally agitated, they should be separated and kept apart. Such a practice allows the passions of the antagonists to cool and prevents their excitement from being communicated to the more excitable spectators.

5. Indiscriminate and mass arrests have a most undesirable effect upon public attitudes toward the police. The procedure invariably involves greater numbers of innocent people than it does serious offenders. This aggravated and magnifies the difficulty, since the arrest of innocent bystanders creates an impression of incompetency and excessive and unbridled exercise of power.

6. If an unruly crowd has gathered, it should be possible to mobilize adequate numbers of police quickly and without delay. A <u>show of force</u> is preferable to a belated and tragic exercise of force. It is well to recognize that an incident which has passed beyond the control of the police can only with great difficulty be again brought under control. As a cardinal principle, it may be noted that a situation should never be permitted to develop in which control has passed out of the hands of the police authority. Hence, a workable plan for reinforcing the officer on the beat, the squad car in its rounds, or a whole platoon of police at the scene of a conflict should be an integral feature of departmental tactics.

Police Project

February 18, 1948

TO: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

FROM: George S. Mitchell

The man who wrote the Chicago Park Police ~~man~~ manual is Joe Lomand. He can be reached at 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

He would very much like to see our police training manual. I told him that it was poor, but he still offered to make comments.

If you think it would worthwhile, we still could send it up to him for his comments. What do you say?

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THE RIGHT TO VOTE

"The right to vote must be open to all our citizens irrespective of race, color, or creed—without tax or artificial restrictions of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole."

—FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT.

Arkansas Abouts Face

The State of Arkansas, according to press reports, has backed up from its legislative attempt to nullify the Smith versus Allwright Texas primary ruling of 1944.

Arkansas, modifying the South Carolina circumvention strategy, separated federal and state primaries. Negroes were permitted to vote in federal primaries but, were kept out of those nominating state and local officers. Now, Arkansas has adopted a bill which would repeal this separate arrangement and return the state elections to the original plan. In plain words, Arkansas is moving to enfranchise its Negro citizens after experimenting with plans used by South Carolina and now plaguing Georgia.

There are frequent reports that there is sentiment in South Carolina for placing the primary again on the books. Only through state laws can primary affairs be conducted honestly and without danger of unfortunate dictatorships and wholesale corruption. Certainly, the possibility of these unfortunate experiences is far worse than is the voting in primaries of Negro citizens.

And this is perhaps the reasoning in Arkansas. There, its leaders have weighed traditions against these dangers and decided tradition was least desirable.

of the best families in thirty states.

SRC - Police Manual

From speech made by Gunnar Myrdal at Rosenwald Fund celebration, Chicago, Illinois, May 28, 1948, "The Negro Problem in America; Trends and Strategies":

It is my conviction that one of the most potent strategic measures to improve the Southern inter-racial situation would be the opening of a pioneering modern police college in the South, which would give a thorough social and pedagogical training as well as a technical police training. The typical Southern policeman is a promoted poor white with a legal sanction to use a weapon. He is low paid and insecure, economically and socially. His social heritage has taught him to despise the Negroes. He has had little education which could have changed him; his experiences as a policeman have been such as only to make him still more prejudiced and sometimes corrupt. This man is, however, performing a crucial function by representing white society and the law of the land. The effects are truly disastrous. I have stated it as my conviction that as far as the cultural and social adjustment of the Negroes are concerned, the Southern police system is undoing much of what Northern philanthropy and Southern state governments are trying to accomplish through education and by other means. Could police standards in the South be raised - of education, specialized police training, independence of local politics, salary and social prestige - some of the most morbid tensions in the unhappy region would be lessened.

Legislators now take it for granted that teachers and social workers ought to have a college degre; a college education should be even more urgently required for fulfilling the duties of a police

officer. He should, for one thing, have some understanding of the wider aims of crime prevention. He should know the society which he is serving. He should have an understanding of its problems, its ideals, and its trends. He should be something of an educator and something of a social worker at the same time that he is the arm of the law. Even in the much superior police systems of the North too little interest has been given to social and educational viewpoints in the training of police officers; and, as a result, the policeman in America is not liked and trusted as he rightly ought to be. The policeman's task is much more difficult in the South. It is my belief that in the changing South the graduates from such a school should not need to fear unemployment. I have been told that in recent years increasingly Southern cities begin to employ Negro policemen. This shows a growing understanding of the crucial character of the problem. But the most important thing is not whether the policeman is white or black, but is that he is a thoroughly competent man for his most difficult task.

My second suggestion is the setting up of independent and objective legal aid agencies in the South, which, manned by high-class professional lawyers, would be instructed not to work for any new legislation, but to assist poor whites and Negroes to enforce their rights under existing laws in civil and criminal cases. They should, to be effective, be kept entirely outside local politics. They should be instructed to work not only upon application of clients but also to take initiative, particularly in following the procedure at police courts and in prisons.

Studying the records of the administration of justice in the South and visiting the courts and other organs of the law gives, on the one hand, a horrifying picture of lawlessness and inequality operating within a deeply prejudiced region with illegality as a conservative tradition. On the other hand, so much of it has the appearance of just carelessness and impudent disregard for formal procedures and professional standards when nobody outside the local community is there to observe what is going on. The evil practices have not the stable social foundations which sometimes have been assumed. It is my belief, that even one such agency, placed strategically somewhere in the Black Belt - as, for instance, Atlanta, Georgia - would, without ever leaving purely professional routine work, and merely by the examples being set and the potential control and criticism implied in its existence on the spot, change considerably the whole judicial atmosphere of the region.

When making this proposal, I do not overlook the fact that the movement to normalize the legal order of the South is gaining momentum as a better trained generation of lawyers are gradually taking over responsibilities, and as the higher courts as well as the federal and some state supervising or prosecuting agencies are intensifying their activities. Neither do I want to minimize the importance of the legal aid, which, in flagrant and well publicised cases, is rendered by some of the national movements in the field of civil rights. But I think that in this dynamic play of many forces, there would also be a place for the objective agency I am suggesting, which entirely independent of all movements and all politics, would set down to do an intensive house cleaning job in one community. I believe it would be within the great tradition of democratic self-cure in America, if one of the foundations would be prepared to set aside the funds for such a wholesome social experiment.

28 Police Training

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

July 29, 1948

Dear George: Everywhere in the country today the idea of police training in human relations seems to be in the air. I have been getting requests for advice and counsel in setting up such programs from the administrative offices of a number of cities. I am convinced that the problem is now clearly one of such dimensions as to require an institutional approach rather than a purely advisory and individualized service such as I have carried on in the past. It strikes me that what is needed is two centers of police training, one in the South and one in the North. A natural might be the University of Chicago or a large State University in the North and the alternative of University of North Carolina or Vanderbilt in the South.

I am going down to New York during the next week and will explore the matter a bit there. In the meantime, I will assume that our get-together in the South will follow upon a sign from you as to the appropriate time and places. If by chance you or Dr. Will should be up in New York next week, I will be at the Hotel Roosevelt up to August the 6th.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph D. Lohman

JDL:MM
cc: Dr. Will Alexander

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

4901 Ellis Avenue
September 27, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 29 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Fleming: Thank you for your letter of September 22nd.

As you may know, my activities in the field of police training have been on an individual basis. I am not associated with the American Council on Race Relations. It follows that, notwithstanding considerable demand upon my time, I have been unable to undertake more than just a few of the requests that I have had to service police departments in this area. Among the cities in which I have personally instituted training in police departments are the following: Chicago Park District Police, Chicago Metropolitan Police, Denver Police Department, Colo., Gary Police Department, Ind., Louisville Police Department, Ky., St. Paul Police Department, Minn., and the National Capital Parks Police, Washington, D.C. (with top administrative officials sitting in as observers from the Washington Metropolitan Police Department).

I have acted as consultant to a number of other cities where they have used my materials and instituted programs through their own personnel. This has been done in such cities as Evansville, Ind., Seattle, Wash., Portland, Ore., Baltimore, Md., etc.

At Louisville, I encouraged the Mayor and the Director of Public Safety, Colonel David McCandless, to undertake the development of a Police Training Academy for the South to be located in Louisville. They have seized upon the idea and organized a Committee which consists of the President of the University of Louisville, the Dean of the Law School, the Dean of Social Service Administration, and the Director of Public Safety, the Chief of Police, the Director of the Police Training School, of the city of Louisville. It was recently reported to me that the Committee had canvassed numerous municipalities throughout the South as to their willingness to cooperate and utilize the services of such a training center. The response to the questionnaire was extremely encouraging. I believe the time is ripe for the establishment of such a center, and that financial support would be forthcoming if it were pushed in foundation circles.

As George Mitchell knows, I am very much interested in this problem and would like to be of help in whatever connection I can. I would suggest to give the Louisville people some encouragement, and if I can be of any help in the situation, do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph D. Lohman

Joseph D. Lohman

JDL:MM

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
62 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 14, 1949

Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger
Touro Synagogue
New Orleans 15, Louisiana

Dear Rabbi Leipziger:

We have just learned of the promising action taken in Louisville, moving toward the establishment of a police training institute for the South.

The enclosed clipping from the Louisville Courier-Journal tells the story.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t
enclosure

October 4, 1949

Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger
Touro Synagogue
New Orleans 15, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Leipziger:

Here is a bit of information I have just received from Mr. Joseph D. Lohman of the University of Chicago, who is an authority on the matter of police training and human relations. As one might expect, most of the activity he reports has been in northern states.

He has personally instituted training in the police departments of the following cities: Chicago, Illinois; Denver, Colorado; Gary, Indiana; Louisville, Kentucky; St. Paul, Minnesota; and Washington, D. C. He has served as consultant to such other cities as Seattle, Washington, Baltimore, Maryland, and Portland, Oregon.

One hopeful sign appears in Louisville. A committee has been formed there to explore the possibilities of establishing a police training academy for the South. The committee includes such people as the president of the University of Louisville, the city's director of public safety, the chief of police, and the director of the Louisville police training school. Mr. Lohman reports that the committee canvassed many cities in the South as to their willingness to cooperate and use the services of such a center. The response to the questionnaire was quite encouraging. Should such an academy be established, there would be a chance to reach the whole South with a program of sane and equal law enforcement. I shall let you know of any further developments in this field that come to our attention.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 21, 1949

Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger
Touro Synagogue
4238 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, La.

RECEIVED
SEP 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

COPY

Dear Rabbi Leipziger:

Mr. Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council has asked me to supplement your recent request to his office for information regarding experiences in the training of police in the handling of minority problems.

I presume that you are aware of the rather scanty literature available in this field. The only two documents that we have in file are a pamphlet entitled "Police Action In Minority Problems" by Joseph T. Kluchesky and a book entitled "The Police and Minority Groups" put out by the Chicago Park District of Chicago, Ill. By happy circumstance Mr. Gil Balkin of our Florida office has just sent me a report of an experiment he has conducted with the police of Miami which may be of some additional help to you. The pertinent parts of this report follow:

> "Last week I arranged a conference to discuss an incident involving action by local policemen showing a lack of understanding about minorities with Chief Walter E. Headley of the Miami Police Department. Interestingly enough, Chief Headley had appeared on one of our "Lest We Forget - Stories to Remember" panel discussions currently being broadcast over station WVCG, Coral Gables, only a fewweeks previous. The basis for the contact with the Chief was laid through his appearance on our "Lest We Forget" panel, and to a considerable extent rapport had already been established with him through his knowledge of the Anti-Defamation League as a result of that appearance.
>
> "Chief Headley readily agreed with the observations I presented to him regarding the unfortunate discriminatory reference on the accident report, and stated he would take steps to correct this report, and to have same discussed with the particular Police Officers involved, so that they might understand correct reporting procedures.

"I spoke at considerable length with the Chief concerning general police problems and law enforcement, particularly in relation to civil rights cases. Chief Headley was formerly in charge of the Miami Police Academy, which is the school for training new police, and has had FBI training. He was very much concerned about civil rights charges against policemen, since the Miami Police Department has recently been involved in several such cases.

"The Chief was very familiar with Kluchesky's pamphlet, "Police Action In Minority Problems", and stated he knew Kluchesky personally and was in sympathy with the contents of the pamphlet.

"At the conclusion of our conference, I made a general offer to the Chief of the cooperation of our office in any manner that we might be of service in connection with the Miami Police Academy and the training of the new police in group relations. The Chief was quick to take up this suggestion and arranged immediately for me to address the current class at the Miami Police Academy two days later, or last Friday, September 2nd.

"Again fortunately, Sergeant A. W. Anderson, in charge of the Miami Police Academy, is in full sympathy with materials on group relations being presented to the police trainees. Sergeant Anderson informed me before my lecture began that he has been trying to "infiltrate" (his word) such material on human relations and public relations into the various aspects of police training. He stated as his belief the concept that police officers should treat all persons alike, regardless of race, creed, or color, etc.

"He advised me that although he has been trying to inject human relations concepts into the Police Training Courses, the lecture I was about to deliver would be the first formal presentation of this subject matter to a Miami Police Training Class. Sergeant Anderson was likewise familiar with the Kluchesky pamphlet, and stated he too was in sympathy with its contents and orientation as to how a Police Department should function.

"The lecture period which was assigned to me was of two hour duration. Twenty new police recruits, many of them young veterans of World War II, made up the class.

"I decided to utilize audio-visual materials in connection with the lecture, and showed the films, "The House I Live In" and "Don't Be A Sucker."

"I followed the general outline of the Kluchesky pamphlet, weaving in local incidents and emphasizing various appropriate local statutes particularly applicable to group relations, such as the Miami Anti-Mask - Cross-Burning Ordinance and the Florida Anti-Anonymous Literature Act. I showed the above two films during the course of the lecture, endeavoring to utilize them to bring out appropriate points involved in my discussion.

COPY

"The lecture and films were very well received. At the conclusion of the formal talking I threw the period open for general discussion. Many of the members of the class exhibited deep-seated anti-Negro prejudice, although I had only dealt with the subject of group relations in a general manner. Numerous questions were asked, almost all of which were based on relationships with the Negro and practically all of which reflected the deep-rooted traditional southern pattern of prejudice towards the Negro.

"The lecture may have had value in bringing to the fore the prejudices of the members of the class and perhaps stimulating them to doing some thinking on the subject.

"After the termination of the discussion, at the request of the class, I distributed copies of the Kluchesky pamphlet to the trainees. Sergeant Anderson advised me that he was placing my name in the regular file of lecturers at the Police Academy, and that he would request me to make appearances before succeeding classes of new police in the school.

"I believe that audio-visual materials are of substantial aid in conducting classes and lectures of this sort. The City of Miami Beach is currently contemplating establishing a police school and I am working with the Mayor, members of the City Council, and the Police Department, in suggesting lectures and inclusion of materials on human relations."

I do hope this information is of value to you.

Sincerely yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ea

cc: Gilbert Balkin - Miami
Brant Cooperamith - New Orleans
Harold Fleming - Southern Regional Council
Dr. Benjamin Mays, Atlanta

COPY

September 20, 1949

Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger
Touro Synagogue
New Orleans 15, Louisiana

Dear Rabbi Leipziger:

Thank you for your letter of September 16 to Dr. George Mitchell.

I am sorry to say that we do not have at our fingertips the kind of material you need. We do have, however, some leads which I will follow up immediately.

The training program of the Jacksonville, Fla., police force last year included a lecture on police and minority groups. I shall do my best to secure a copy of the lecture and send it to you.

We know that, as of two years ago, race relations was part of the training course of the Greensboro, N. C. , police force. I shall also undertake to get for you more specific information about that program.

The Atlanta Office of the Anti-Defamation League, which cooperates very helpfully with us, has some information about the training program in Miami Beach, Fla., which I am asking them to send you.

Actually, very little has been done as yet in this field, but we shall be glad to collect as much information as we can and forward it to you. Perhaps, too, the Council can soon do more to stimulate a more self-critical attitude on the part of Southern policemen.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

EMIL W. LEIPZIGER, RABBI EMERITUS
TOURO SYNAGOGUE
NEW ORLEANS 15

September 16, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Conference,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We in New Orleans have been interested in the problem of police brutality and I taxed myself for making inquiries as to some material that might show that the police were self-critical about that situation.

If you can help me to get such material, such as addresses at their own conferences, I should be very thankful.

I believe you heard from Mr. Will Alexander about this matter and my interest in it.

Looking forward to hearing from you, I remain

Sincerely,

Emil W. Leipziger

Emil W. Leipziger.

ewl;g

Religion
OUR MOST
CONSTRUCTIVE
DEFENSE

Ben Stark
J C C
212 1/2 W. Forsyth St.
Jax. 2, Fla.

Police lecture
(Miami Beach)
Gilbert Balkin - ADL
330 Seybold. Bldg
Miami, Fla.

L. L. Jarvis
Chief of Police
Greensboro, N. C

Joseph Lohman
ACRR

SRC - Police Project

November 21, '49

Mr. Charles Dollard
The Carnegie Foundation
522 Fifth Avenue
N. Y., N.Y.

Dear Mr. Dollard,

My friend Mr. C. H. Parrish, of Louisville Municipal College, has sent me a copy of the prospectus of a police training institute, proposed for Louisville.

I have worked a bit with Mr. Parrish in the earlier stages of this proposal, and have followed the plans thus far. The Southern Regional Council considers that the establishment of some such Training Center is greatly needed. We think Louisville quite a suitable place for it. I should like to express the earnest hope that your will interest yourself in helping the Louisville people who will be coming to see you this week to find a way to further their plans.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

LOUISVILLE MUNICIPAL COLLEGE
LOUISVILLE 3, KY.
DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

November 18, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

I thought you might be interested in this prospectus for a police training institute. Mayor Farnsley, President Taylor and Director of Safety McCandless are going to New York for conferences Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of next week with various philanthropic foundations, in order to secure the necessary funds.

If you think the plan outlined is a feasible one, you might convey your approval to Director of Safety David A. McCandless, City Hall, Louisville, Ky. Better still, if you have friends connected with any of the Foundations, indicate your approval to them. Personally, I feel that the project is important enough for us to give it strong moral support. I am sure that additional copies of the prospectus will be sent to other persons at your suggestion. If the school is established, SRC would be the logical recruiting agency.

In New York, the Louisville delegation, including Director McCandless, will be at the Waldorf-Astoria. The schedule of appointments is as follows:

Russell-Sage---Monday afternoon
Rockefeller ---Tuesday
Carnegie and Grant---Wednesday

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours

C.H.Parrish

C.H.Parrish

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

Police Training

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

RAYMOND A. KENT
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

November 28, 1949

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing some information on the Police Training Institute which has been proposed at the University of Louisville, at the suggestion of Dr. Parrish of the Louisville Municipal College. The idea was suggested by Dr. Joseph D. Lohman of the Sociology Department of the University of Chicago while he was in Louisville to help the Division of Police include material of human relations in their training. I was chairman of the study committee of two university faculty members and two police officers who worked out the details of the plan.

The principal objective is to give sound training to selected police officers in the South who are in administrative and supervisory positions. The program will be composed of police science, legal information, administrative principles, and sociological material that will develop the role of the police in dealing with social and racial problems. It is believed that such a series of short courses will point the way toward the ultimate professionalization of the police.

Your comments will be appreciated and any steps that you can take to publicize the plan or to help us secure financial support will be appreciated. We have already approached the Russell Sage Foundation, Carnegie Foundation, Grant Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation for the $301,250.00 needed to operate the institute for an initial period of five years and the matter is under consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Howell V. Williams
Dean

HVW:bb
Encl.

P.S. at this moment it appears we have a good chance of securing financing from Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations jointly.

POLICE TRAINING INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

A Police Training Institute at the University of Louisville under the joint auspices of the university and the Louisville Division of Police has been proposed by a study committee of police officers and university faculty members, under the chairmanship of Dr. Howell V. Williams, Dean of the School of Social Work of the University. The plan was formally approved by Dr. John W. Taylor, President of the University and Mayor Charles P. Farnsley on October 14, 1949. Dr. Taylor and Mayor Farnsley since conferred with several private foundations in New York about financing the Institute for an initial period of five years at an estimated outlay of $301,250.00. The foundations are reported to be favorably inclined and investigating possibilities. The proposal is for an institute with a full-time staff to conduct three courses a year of twelve weeks duration for twenty-five police officers a term.

Aside from the general aim to professionalize police work, one of the most important objectives is to teach an understanding of racial problems in the South, and the best way to deal with them.

The committee made a survey of the 11 Southern states and found that no college or university in these states offers resident police training as a regular part of the four-year curriculum. In the past, two of the states experimented with extension-type programs, and a third State university now is offering short training courses to police personnel in that state, terms lasting from three to 30 days.

The Police Training Institute here is designed for Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia.

The present need in the South is for short courses to reach selected police officers in administrative, supervisory and training positions. The time has not yet arrived for a four-year course as a part of the university curriculum.

The committee agreed that it would be necessary to award a scholarship to each applicant accepted by the institute. The scholarship, in addition to tuition, would cover the round-trip cost of transportation to Louisville and $400 to cover living expenses during the 12-week training course.

There is no doubt that police departments in the South are interested in a training program. Questionnaires were sent to police departments in 110 cities of 15,000 population or more in the 11 states. A breakdown of the replies indicates that some type of police school for recruits exists in 61 per cent of the departments, and that there is some in-service training in 78 per cent. Asked if the Southern region would support a police academy, 58 per cent answered in the affirmative, 10 per cent in the negative and 34 were doubtful or did not answer the question.

An institute reaching seventy-five police officers a year from the various parts of the South would point the way toward the ultimate goal of the professionalization of the police. A broad course covering not only the essentials of police science but also embracing law, administration, and sociology would contribute to the assumption by states and localities, instead of the federal government, of leadership in solving southern problems of legal justice for all segments of the community. Although police work

with racial minorities would be only part of the curriculum of the training course, the need for increased police knowledge in that sphere is one of the important reasons why a southern police institute should be established. Gunnar Myrdal concluded after studying the racial problems of the South:

> "It is my conviction that one of the most potent strategic measures to improve the Southern inter-racial situation would be the opening of a pioneering modern police college in the South, which would give a thorough social and pedagogical training as well as a technical police training."

Preference would be given to officers in command, administrative, and teaching positions without regard to previous education. Students would be selected by a Policy Board of nine members, composed of equal numbers of police officers, university faculty members, and public representatives. The Policy Board would determine the policies and program of the Institute and select a director, who must be a college graduate and have had responsible police experience. The Institute would be organized as an autonomous unit within the university, subject to the administrative supervision of the President and under the ultimate control of the Board of Trustees of the university.

Sent by The Louisville Urban League

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A POLICE TRAINING INSTITUTE

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

(SUPPLEMENTAL MEMORANDUM)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE

Howell V. Williams, Ph.D., Dean, Kent School of Social Work, University of Louisville (Chairman)

Donald Kepner, J. D., Assistant Professor, School of Law, University of Louisville

Captain William G. Kiefer, Superintendent, Crime Prevention Bureau, Louisville Division of Police

Captain G. C. Kopp, Superintendent, Police Educational Bureau, Louisville Division of Police

DECEMBER, 1949

RECEIVED
NOV 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT TO PLAN FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A POLICE TRAINING INSTITUTE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

This statement supplements the report of September, 1949, prepared by the Study Committee, and in particular presents new budgetary figures. It also shows the proposed source of funds for five years operation of the institute, provides for a tapering grant from foundations, and projects an estimate of the source of funds for the sixth and following years of operation. It is based on the discussion with Dr. Calkins of the General Education Board by the local committee on November 29, 1949, and subsequent deliberations of the committee.

As is detailed hereinafter, the revised estimates show that a total of $398,075.00 is required for operation of the institute during the initial period of five years. The private foundations are asked to grant $287,325.00, or 72 per cent, of the amount required for five years operation. $110,750.00, or 28 per cent, will be secured from other sources.

The following table shows the revised budget proposed for each year of operation of the institute, consisting of three terms of twelve weeks duration each for a yearly total of 75 students. The item "scholarships" is composed of $400.00 subsistence allowance plus $75.00, the average travel expense involved.

BUDGET PER YEAR, POLICE TRAINING INSTITUTE

Schlorships	
75 students @ $475.	$35,625.
Operating Expenses	
Director	8,000.
Instructor, full-time	6,000.
Secretary, full-time	2,000.
Instructors, part-time	12,000.
Training equipment, supplies	2,050.
Travel, staff and associates	2,000.
Contingency fund	2,000.
Consumable office supplies	1,000.
Purchase of books	500.
Office equipment	200.
(Sub-total: $35,750.)	
Physical Plant and Services	
Physical plant	5,000.
Janitorial services	1,500.
Utilities	500.
(Sub-total: $7,000.)	
TOTAL	$78,375.

It is deemed necessary for the director and the secretary of the institute to function six months in advance of the opening of the first term. The salaries for these two persons would amount to $5,000.00 for the period, and an additional sum of $1,200.00 has been computed as required for office equipment, classroom equipment, and consumable supplies to be used to prepare for the opening term, making a total of $6,200.00 needed during the six months preparatory period.

At the rate of $78,375.00 a year, five years of operation would total $391,875.00 and the addition of the $6,200.00 for the preparatory period makes a grand total of $398,075.00.

The following table shows the source of funds planned for operating the institute during the first five years, and projects an estimate into the sixth year of operation. The private foundations are requested to grant the following: first, second, and third years, $61,375.00 a year; fourth year, $52,791.00; fifth year, $44,209.00; preparatory period $6,200.00, for a total of $287,325.00, or 72 per cent of the grand total.

The following table also shows an expenditure of $10,000.00 a year, or $50,000.00 for the five year period, for operating expenses by the City of Louisville. $7,000.00 a year, or $35,000.00, is estimated as the contribution of the City of Louisville and/or the University of Louisville for physical plant, janitorial services, and utilities. $25,750.00 is shown for the fourth and fifth years for operating expenses by charging tuition fees to the cities, counties, and state police systems using the institute. Thus, a total of $110,750.00, or 28 per cent, would come from sources other than the foundations.

The sixth year projection shows the entire operating expenses coming from tuition fees. The $35,625.00 needed for scholarships

in that year would be raised from other sources, such as units of government participating in the plan, a southern regional educational agreement, or private organizations and foundations. The City of Louisville and the University of Louisville will continue their contributions on at least the same basis, and consideration will be given to increases.

SOURCE OF FUNDS BY YEAR, POLICE TRAINING INSTITUTE

	City of Louisville	City and/or University of Louisville	Tuition Fees	Private Foundations
First Year				
Scholarships	-	-	-	35,625.
Operating Expenses	10,000.	-	-	25,750.
Physical Plant	-	7,000.	-	-
Total	10,000.	7,000.	-	61,375.
Second Year				
		As first year.		
Third Year				
		As first year.		
Fourth Year				
Scholarships	-	-	-	35,625.
Operating Expenses	10,000.	-	8,584.	17,166.
Physical Plant	-	7,000.	-	-
Total	10,000.	7,000.	8,584.	52,791.
Fifth Year				
Scholarships	-	-	-	35,625.
Operating Expenses	10,000.	-	17,166.	8,584.
Physical Plant	-	7,000.	-	-
Total	10,000.	7,000.	17,166.	44,209.
Total, five years	50,000.	35,000.	25,750.	281,125.*
Sixth Year				
Projection				(Other sources)
Scholarships	-	-	-	35,625.
Operating Expenses	10,000.	-	25,750.	-
Physical Plant	-	7,000.	-	-
Total	10,000.	7,000.	25,750.	35,625.

*Plus $6,200. for the preparatory period, or a total of $287,325. from foundations.

It is proposed to begin consideration of methods of financing the institute beyond the five year period soon after the program is started and to seek the collaboration of cities and states in the southern region in working out plans and action.

A summary of the source of funds planned for the preparatory period and for five years operation of the institute is as follows:

Private Foundations - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$287,325.00
City of Louisville - - - - - - - - - - - - -	50,000.00
City/University of Louisville - - - - - - - -	35,000.00
Tuition Fees - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	25,750.00
TOTAL - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	398,075.00

It will be noted in comparing the foregoing financial data with that submitted in the report by the Study Committee in September, 1949, that subsequent consideration has resulted in refinement and greater detail of the financial considerations involved. Estimates in certain items have been raised, based in every case on cogent reasons. For example, the amount for part-time instructors has been raised to permit the recruiting of a high quality of personnel when necessary from out of this area. A contingency fund for emergencies and unforseen needs is deemed essential. The local committee is strongly of the opinion that the revised budget is in terms of minimum essential needs for the accomplishment of the objectives of the institute.

It should be stated that the budget for the institute is set up on the basis of payment for all instructional or other services and equipment to be used in the program of the school. No organization or governmental agency, Federal, State or Local, has made any commitment for furnishing services or equipment to the

institute, except as before specified for the City of Louisville and the University of Louisville.

There are several non-financial matters which should be amplified. (1) In selecting personnel the highest quality will be sought, regardless of residence. The collaboration of pertinent organizations and key persons will be secured to help in selecting personnel. (2) In planning for the opening of the institute, contacts will be made with officials, organizations, and representatives of cities and localities in the South. An advisory committee representative of the entire southern region may be organized, in addition to the policy committee described in the first report. (3) The use of specialists in the field of human relations will be stressed, in order to provide the best instruction and material in that field for the course of study.

38 - Police Training

April 27, 1950

Mr. C. H. Parrish
Louisville Municipal College
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Parrish:

I am most grateful for your letter of April 25.

I could be in Louisville Thursday or Friday, May 11 or 12. With some strain I could be there Wednesday, May 10.

Let me know what day you pick.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

LOUISVILLE MUNICIPAL COLLEGE
LOUISVILLE 3, KY.

DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

APR 27 1950
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

April 25, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

As you know, funds have been assured for the establishment a police academy here to serve the Southern Region. It is probable that the Chicago manual, which we have been revising for local use, will be adopted as a text for one of the courses in the new school. It therefore becomes highly desirable that the materials of the proposed text be evaluated in terms of their applicability to the problems of the whole South.

We would like to have the final meeting for the discussion of the manual during the week of May 8. I have been instructed to find out whether or not you can attend this meeting and, if you can attend, what day during the week will be most convenient for you. We will arrange the meeting to suit your schedule.

We are deeply appreciative of your interest in our local project and of the invaluable help you gave in the securing of funds for the police academy. Your letter was an important factor in gaining the sympathetic attention of the foundations to the Louisville proposition.

Personally, I am hopeful that the forthcoming meeting will convince local authorities that the Southern Regional Council can help immeasurably in recruiting students for the new school.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish

C. H. Parrish

REPRINT FROM THE COURIER—JOURNAL, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY.

9 Crime-Detection Specialists To Aid Police Institute

School's Enrollment Raised To 30; Session Starts Jan. 3

Top authorities in police methods and crime detection and prevention will serve as part-time instructors in the University of Louisville's Southern Police Institute, scheduled to open January 3.

Nine specialists from various sections of the country already have accepted invitations to visit the institute, David A. McCandless, director, announced yesterday. Five to 10 more part-time instructors will be added later.

"We are happy indeed to get such top men in the law-enforcement field," McCandless said. "Their acceptance augurs success for the institute."

Enrollment Increased

McCandless also announced that the institute's enrollment has been increased from 25 to 30. Twenty-five scholarships will be awarded to members of Police Departments throughout the South, particularly to commanding, supervisory, and administrative personnel.

Five tuition-paying students also will be accepted. Three will come from private industries and two from Government agencies, McCandless said. The Atomic Energy Commission particularly is interested in sending some of its security officers to the institute.

McCandless and Louisville Police Chief Carl E. Heustis will tour the South this month or in December to recruit prospective scholarship students. An advisory committee, not yet named, will select the 25 students.

2 Grants Received

The institute will operate under a $200,000 grant, half from the Rockefeller Foundation and the other half from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Part-time instructors who already have accepted invitations to appear at the institute are:

Bruce Smith, director of the Institute of Public Administration, New York City. He has made surveys of public administration in 50 American cities and 15 states, in addition to police systems of England, France, Belgium, and Germany. He has written articles for many police and scientific publications both here and abroad. His subject will be "Police Organization and Administration."

Authority on Lie Detection

Prof. Fred E. Inbau, professor of law at Northwestern University and managing director of The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology. He also is an executive-committee member of the Chicago Crime Commission, an authority on lie detection, and author of "Lie Detection and Criminal Interrogation." He will lecture on "Lie Detection and Interrogation Techniques."

Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, chairman of the Illinois State Division of Correction, sociology professor at the University of Chicago, and associate editor of The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology. He is the author of "Police and Race Minority Groups," which recently was revised for use by the Louisvile Police Department and the Southern Police Institute. His subject will be "Socio-Legal Problems In The Southern Region."

Prof. George Dession, member of the Yale University School of Law, special assistant to the U. S Attorney General from 1938 through 1943, and a member since 1945 of the U. S, Supreme Court advisory commission on rules and criminal procedure. He is the author of "Cases on Criminal Law, Administration, and Public Order." He will lecture on "Aspects of Panic Control."

Toxicologist Will Lecture

Dr. C. W. Muehlberger, toxicogist in the Michigan State Department of Health, director of the Michigan Crime-Detection Laboratory, and associate editor of the American Journal of Police Science. He has been consulting expert to the Chicago Police Department on bombs and explosions. He will lecture on "Toxicology."

Capt. John Howe, member of the Chicago Police Department and associate editor of The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology. He is considered an expert on police records and record maintenance. He will handle phases of "Police Organization and Administration."

Dr. Ralph T. Overman, chairman of the special-training division of the Oak Ridge Institution of Nuclear Studies, Oak Ridge, Tenn. He is considered an authority in nuclear, physical, and radio chemistry. In 1944, he was plant superintendent of thermal-diffusion process of uranium separation for the Manhattan District Project. He will lecture on "The Laboratory Phase of An Atomic Explosion."

I. U Aide To Teach

Virgil W. Peterson, operating chairman of the Chicago Crime Commission and former special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He has written articles for numerous periodicals and is author of the pamphlets, "Gambling, Should It Be Legalized?" and "Why Honest People Steal." His subject will be "Organized Crime."

Don L. Kooken, chairman of police administration at Indiana University and a member of the Indiana State Police Board. He recently assisted in the organization of the Kentucky State police. He will lecture on "Ethics" and "Morale Development and Leadership."

Besides the visiting instructors, the institute staff will include members of the University of Louisville and Louisville Police Department staffs.

NEWS of the University of Louisville
From the Office of Public Relations, Belknap Campus, Louisville 8, Kentucky
November 20, 1950 For RELEASE in A.M. papers of November 21

Seven new visiting lecturers have been added to the staff of the Southern Police Institute, David A. McCandless, Director, said today, and will serve as part-time instructors in the school. Nine specialists from various sections of the country already have accepted invitations to visit the Institute.

The new visiting lecturers are:

Dr. Allen R. Moritz, Professor of Pathology, Western Reserve University; Professor of Legal Medicine, Harvard University; and Pathologist to the Massachusetts State Police Force. Dr. Moritz has been pathologist and lecturer in many hospitals and universities in the United States. He is a member of the leading scientific societies both in America and in France. He is a contributor to American, British, and German medical journals. Dr. Moritz will lecture at the Southern Police Institute on "Homicide Investigations."

Dr. Rollo N. Harger, Chairman of Department of Biochemistry and Toxicology, Indiana University School of Medicine. Dr. Harger is a research worker and consultant on poisons, alcohols, ether, and vitamins. He is the inventor of the "drunkometer" for testing intoxication. He will lecture and give demonstrations on the subject of "Alcoholic Tests."

Lieutenant Robert F. Borkenstein, Chief Technician, Indiana State Police. Lt. Borkenstein will lecture and assist Dr. Harger in demonstrations on "Alcoholic Tests."

Ordway Hilton, Examiner of Questioned Documents, New York City. Prior to the war he was a member of the Chicago Police Scientific Laboratory. During the late war he served in Naval Intelligence. He has been in private business in New York since 1946. He is a member of the American Society of Questioned Document Examiners and is Editor of the American Journal of Police Science. Mr. Hilton will lecture on "Questioned Documents."

Tom A. Burke, Director, Local Safety Programs, National Safety Council. Mr. Burke has for many years been actively engaged in Safety Council work. He was Director of the Public Information Department of the National Safety Council for 10 years. He has also been Executive Vice President of the Greater New York Safety Council. Mr. Burke will lecture on "Traffic Safety Education."

George Larsen, Jr., Training Division, The Traffic Institute, Northwestern University. Formerly Chief of Police of the County of Hawaii. Mr. Larsen began his career with the Honolulu Police Department in 1933 as a patrolman. He had advanced to Chief of Detectives before leaving this department in 1939. He reorganized the County of Hawaii's police department in 1943 and was Chief there for five years. Mr. Larsen will lecture on "Physical Laws and Skid Marks."

Emory J. Smith, Legal Representative for the International Association for Identification. He is author of various articles for scientific magazines. He will lecture on "The Fallibility of Testimony."

The American Institute of Management has awarded McCandless a Fellowship for his work in organizing and financing the Police Institute, according to word received from Keith Kelsey, Vice President of the A.I.M. The work was an "outstanding accomplishment," Kelsey told McCandless.

November 22, 1950

Mr. Charles T. Steele
Executive Secretary
Louisville Urban League
418 South Fifth Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Steele:

You were very kind to send me a copy of the new Louisville text and the material about the Police Training Institute.

If you will let me know, at an appropriate time we will be glad to carry in New South a carefully worded announcement about the Training Institute. Rightly stated, such an announcement could, without stirring up any difficulty, add a certain amount of push to recruitment.

I have had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Parrish a couple of times lately. I observed in New York at the meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials that he was attentive and helpful in the round table on police and minority problems.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Louisville Urban League

AN INTERRACIAL AGENCY FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

418 So. Fifth St. ◆ Louisville 2, Ky. ◆ Telephone: JAckson 3516

CHARLES T. STEELE
Executive Secretary

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November 16, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At the request of Dr. Charles H. Parrish, Jr., I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the Prospectus of the Southern Police Academy and the text-book which will be used in the courses, "Principles Of Police Work With Minority Groups."

As you know, Dr. Parrish was one of the main contributors to the whole movement of setting up the school. Particularly was he instrumental in gathering the material used in the text-book. We owe a tremendous debt to Dr. Parrish for his labors.

I would appreciate receiving any suggestions you may have to make after reading the material.

Sincerely yours,

Charles T. Steele

Charles T. Steele
Executive Secretary

CTS/rmc

RECEIVED
NOV 20 1950
Regional Counc

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Louisville Municipal College
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Parrish:

We have noted with pleasure the recent publicity on the first term of the Louisville Police Institute, and we have read with great appreciation the manual on Human relations which Mr. Steele sent us at your request.

Enclosed is a copy of a brief article on the Institute and the manual which we expect to use in the forthcoming New South. We are pressing against our deadline, so I must send the copy to the printer today. But we should be most grateful for any corrections or suggestions you might send us right away; there would probably be time to make some slight changes in the proof.

One other small matter: We should like to send this article, when it is in print, to chiefs of police throughout the South. If that would work in any way to the detriment of the Institute, of course we would not do it. Could you give us your advice on that?

Our congratulations to you on the valuable part you have played in this coming of modernity. With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc.

REPRINT FROM THE COURIER—JOURNAL, JANUARY 14, 1951. LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY.

Police Institute Class Proves 'Sharp'

Discussions Run Hot and Heavy At U. of L. School

By SAM MOSS

Twenty-three Southern policemen are tackling their new job of going to school with as much vigor as they would use in tracking down Public Enemy No. 1.

They are members of the first class in Southern Police Institute at the University of Louisville.

Not all are police executives. Some are investigators. Others are specialists. Three are promising beat patrolmen. All are interested in courses which would make college-graduate students strain to understand.

Talks on Classifying Crimes

For example, there has been a stiff series of lectures in psychiatry with more to come. The policeman and the psychiatrist normally haven't been the best of friends, Institute Director David A. McCandless explained. The policeman has thought of the psychiatrist as a fellow who helps crooks beat the rap.

Then there was a series of lectures by Dean A. C. Russell of the University of Louisville School of Law on analysis of crimes into their specific elements. This provoked much discussion, as crimes are not always classified in other states as they are in Kentucky. Eight states are represented at the Institute.

Some of the problems, observed by this reporter in a class session last week, are fairly simple. Capt. Gerald Kopp told how Louisville uses women traffic guards to protect children at busy street crossings.

But Policeman Harold D. Hartel, of Columbia, S. C., said older men are perhaps more satisfactory for this job. A number of policemen said schoolboy patrols have not been effective in handling the traffic problem in some cities.

The institute's entire 12-week course is difficult. For example, there are 40 hours of teaching, devoted only to classification of fingerprints.

Want To Learn About Budgets

R. L. Soule, assistant director of the institute, is spending several hours explaining how to handle a prisoner, how to conduct investigations, and how to use the police laboratory.

McCandless said one of the most popular studies dealt with budget-making

"You know," he said, "the average police chief gets placed in his job without the slightest idea of how to make up his budget. They all want their men informed about budget-making."

The public has an idea the policeman's lot is a simple one, if not a happy one. All he has to do, many think, is to be able to shoot straight and snap on cuffs.

But here is what de luxe policemen are studying in the institute's program, which includes 480 hours of instruction:

1. Public speaking. The policeman is being called on more and more to explain his work and sell his program.
2. Various phases of criminal law.
3. Psychology and psychiatry.
4. Juveniles and young people.
5. Traffic. This is a No 1 headache to the average police department.

Includes Confessions

6. Confessions. This is extremely important because courts are getting pernickety about how they are obtained.
7. Taking care of yourself. A great many police officers are killed and injured each year through ignorance or carelessness.
8. Strikes and riots. This is being taught by Louisville Police Chief Carl E. Heustis.
9. Interrogation of witneses and suspects. This is a fine art separating the skilled policeman from the inept one.

The institute has been greeted enthusiastically by its 23 students. For example, Hartel, assistant identification man in the Columbia Police Department, said:

Find Class Is 'Sharp'

"It's the greatest thing that ever happened to me. It got me out of a narrow groove and into the broad field of all policing."

And Lt. Charles F. Middleton of the Louisiana State Police Department said:

"If kept up over the years it will raise the standard of police work in the South. We have our own problems and it is well that we have an institute devoted mainly to these peculiar problems."

The instructors don't find their time wasted either.

"These boys are sharp," said Captain Kopp. "I think maybe we get back more than we give."

The class is no group of mere listeners.

It's Quite Complicated

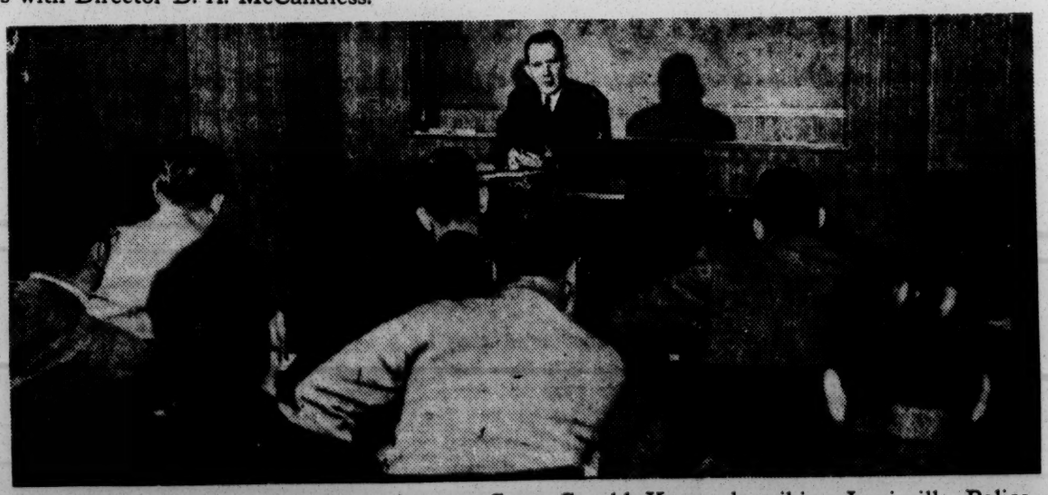
"The discussion gets hot and heavy sometimes," said McCandless. "Sometimes the theories have to give way to facts."

The "big guns"—out-of-town instructors who are authorities in their field—begin coming here this week to instruct the class.

They include men well acquainted with lie detectors, poison evidence, organization, safety, causes of death, questioned documents, handling of prisoners, the stopping of organized crime before it gets a foothold, and various phases of police-laboratory work.

Policing has come to be quite a complicated job.

FINGERPRINTS are enlarged for Southern Police Institute students by machine shown by Assistant Director R. L. Soule, left. He's with Director D. A. McCandless.



THIS IS HOW Louisville does it, says Capt. Gerald Kopp, describing Louisville Police Department's training program for rookies, and the use of women police for school-street traffic. He's head of Police Education Bureau. Kopp is one of numerous lecturers.

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

January 18, 1951

RECEIVED
JAN 19 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I appreciate your prompt reply to my letter. I believe the inserted paragraphs give a truer picture of the detailed planning. My own name has little value, but I do feel that proper credit should be given the four-man committee. I also have no objections whatever to acknowledgment being given to the agencies you originally mentioned.

In regard to distribution of the article, rather than send it to the chiefs of police in southern communities, would it be advisable to send it to the mayors?

Thanking you again, I am

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMc:c

Green Copy

January 17, 1951

Colonel David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Colonel McCandless:

Thank you for sending us so promptly your comments on the proposed New South article. Yours was exactly the kind of advice we wanted.

Enclosed is a copy of the revision we propose to make in the article, incorporating, I believe, all of the corrections which you suggested. If the revision is in any way unsatisfactory, please let me know at your earliest convenience so that any further necessary changes may be made.

You will note that the article does not indicate that Principles of Police Work With Minority Groups is in any way officially connected with the Institute. Since neither the original prospectus nor the introduction to the manual said as much, we felt it wiser simply to treat the manual as related evidence of Louisville's interest in police training.

We will, of course, be guided by your judgment on distribution and will not send the article to chiefs of police. You understand, I am sure, that our only object is to inform New South readers of an important forward step in Southern police training; anything which might misrepresent the Institute or damage its effectiveness would defeat our purpose.

Again thanking you for your help and with every good wish for the success of the Institute,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc.

Revisions in New South article on Louisville Police Training Institute

(Paragraphs three and four on page one of the typewritten copy will be altered to read as follows:)

The idea of a Southern police college with this aim of raising professional standards has become a reality in the past two years. The Southern Police Institute of Louisville, Kentucky, early in January began the first of its three terms per year. Carefully selected police officers from eight Southern states have been granted subsistence scholarships and enrolled for the twelve-week course. The states served by the Institute are Arkansas, Alabama, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia.

The Institute grew out of discussions with Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, noted authority on police training, who had been invited to consult with the Louisville Division of Police. Detailed planning was ~~carried out~~ done by the following committee, appointed by Colonel David A. McCandless, then Director of Public Safety and now Director of the Institute: Dean Howell V. Williams and Professor Donald Kepner, of the University of Louisville; and Captain Gerald Kopp and Captain William Kiefer, of the Louisville Division of Police. Foundation assistance was secured, and the Institute was formally established under the sponsorship of the University of Louisville and the City of Louisville.

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

January 16, 1951

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Dr. Parrish has kindly sent me copy of article which you are preparing on the Southern Police Institute for the forthcoming "New South." While we appreciate the interest shown by your group, I feel that I should point out some inaccuracies which I am sure are due to inadvertance. Only eight, not eleven, southern states are represented in the first term of the Institute. In addition to the states you have named that the Institute serves are the following states: Missouri, Texas, Maryland, Arkansas, and the District of Columbia.

Somewhat more serious is the following statement in your article: "Detailed planning was participated in by representatives of the Division of Police, the University of Louisville, Louisville Municipal College, and such interested agencies as the Louisville Urban League and the Southern Regional Council." While individuals in all of these groups offered sympathetic counsel and advice most of them did not serve on any committee which handled detailed planning looking toward the establishment of the Institute. I would not depreciate in any degree the individual help and cooperation of any persons in the South but for the sake of accuracy I feel that I should acquaint you with the facts. They are as follows: Dr. Lohman at a luncheon with the Chief of Police and me, first broached the idea. After the luncheon was over, I called up the President of the University of Louisville, the Mayor, and several other interested parties, and had Dr. Lohman go more into detail concerning the feasibility of his idea. All present enthusiastically endorsed the proposition. At the conclusion of the meeting I appointed a Planning Committee.

This committee consisted of the following: Dean Howell V. Williams, Chairman, University of Louisville; Professor Donald Kepner, University of Louisville; Captain Gerald Kopp, Louisville Division of Police; Captain William Kiefer, Louisville Division of Police. This committee prepared surveys, questionnaires, prospectus, and all of the detailed plans, subject to the approval of the University of Louisville and myself, as Director of Safety, in connection with the start of the Institute. Under the circumstances I feel that the committee is entitled to recognition for its work. Subsequently the Mayor, the President of the University of Louisville, the Mayor's Consultant, and I had conferences with several Eastern foundations. The Carnegie Corporation of New York and the General Education Board eventually made grants of $200,000. The City of Louisville made a commitment of $50,000, and the University of Louisville contributed a physical plant.

I write this fully in order that you may have full details of the inception of the Institute. Again I want to say that the support and help of your fine organization and other interested agencies, such as the Louisville Urban League, is gratefully appreciated and acknowledged.

I would personally prefer that the article not be sent to chiefs of police, for the following reason: I feel that the emphasis given in the article on one of our major courses might lead to the inference that the curriculum is not a full and comprehensive one in all major fields of Police Science. We feel that it is. Included in the 420 hours in the twelve week term are most of the major subjects in the field. We are devoting 20 hours of the 420 to the course on Human Relations. This, in my opinion, is one of our extremely important courses. I would not, however, like to over-emphasize it to the detriment of other courses in the minds of our chiefs throughout the South. I am sure that you will agree with me on this.

I trust that you will not feel that I am unappreciative of your efforts and those of Mr. Mitchell and the other members of the Council. Your help is appreciated and I feel necessary to us. I am, however, thinking in terms of what I believe is to the best interests of the Institute.

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMc:c

P.S. I am sending several copies of our Brochure under separate cover.

College-Trained Police Are Goal

Institute's Grads Hear McCandless, Others

The day may come when a man must have a four-year college education before he can get a job on a police force.

Anyway, Southern Police Institute Director David McCandless hopes it will come, he told the Institute's 22 students at graduation ceremonies today.

The class, first to graduate from the University of Louisville's pioneering school in police administration, received diplomas from McCandless in the Allen Courtroom on Belknap Campus.

* * *

The three captains, six lieutenants, six sergeants, three patrolmen, one corporal and three private policemen who comprise the student body, elected as president of their Alumni Association, Lexington Capt. Frank Gravitt.

—Times Photo.
Gravitt

Captain Gravitt said:

"We have a better understanding of our problems and we have a deep sense of responsibility for the standards we have learned here."

Gathered to wish the graduates well were their families, representatives from City Hall, the Louisville Police Department, high-ranking police and safety administrators throughout the state, and faculty members of the U. of L.

* * *

Police officers from seven Southern states attended the 12-week course. They first heard Mayor Farnsley say he expected to be a part-time student during the next semester which begins April 2.

"I intend to sit in on the lectures in police administration," he said in a brief address. He praised the school, and also U. of L.'s acting president Eli H. Brown III whom he described as having done a brilliant job in moving the university forward.

Brown, in the main graduation address, cautioned the officers to uphold the traditions they should have learned at the Institute.

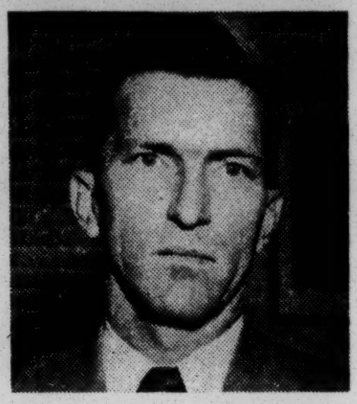
* * *

"You will leave here better professionally than when you came," he said, "if you learned the value of an inquiring mind."

Brown explained the training should have prepared them never to take anything at surface value, to examine every premise, and to re-examine every fact.

"You are a great force of potential good or evil," he added.

LT. PAUL H. DOLAN



LT. THOMAS G. CAVENDER

1st Police Institute Graduates Praise Value of Instruction

Six members of the 23-man first graduating class of the Southern Police Institute agree they will take something besides diplomas home with them from the University of Louisville campus.

Each was asked: What one most important thing did you get out of the 12-week course which will prove helpful to you in your future police work on assignment?

Their varies answers follow:

Capt. E. E. Williams, Chattanooga, a 1943 graduate of the National Police Academy of the F.B.I. in Washington: A new concept of organization and administration, with emphasis on efficient and proper utilization of available manpower.

Lt. Alvis B. Carr, Rocky Mount, N. C., whose duties include giving instruction to new officers: A better understanding of the importance of a balanced training program which includes instruction in police ethics and the principles of law and evidence.

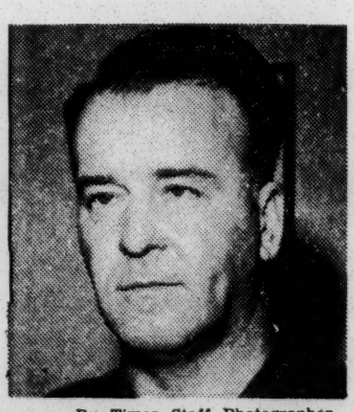
Lt. Thomas G. Cavender, La-Grange, Ga.: A new insight into criminology, which is a common stumbling block of police officers, and fuller appreciation of the fact that crooks are getting smarter and that officers must keep step if they are to detect crime and combat it successfully.

Lt. Paul H. Dolan, South Charleston, W. Va.: The importance of scientific investigation of crime and intelligent questioning of suspects and witnesses in criminal cases.

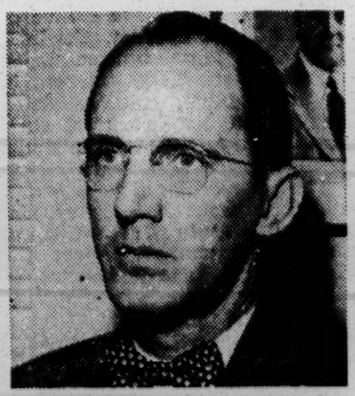
Lt. Charles C. Halpin, Covington, Ky.: Seeing demonstrated police paraphernalia and procedures about which I had only heard before, and realizing the necessity for each individual officer to acquire thorough understanding of all phases of police work.

Flavil L. Royalty, chief of guards for Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Louisville, who commands a 34-man private police force: A better understanding of the relation between private police and law enforcement officers, the need to guard against false arrests and the importance of delegating certain authority to subordinates, all of which will enable me to increase the efficiency of my force.

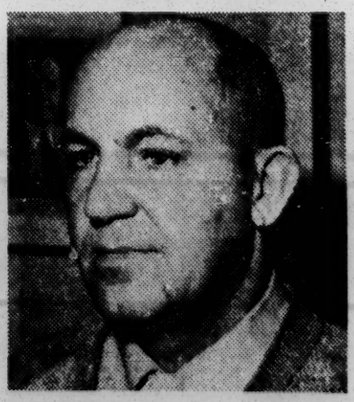
LT. ALVIS B. CARR



By Times Staff Photographer
LT. CHARLES C. HALPIN



FLAVIL L. ROYALTY



CAPT. E. E. WILLIAMS

Part of Training School's Initial Class

May 16, 1951

Mr. Joseph Lohman
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Joe:

One of the best things our Council has ever done was the little pamphlet called Race in the News, which you know. I have been wondering lately whether the time is not ripe for a very simple manual on police conduct.

Before Guy Johnson left the Council, he and one or two helpers had put together a first primitive manuscript for such a manual. What we had wasn't good, and it never got well arranged, so it has stayed in the files. Since that time, your Chicago and Louisville manuals have provided the developed idea.

The main point to hammer would be the professional quality of police work.

We would aim it, however, not at the level of a text for top officers chosen to take training, but at the level of the man on the beat and his civilian acquaintances.

I think such a little booklet would go into some dark corners in the South and do quite a lot of good. The Council has ways of getting local people of conscience to apply the lessons of such a small volume at the points where the lessons can take.

There would be two ways to go about it. One would be to ask you to write a pamphlet for us to edit. The other would be for us to write it, drawing heavily on ideas which you laid out originally in the Chicago manual, and then send our manuscript to you in its earliest and all later drafts for your detailed corrections. In that case, the foreword would acknowledge the weight of the debt to you. On

past experience, we would prefer the second method, finding it easier to do it originally in our style.

We notice that the Louisville manual is copyrighted. What would be the involvements there?

Are we off on a wrong tack, or have we got hold of something useful?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.: Race in the News

Police Training

June 19, 1951

Mr. Joseph Lohman
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Joe:

How about answering my letter of May 16?

We think that is a good scheme.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Reprinted from the JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY, AND POLICE SCIENCE
of Northwestern University
Vol. 42, No. 1, May-June, 1951

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
at the
University of Louisville

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless is Director of the Southern Police Institute at the University of Louisville. A member of the Kentucky Bar, Mr. McCandless has served as a State Senator (1942), Assistant City Attorney, Louisville (1946-48), and Director of Public Safety for the City of Louisville (1948-50) in addition to war service with the U. S. Navy from 1942-46. He assumed his present post upon the creation of the Institute in 1950. Under his directorship, and with the assistance of R. L. Soule, former Instructor of Police Science at Washington State College, as Assistant Director, the Institute has awarded certificates to its first two classes, January-March and April-June 1951.—EDITOR.

It was Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, Chairman of the Illinois Division of Correction, who first suggested the Southern Police Institute. While at lunch with the writer in early February, 1949, he discussed the recent strides made toward professionalization of police forces throughout the country. Dr. Lohman thought that these strides were due to an increased departmental emphasis on training. At the same time, he pointed out, there are relatively few schools, particularly in the South, offering to police officers comprehensive courses in police science and administration. Although the demand for training is growing, the schools are not keeping pace. "Why not," he interjected, "consider the establishment right here in Louisville of a police training institute, located at the University, and directed primarily toward law enforcement agencies in the southern part of the United States?"

Dr. Lohman's suggestion, subsequently detailed by him to city and university officials, met with instant approval. Certain basic concepts were envisioned at the outset. The need for a regional institute which would offer to the states of the southern region sound and progressive police training for meeting their common problems had long been apparent. This training, it was believed, should be directed along practical lines. It should include the latest methods in crime detection, and equally important, crime prevention. Its traffic program should encompass control and enforcement and should include practical courses in traffic engineering. Basic courses in police organization and administration should form an integral part of the whole. Psychology, psychiatry, and socio-economic studies, as well as police ethics, should comprise a part of the curriculum. Finally, the Institute should pioneer in special techniques in handling disorders and tensions resulting from disagreements between the various racial, social, and economic groups. The police officer, specially trained and buttressed with knowledge of the motives underlying human behavior, is equipped to handle tense situa-

tions with a minimum of disorder and to aid greatly in the furtherance of good human relations.

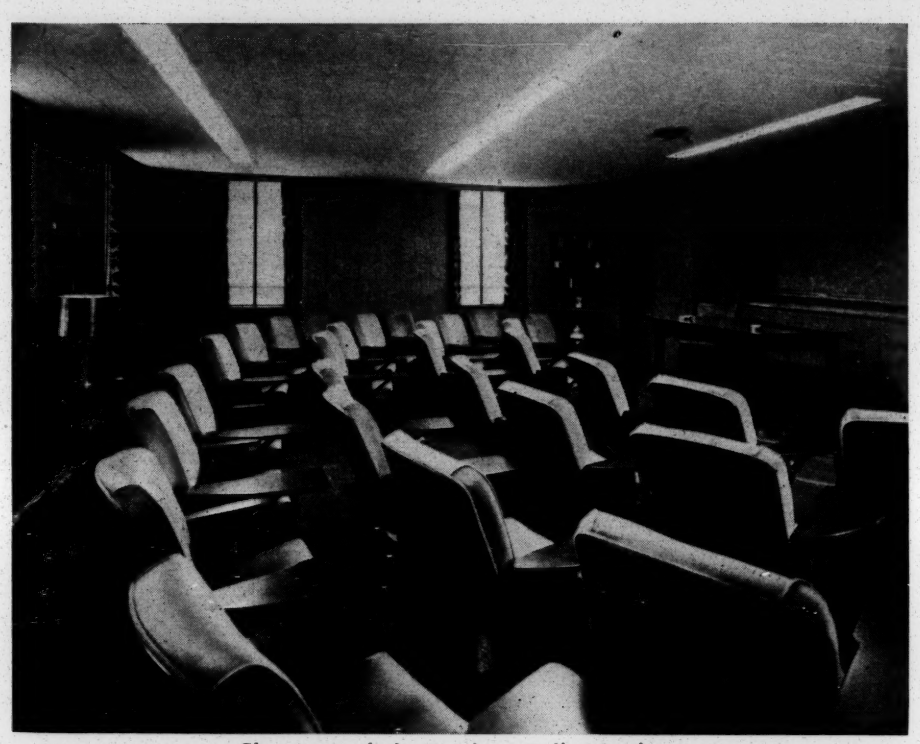
A Planning Committee, composed of a dean and a member of the University faculty and two veteran captains in the Louisville Division of Police, was appointed to study the proposals and to make recommendations. Questionnaires were prepared and sent to police departments and universities in 110 southern cities, requesting their reaction toward the establishment of a police training institute at the University of Louisville. Of the questionnaires sent out 85% were returned, the overwhelming majority of which were favorable to the proposition. In September, 1949, the committee completed its investigation with the report that the need justified the undertaking, and with the recommendation that three 12-week courses for 25 student officers be presented annually and directed in the main toward commanding, administrative, and supervisory officers in police departments in the South and neighboring states.

Also recommended was a full-time staff consisting of a Director, an Instructor, and a Secretary, with the assistance of a part-time instructional staff of visiting lecturers and technicians. The part-time staff should be chosen from men of wide repute in the police science and allied fields.

The next step involved obtaining funds to finance the Institute. It was felt that prospective students should be specially selected officers, and that their attendance should be on a scholarship basis. With 75 officer trainees expected annually, a rather large annual budget would be involved. The City of Louisville agreed to appropriate $10,000 annually to the project and the University of Louisville agreed to furnish the physical plant, utilities, and janitorial services for the school. This, however, was far short of the annual requirements. It was therefore decided to request outside assistance.

The project was formally presented to the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the General Education Board, a Rockefeller foundation, in late November, 1949. The officers and staffs of the two Foundations showed interest in the undertaking from the outset. After additional conferences and studies, these two Foundations in April, 1950, authorized grants sufficient to operate the Institute adequately for the first five years.

The Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, was on its way and on January 3, 1951, opened officially with seven states represented in its first class.



Classroom of the Southern Police Institute

Plan of the Institute

The Institute is designed to offer advanced training to law enforcement officers in active service in city, county, or state units of government. Preference is given to applicants holding commanding, suprevisory, and administrative positions in departments in the southern part of the United States. It is expected, however, that each class will include one or more student officers from other sections of the country.

A school term of twelve weeks' duration is offered three times annually with twenty-five specially selected law enforcement officers enrolled each term. Each officer selected is given an expense scholarship, consisting of a $325 cash allowance to cover travel and living expenses. In addition, the Institute makes no charge for tuition to these officers. A maximum of five applicants each term are accepted also on a tuition paying basis from Federal Governmental agencies and private industry. Scholarships are not available to these students.

Classes are held from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. Monday through Friday during the twelve week period. Upon the satisfactory completion of the training program, handsome certificates engraved on parchment are awarded the members of the class.

Training and Curriculum

Training in the Southern Police Institute combines instruction with practical work. The program has been carefully planned to give to each student a working knowledge of the latest methods of law enforcement and to enhance his value to his department on the administrative and command level. The instruction is given through the medium of lectures, demonstrations, field trips, visual aids, simulated incidents, and classroom discussions. Students are encouraged to exchange ideas among themselves and are given opportunities during the term for leadership. The training ideal is emphasized with the hope that graduating students will return to their cities imbued with the spirit of furthering training programs in their own departments.

The curriculum has been carefully prepared with the purpose of presenting as comprehensive a course in police science and administration as is consistent with available time. It includes the following subjects:

Courses	*Hours*
Police Organization and Administration	21
Departmental Standards; Ethics; Leadership and Morale; Report Writing; Police Records; Modus Operandi	
Police Personnel Administration	18
Function of Personnel Agency; Joint Activities of Police Department and Personnel Agency	
Socio-Legal Problems of the Southern Region	20
Worldwide and Neighborhood Aspects of Human Relations; Background of Racial, National, and Religious Tensions; Social Situations in which Tensions Arise; Role of the Police in Dealing with Tensions; Law and Administrative Controls as they Affect Human Relations; Statutes and Court Decisions as they Affect Human Relations; Public Relations and Publicity	
Human Behavior	26
Adolescent Development; Problems; Adult Development; Problems; Reactions to Stress; Character Disorders; Psychopathic Personalities; Field Trip; Mental Clinic, Louisville General Hospital	
Criminal Law, Evidence, and Procedure	26
Interrogation of Suspects and Witnesses	10

Courses	*Hours*
Criminal Investigative Procedure in:	28
Homicides; Burglaries; Sex Crimes; Robberies; Larcenies; Counterfeiting; Narcotics Law Violations; Forged and Worthless Checks; Auto Thefts; Assaults; Arson	
Scientific Aids to Investigation:	46
Physical Analysis of Evidence; Chemical Analysis of Evidence; Drunk-O-Meter; Fire Arms Identification and Explosives; Photography; Fingerprints; Lie Detector; Questioned Documents	
Commercialized Vice	8
Jurisdiction and Cooperative Function of other Gov't Agencies	9
Personal Identification	30
Regional Planning for the Police Emergency	5
Tactical Maps and Overlays; Alert Sequences; Air-Ground Coordination; Road Blockades	
Field Problems in Police Tactics	12
Police Combat Methods and Safety Techniques	35
Self Defense and Physical Education	20
Role of the Police in Civilian Defense	8
Traffic	40
Accident Prevention Bureau; Accident Investigation; Records and Analysis; Engineering; Enforcement; Education	
Juvenile Delinquency (Police Crime Prevention Bureaus)	24
Alcoholism	4
Public Speaking	15
Training and Teaching Techniques	15
Total Hours of Instruction	420

Visiting Lecturer Method of Instruction

The instruction during each twelve week term is given by the Institute's staff, augmented by approximately 45 visiting lecturers and technicians who have been selected because of their particular qualifications in the fields of criminology and police science. Invitations to lecture

extended by the Institute to leading authorities throughout the country have been, without exception, accepted. It is felt that this is a significant indication of the deep interest held by personalities in these fields in the furtherance of comprehensive training programs. Among the prominent out of state visiting lecturers, with the subject discussed, are:

Professor Fred E. Inbau, Northwestern University School of Law: "Lie Detection"; "Criminal Interrogation Techniques"; "Self-Incrimination."

Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, Chairman of the Illinois State Division of Correction: "Socio-Legal Problems in the Southern Region."

Ordway Hilton, Examiner of Questioned Documents, New York City: "Questioned Documents."

Dr. Allen R. Moritz, Professor of Pathology, Western Reserve University: "Homicide Investigations."

Dr. Russell Fisher, Chief Medical Examiner, State of Maryland: "Homicide Investigations."

Dr. C. W. Muehlberger, Director of Michigan Crime Detection Laboratory: "Poisons and Poisoning"; "Explosives."

Captain John I. Howe, Chicago Police Department: "Police Organization and Administration."

James Slavin, Assistant Director, Training Division, The Traffic Institute, Northwestern University: "Physical Laws and Skid Marks."

Dr. Ralph T. Overman, Chairman, Special Training Division, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies: "The Laboratory Phase of an Atomic Explosion."

Dr. Donald Smith, Senior Scientist, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies: "The Laboratory Phase of an Atomic Explosion."

Professor George Dession, Yale University School of Law: "Aspects of Panic Control."

Virgil W. Peterson, Operating Director, Chicago Crime Commission: "Organized Crime."

Captain Don L. Kooken, Chairman, Department of Police Administration, Indiana University: "Ethics"; "Morale Development and Leadership."

Professor Donal E. J. Mac Namara, Assistant Director, New York Institute of Criminology: "Police Administration."

Dr. Wilmer Souder, Consultant, National Bureau of Standards: "Scientific Crime Detection."

Dr. Rollo N. Harger, Chairman, Department of Biochemistry and Toxicology, Indiana University School of Medicine: "Alcoholic Tests."

Lieutenant Robert F. Borkenstein, Chief Technician, Indiana State Police: "Alcoholic Tests."

Tom A. Burke, Director of Local Safety Programs, National Safety Council: "Traffic Safety Education."

Emory J. Smith, Legal Representative, The International Association for Identification: "The Fallibility of Testimony."

E. F. Ricketts, Field Supervisor, Public Administration Service: "Salary Administration."

Objectives of the Institute

The objectives of the Institute are:

1. To foster an instrument for the elevation of police standards and increasing public confidence in and support of the field of law enforcement.
2. To give training on a regional basis to the law enforcement officers of the Southern States.
3. To offer a medium through which law enforcement officers can reach an understanding of their common problems and receive specialized guidance toward their solution.
4. To provide instruction of an advanced nature for the development of command, supervisory, and administrative police personnel.

In General

The world grows more complex. What sufficed yesterday is inadequate for today. The old methodology is giving way to the new. Alert police departments are revising operating procedures of long standing, in light of new challenges and new conditions. Law enforcement agencies in general, are becoming increasingly aware of the value of continuous training of personnel. More and more departments of police are offering comprehensive in-service training programs. Several universities—and their number is increasing—are meeting the need and desire of police officers for higher training by adding to their curricula courses in Police Science and Administration. The trend toward greater emphasis on training is unmistakable. It augurs well for the future of the nation, and in particular, for those who deal primarily in law enforcement and crime prevention.

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE

at the University of Louisville

DAVID A. McCANDLESS

☆

Reprinted from the

JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW AND CRIMINOLOGY
OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW

Vol. 42, No. 1, May-June, 1951

Police Training

July 16, 1951

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Mr. McCandless:

Dr. Mitchell will be out of town all week, but I told him of your letter when I talked with him long distance this morning.

He will be in Atlanta July 27 and will be glad to see you and Colonel Heustis when you arrive.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
JUL 16 1951
Southern C

July 12, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue , N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Carl E. Heustis, Chief of Police of Louisville, and I will leave on a southern trip Sunday, July 22, with the purpose of acquainting the police departments in our southern cities with the Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville. We are on a very tight schedule but hope to reach Atlanta between 3:00 and 4:00 o'clock on Friday, July 27. I have written for an appointment with the Atlanta Chief of Police for the following morning at 9:00 o'clock. If it is convenient to you, I would like to bring Colonel Heustis to your office Friday directly upon reaching your city, for a preliminary talk with you and one or two members of your staff. So far the City of Atlanta has shown little interest in the Institute, and I would like your advice prior to discussing the matter with the Chief.

I will appreciate a reply as early as is convenient to you.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMc:c

28 Police Training

July 30, 1951

Mr. Charles Dollard
Carnegie Corporation of New York
522 Fifth Ave.
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Dollard:

Atlanta had a visit last Friday and Saturday from McCandless, of the Southern Police Institute, and Chief Heustis, of Louisville. They are out on a trip to the larger Southern cities to find more applicants from the big places.

They very kindly paid our office a visit, and Mr. Harold Fleming, of the Council staff, had a lengthy conversation with them and was helpful in getting suitable newspaper coverage of their visit to Atlanta.

Fleming said they are going about their job with real devotion to the central purpose of better human relations, but with a fine and balanced skill in promoting police training in general.

I recall that the Carnegie Corporation helped the Institute substantially, and I thought you would like our testimony as to the wisdom and value of that investment.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

August 7, 1951

Col. David A. McCandless
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Colonel McCandless:

In case you have not seen it, I enclose a copy of Ben Price's story, which appeared in the Sunday Atlanta Journal-Constitution. (I gather the picture was taken by the local newspaper's photographer.) The story went out on the Southern wire of the Associated Press, though I don't know how widely it was used.

Dr. Mitchell saw Ralph McGill last week, discussed the Institute with him, and left him various of your materials. McGill indicated that he thought the Institute would be a good subject for one of his columns. I will send you a copy if it appears.

I greatly enjoyed my talk with you and Chief Heustis, and I am sure your whirl-wind tour did a lot of good.

We will be in touch with you soon about the matter of the police pamphlet which Dr. Mitchell mentioned to you in your telephone conversation. Meanwhile, all best wishes for the continued success of the Institute.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:bj
Encl.

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

DAVID A. McCANDLESS
DIRECTOR

August 17, 1951

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On my return to the city from southern trip I left immediately for Chicago to attend Professor Inbau's Conference for Prosecuting Attorneys. Hence my delay in answering your kind letter of 7 August. I want to express my deep gratitude and appreciation for the kindnesses extended by you to Colonel Heustis and myself while in Atlanta. We appreciate also the fine article written by Bem Price. I hope it has been picked up throughout the South.

Our southern trip was very successful although it was very hectic. I know you will be delighted to know that Chief Jenkins has mailed in two applications, with the request that both be accepted for the Fall Term. I am sure that we have received help from you and Dr. Mitchell somewhere along the line. Applications are coming in from other cities, including Birmingham and Mobile, Alabama.

I appreciate the fact that Dr. Mitchell has talked to Ralph McGill for us. I am very interested in meeting Mr. McGill personally and hope I can come down to Atlanta some time this Fall for conferences with him and your own officials.

With kind personal regards to you and to Mr. Mitchell, I am

Sincerely,

David A. McCandless

David A. McCandless, Director

DAMc:c

STATE GOVERNMENT

THE MAGAZINE OF STATE AFFAIRS

VOLUME XXIV AUGUST, 1951 NUMBER 8

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STATE GOVERNMENT is published monthly by the Council of State Governments, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois. It is a forum for the discussion of governmental problems of interest to its readers. The views expressed by its contributors are not necessarily the views of the Council of State Governments.

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FRANK SMOTHERS
Editor

M. CLAIR COTTERILL
Assistant Editor

The Southern Police Institute

By David A. McCandless*

Director of the Institute, University of Louisville

In the last two decades significant advances have been made in criminology. Pre-employment training programs for students interested in seeking a career in the law enforcement field are currently offered in twenty American universities and colleges. In-service programs for the professional training of officers on active duty with law enforcement agencies are included in the curricula of other universities and colleges. Many of the latter specialize in a particular field of criminology.[1] Others present comprehensive, over-all training programs.[2] Both types are directed in the main toward the practicing law enforcement officer.

The need for schools offering such training long has been recognized. Law enforcement agencies throughout the country have become increasingly aware of the value of highly trained personnel. As this recognition grows, new schools will be required in order to meet the increased demand.

The Southern Police Institute was established at the University of Louisville to meet the need for higher training for law enforcement officers in the southern part of the United States. It is the Institute's aim to provide a course of study of an advanced nature which will give training on a regional basis; which will help student officers reach an understanding of their common problems and receive specialized guidance toward their solution; which will elevate police standards and develop command, supervisory, and administrative police personnel. The enrollment is limited to twenty-five law enforcement officers on active duty in city, county, or State units of government and five representatives from Federal Government agencies and private industry. Although preference is given to commanding and administrative officers in the southern area, the Institute expects to admit in each term one or more student officers from other sections.

Each law enforcement officer selected is given an expense scholarship consisting of a cash allowance to cover travel and living expenses while attending the Institute. The Institute makes no charge to these officers for tuition. Representatives of the Federal Government and industry are accepted only on a tuition-paying basis and are not eligible for the scholarships.

A school term of twelve weeks is offered three times annually, beginning respectively in January, April, and September. Classes are held from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Monday through Friday each week. Upon satisfactory completion of the training program, certificates are awarded to the members of the class.

The curriculum has been planned carefully, with the purpose of presenting as comprehensive a course in police science and administration as is consistent with available time. During each twelve-week term the students receive 420 hours of instruction in the following subjects:

COURSES	HOURS
Police Organization and Administration	21
Departmental Standards — Ethics	
Leadership and Morale — Report Writing	
Police Records — Modus Operandi	
Police Personnel Administration	18
Function of Personnel Agency	
Joint Activities of Police Department and Personnel Agency	
Socio-Legal Problems of the Southern Region	20
Worldwide and Neighborhood Aspects of Human Relations	
Background of Racial, National, and Religious Tensions	
Social Situations in which Tensions Arise	
Role of the Police in Dealing with Tensions	
Law and Administrative Controls as they Affect Human Relations	
Statutes and Court Decisions as they Affect Human Relations	
Public Relations and Publicity	
Human Behavior	26
Adolescent Development; Problems	
Adult Development; Problems	
Reactions to Stress	
Character Disorders	
Psychopathic Personalities	
Field Trip; Mental Clinic, Louisville General Hospital	
Criminal Law, Evidence, and Procedure	26
Interrogation of Suspects and Witnesses	10
Criminal Investigative Procedure in:	28
Homicides — Narcotic Law Violations	
Burglaries — Forged and Worthless Checks	
Sex Crimes — Auto Thefts	
Robberies — Assaults	
Larcenies — Arson	
Counterfeiting	

* Before becoming Director of the Institute, Mr. McCandless was a State Senator in Kentucky, Assistant City Attorney and subsequently Director of Public Safety, City of Louisville.

[1] For example, the excellent Traffic Institute, Northwestern University, and Delinquency Control Institute, University of Southern California.

[2] The most notable (not connected with a university or college) is the National Academy, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C.

COURSES		HOURS
Scientific Aids to Investigation:		46
Physical Analysis of Evidence	Photography	
Chemical Analysis of Evidence	Fingerprints	
Drunk-O-Meter	Lie Detector	
Firearms Identification and Explosives	Questioned Documents	
Commercialized Vice		8
Jurisdiction and Cooperative Function of other Government Agencies		9
Personal Identification		30
Regional Planning for the Police Emergency		5
Tactical Maps and Overlays	Air-Ground Coordination	
	Road Blockades	
Alert Sequences		
Field Problems in Police Tactics		12
Police Combat Methods and Safety Techniques		35
Self Defense and Physical Education		20
Role of the Police in Civilian Defense		8
Traffic		40
Accident Prevention Bureau	Engineering	
Accident Investigation	Enforcement	
Records and Analysis	Education	
Juvenile Delinquency (Police Crime Prevention Bureaus)		24
Alcoholism		4
Public Speaking		15
Training and Teaching Techniques		15
		420

Training at the Institute is based primarily on the visiting lecturer method of instruction. During each twelve-week term approximately forty-five visiting lecturers and technicians, drawn from among outstanding authorities in the field of Criminology, are brought to the Institute. Instruction by them is through the medium of lectures, demonstrations, field trips, visual aids, simulated incidents, and classroom discussions.

Among nationally known specialists who have appeared at the Institute are Professor Fred E. Inbau, Northwestern University School of Law; Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, Chairman of the Illinois State Division of Correction; Ordway Hilton, Examiner of Questioned Documents, New York City; Dr. Allen R. Moritz, Professor of Pathology, Western Reserve University; Dr. Russell Fisher, Chief Medical Examiner, State of Maryland; Dr. C. W. Muehlberger, Director of the Michigan Crime Detection Laboratory; Captain John I. Howe, Chicago Police Department; James Slavin, Assistant Director, Training Division, The Traffic Institute, Northwestern University; Dr. Ralph T. Overman, Chairman, Special Training Division, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies; Dr. Donald Smith, Senior Scientist, Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies; Professor George Dession, Yale University School of Law; Virgil W. Peterson, Operating Director, Chicago Crime Commission; Captain Don L. Kooken, Chairman, Department of Police Administration, Indiana University; Professor Donal E. J. MacNamara, Assistant Director, New York Institute of Criminology; Dr. Wilmer Souder, Consultant, National Bureau of Standards; Dr. Rollo N. Harger, Chairman, Department of Biochemistry and Toxicology, Indiana University School of Medicine; Lieutenant Robert F. Borkenstein, Chief Technician, Indiana State Police; Tom A. Burke, Director of Local Safety Programs, National Safety Council; Emory J. Smith, Legal Representative, The International Association for Identification; and E. F. Ricketts, Field Supervisor, Public Administration Service.

Class sessions at the Southern Police Institute are informal. Students are encouraged to exchange ideas among themselves and are given opportunities for leadership. The classroom is rather unique in its beauty of design, combined with the latest facilities for visual aid instruction. Its features include walls of weld-tex paneling, acoustical tile ceiling, and rubber tile flooring. Thirty upholstered, tablet-arm chairs are arranged in four semicircular rows facing a platform ten inches high, behind which is a recessed blackboard with four sliding panels for class use. Between the windows are built-in book cases, and around the walls in the rear, divans and chairs for visiting observers.

The Institute opened its first term on January 3 this year, with seven states represented in its enrollment. During the twelve-week term, the interest and enthusiasm of the student officers maintained a high level.

At the close of the period a newspaper reporter asked several students to tell what they considered the one most important thing they had received from attendance. The answers varied thus: "A new concept of organization and administration, with emphasis on efficient and proper utilization of available man-power." "A better understanding of the importance of a balanced training program which includes instruction in police ethics and the principles of law and evidence." "A new insight into criminology, which is a common stumbling block of police officers, and fuller appreciation of the fact that crooks are getting smarter, and that officers must keep step if they are to detect crime and combat it successfully." "The importance of scientific investigation of crime and intelligent questioning of suspects and witnesses in criminal cases." "Seeing demonstrated police paraphernalia and procedures about which I had only heard before, and realizing the necessity for each individual officer to acquire thorough understanding of all phases of police work."

Asked specially concerning the Institute, a Lieutenant of State Police in a southern State remarked: "If kept up over the years it will raise the standard

(Concluded on Page 220)

Unemployment Benefit Allowances for Dependents

(Concluded from Page 217)

three; and 9.1 per cent, four or more (Table 3). Among the States, these distributions differed significantly, reflecting limitations on the maximum weekly allowance and differences in the scope of the provisions and definitions of dependency. The high proportion of eligible beneficiaries who had three or more dependents in Alaska (47.9 per cent) and Arizona (37.8 per cent) partially reflects the absence of any restrictions on allowances up to three dependents. These two jurisdictions, moreover, provide allowances for both dependent children and adults. In North Dakota, which makes no provision for adult dependents, the corresponding proportion was close to that in Arizona—35.3 per cent. The high proportion of eligible beneficiaries in Arizona and North Dakota who had three dependents, undoubtedly resulted in part from their liberal definition of dependent children. In addition, these three jurisdictions provide allowances for children under 18. This factor probably is of less significance than other differences.

Average Weekly Allowance

The average weekly allowance during October–December 1950 was $4.13, representing an addition of 18.3 per cent to the average basic benefit of $22.55 of these beneficiaries (Table 4).

The average weekly allowance varied among the States, ranging from $1.53 in the District of Columbia to $9.88 in Alaska, where allowances increased the basic weekly benefit of their recipients by 10.4 and 40.5 per cent, respectively (Table 4). These disparities resulted from the differences both in the amount of the allowance per dependent and in the proportion of eligible beneficiaries who had one or more dependents.

Average Increase in Benefit Costs

Although dependents' allowances increased the average basic benefit of those receiving an allowance by 18.3 per cent, this increase when spread over all beneficiaries, including those eligible and ineligible, raised total benefit costs in these eleven States on the average by 3.7 per cent (Table 4). The percentage increase in total benefit costs, which ranged from 1.1 per cent in the District of Columbia to 12.2 per cent in Arizona, nevertheless was substantially less than the percentage increase in the basic benefit of persons receiving an allowance (Table 4). The increase in total benefit costs varied among the States with the amount allowed per dependent, but more significantly with the proportion of all beneficiaries eligible for an allowance and with the percentage of those qualifying for an allowance who had one or more dependents.

Thus dependents' benefits offer a method of increasing the weekly benefit of those in greatest need because of their family responsibilities without incurring a proportionate increase in total benefit expenditure.

Southern Police Institute

(Concluded from Page 213)

of police work in the South. We have our own problems, and it is well that we have an Institute devoted to them."

Officers from State police forces have attended both the first and second classes of the Institute. They were excellent students and have returned to training duties in their own departments. It is hoped and expected that all subsequent classes will include representatives of our State governments.

The trend toward greater emphasis on training is unmistakable in all sections of the country. Heads of law enforcement agencies are giving their personnel every opportunity to attend schools in the field—and alert State and municipal administrators are encouraging this attitude. The end result is better policing and increased professionalization of the forces. For the public this means more effective enforcement of the law and prevention of crime.

REORGANIZING STATE GOVERNMENT

Summarizes the principles on which past state governmental reorganizations have been based. Describes the present patterns of administrative organization. Reviews recent reports of study commissions and groups in individual states on reorganization, with their recommendations.

159 pages **June, 1950** **Price $2.00**

Order from

THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

1313 East 60th Street **Chicago 37, Illinois**

NEWS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
FROM THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
BELKNAP CAMPUS - LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY
Telephone CA. 2531 CA. 4108

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The 1951 Fall Term of the Southern Police Institute, at the University of Louisville, opens on Monday, September 24. Included in the student body are two officers from the Illinois State Police, the first representatives of any department outside the southern area which the Southern Police Institute primarily serves. Altogether 10 states are included in the enrollment for the class. The names of the officers selected, and their states are as shown on the attached list.

The following students from attended previous terms of the Institute.

Our geographical distribution for the incoming class is the best to date.

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE

Roster of Class for Fall Term

September 24, 1951

Alabama:	Lt. Edward O. Ryals	Montgomery
	Sgt. Morgan L. Wray	Montgomery
	Sgt. J. V. Rawlings	Birmingham
Arkansas:	Sgt. M. H. Allen	Little Rock
Florida:	Sgt. Robert W. Johnston	Fort Lauderdale
	Sgt. Wm. H. McClamma	Clearwater
Georgia:	Lt. J. L. Tuggle	Atlanta
	Sgt. James L. Moseley	Atlanta
	Officer Laurie Pritchett	Griffin
Illinois:	Officer Dallas T. Shelton	Illinois State Police
	Officer Paul M. Zimmerman	Illinois State Police
Kentucky:	Capt. Wm. E. Bindner	Louisville
	Lt. Robert E. Creager, Sr.	Louisville
	Lt. Lawrence C. Timberlake	Louisville
	Lt. Joseph Megerle	Covington
	Sgt. Wm. D. Carpenter	Lexington
	Sgt. B. L. Sherrard	Kentucky State Police
	Officer Myron E. Marrs	Jefferson County Police
Louisiana:	Chief W. E. Boyd	Bogalusa
S. Carolina:	Detective Karl W. Karst	Charleston
	Officer Rufus A. Shealy	Columbia
Virginia:	Capt. Robert C. McNutt	Bristol
West Virginia:	Detective John Fenimore, Jr.	South Charleston

Announcement of 1951-52 Terms

Southern Police Institute

LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

The Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, announces its 1951-52 terms:

Fall Term: September 24, 1951 - December 14, 1951
Winter Term: January 2, 1952 - March 21, 1952
Spring Term: March 31, 1952 - June 20, 1952

ELIGIBILITY

Applicants must be full-time law enforcement officers on active duty, with a minimum service of one year in a municipal, county, or state unit of government. Preference will be given to applicants holding commanding, supervisory or administrative positions in the Southern part of the United States.

SCHOLARSHIPS

A cash scholarship of $325 will be awarded to each applicant who is accepted by the Selection Committee. This is to cover travel, tuition, and living expenses while in school.

APPLICATION BLANKS

For full information apply to David A. McCandless, Director Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, Louisville 8, Kentucky, through your own Chief of Police or Commissioner of Safety.

APPLICATIONS FOR EACH TERM MUST BE RECEIVED AT LEAST THIRTY DAYS IN ADVANCE OF TERM OPENING.

SOUTHERN POLICE INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

Application for Consideration as Department Representative

POLICE SCIENCE AND ADMINISTRATION COURSE

Fall Class - September, 24, 1951 to December 14, 1951.
Winter Class - January 2, 1952 to March 21, 1952.
Spring Class - March 31, 1952 to June 20, 1952.

Application for Fall Class must be received by August 18, 1951

ELIGIBILITY--Applicants must be full-time law enforcement officers on active duty with a minimum service of one year in a municipal, county, or state unit of government. Preference will be given to applicants holding commanding, supervisory or administrative positions in the Southern part of the United States.

Mr. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Belknap Campus
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Sir:

I hereby submit the Application of ..... as a representative of this department for SCHOLARSHIP AWARD and admission to the course in POLICE SCIENCE AND ADMINISTRATION in the _____ class. If he is selected to attend the course, he will be: (1) Assigned to the Southern Police Institute as a representative of this department for full-time resident study, (2) Granted a leave of absence or equivalent temporary status covering the period of the course, during which his regular salary will be continued, and (3) Will be returned to active service upon completion of the training.

Signed.....

Title.....
(Chief of Police, Commissioner, Supt.)

Department.....

APPLICATION DATA

I hereby apply for admission as a representative of my department to the _____ class for the course in Police Science and Administration conducted by the Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville, and for Scholarship Award ($325.00 Scholarship to meet living and travelling expenses). I understand admission is on a competitive basis and limited to those named by a Selection Committee. If accepted as a student, I agree to devote full time to study. I certify that I will return to active duty in my department upon completion of the course and that it is my firm intention to remain in law enforcement service for at least two years. I also certify that the information given in this application is correct.

ATTACH HERE

HEAD AND SHOULDER PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN UNIFORM WITHIN PAST 30 DAYS.

Signed.....

Name.....
(Please Print or Type)

Rank.....

Representing.....Department

Department Address.....

Home Address.....

.....

All correspondence relating to my application should be sent to me at: .....

POLICE SERVICE DATA

Joined department _____ By Civil Service and Competitive Examination (yes-no-other)

Total Active Service _____ Years _____ Months. Active Service interrupted by (state reason)

_____

Present assignment consists of: _____

_____

Previous assignments and duties in department: _____

_____

Promotions received, and dates made: _____

_____

Have you served previously in any other police organization? _____

(If "yes", answer the following) Organization _____

Date of Appointment _____ Date of Separation _____

Highest Rank attained _____ Type of duty _____

Reason for separation _____

EDUCATION AND TRAINING DATA

What was the highest grade completed in school? _____

SCHOOLS ATTENDED	DATES		NAME OF SCHOOL	CITY AND STATE
	TO	FROM		
Grade School				
High School				
University or College				
Other				

Certificates, diplomas or degrees received: _____

_____

How many hours of police recruit training have you received? _____

How many hours of in-service police training have you received? _____

What police training schools outside your department have you attended? _____
(Name, course, dates, and by whom conducted)

_____

PERSONAL DATA

Date of birth _____ Place of birth _____ Race _____

Height _____ Weight _____ Marital Status _____ Number of dependents _____

Military Service _____

Record of employment other than police since age 21. Give dates, employers, and type of work performed. _____

_____

_____

Have you ever been a defendant before a police trial board, court martial or criminal court? If so, attach a statement giving full particulars.

SUBMIT A DETAILED REPORT OF A MEDICAL EXAMINATION GIVEN BY A DOCTOR. This must accompany Application.

U of Kentucky
Black Institute

November 24, 1952

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Dr. Parrish:

I greatly appreciate that kind letter from you of November 9. And Goodness knows, our treasurer seized on the ten dollars.

I do think I had a successful effort with the labor group in Florida. I took them over all the bumps--FEPC, segregation in the schools, and the works. And two-thirds of them stayed with me pretty well. I never knew a time when I had to reach farther within myself for the resources for dealing with a group of people, and it was a joy to feel at the end that I had got something over to them. These remarks in confidence to you!

I trust you saw the picture of yourself in the November 8 SATURDAY EVENING POST.

Glad to have all your other items of good news.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

November 9, 1952

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

As usual, I am delinquent in answering my correspondence but I do not recall a time when I have been so far behind in my membership dues to SRC. I am, therefore, sending herewith a check for ten dollars. KS- I am sorry it cannot be more.

The Board of Directors of the Louisville Urban League received an enthusiastic report of your good work in the labor conference held recently in your area. It was exciting to know that you will teach on our campus next summer.

I am pleased to report that integration at the U of L is continuing smoothly but it is becoming more and more embarrassing for me to be spotlighted as the "first Negro professor". All at once, without a major scholarly contribution to my credit, I have become a "distinguished sociologist." It is a wonder my colleagues don't find me insufferable.

The Southern Police Institute has its first Negro student, Lt. Edwards of the Louisville Police Department. Other members of the class have accepted him without question, which in itself is an achievement.

Again, I wish to apologize for my rudeness in not answering your letter sooner. I will try to do better next time.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish

C. H. Parrish

card sent
11/11/52
KS

Police Institute
Miami

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

November 26, 1952

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1952
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I have just sent to the business office a requisition for "materials" in the amount of $3.75. I am sure it will come through to you.

You'll be glad to know that we not only survived the fourteen clock hours of instruction with the Police Academy Cadets, but that we have been invited to give another course in the spring term of the Academy with the time extended to twenty clock hours. We have also had two all-afternoon sessions with the lieutenants, captains and sargeants. In addition, we have been encouraged that the City of Miami has invited us (Fred and me) to give a six-session (two hours) course to personnel supervisors. The course ends on this coming Friday and on Monday, we begin a repeat performance for other personnel supervisors in the city. We feel that our progress so far has been solid and that a lot of good will come out of it. We have tried to take a step at a time and feel as though we have taken several large steps.

Your reference to the Savannah situation was most helpful. I talked to a churchfull of white and Negro people on an unsegregated basis Sunday morning. I was put up at the Whitney Hotel, taken to lunch by Dr. Jack Anderson, entertained at supper by Dr. and Mrs. Bland Tucker (Christ Episcopal), and on Monday morning I worked with a group of some thirty or forty ministers, both Negro and white, at the Episcopal parish house. We had good talk and refreshments without even a hint of segregation. The thing that was most thrilling to me was that then and there they moved, seconded, and appointed a committee to set up an inter-racial ministerial group among the Protestants in Savannah.

Of course, I am not naive enough to expect that this action will necessarily result in a working organization, but I am thrilled that some specific action took place during the week-end in Savannah. I met Rev. George Clary briefly at the meeting Monday and then talked with him on the telephone and will write to him tomorrow. He seems to be a fine chap and seems to be very much interested in your organization and is trying to do some good work in Savannah.

Fred tells me you had a great meeting in St. Petersburg, to a considerable extent because of the presence of one George S. Mitchell. Fred is sitting across the desk and at this point will dictate his choice thoughts in this letter.

Sincerely,

M.A.F. Ritchie, Chairman
Department of Human Relations

Brother George:

Greetings from the Deep South. It was really great to be with you in St. Pete and to share again our thoughts on the progress of the South. I await with anticipation the list of "white" colleges that now have Negro students in attendance. Upon receipt of this list, we shall seek to have letters written to the president of the student body of each school regarding their feelings on how the integration is working out.

Sent Dec-1 E.C.

From St. Pete I went to Gainesville and saw the University of Florida defeat us 43 to 6. In spite of this my overall spirits are high because of the happy association we had in St. Petersburg.

Your country cousin,

Fred

Frederick B. Routh

jj

28-Police Training

Police

Impt

C O N T E N T S

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INTRODUCTION

The proposal for a Police Training Institute at the University of Louisville came from Dr. Joseph Lohman, Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago and a consultant in police training, during a visit to consult with the Louisville Division of Police on training for police work with minority groups. He suggested that the Institute serve the states in the Southern United States and give emphasis to the police problems peculiar to the South. At a meeting of police and university officials on February 18, 1949, the proposal was given tentative approval.* It was agreed that Louisville was in a strategic socio-geographical position to serve the Southern states through a Police Training Institute. The present committee, composed of two representatives of the University of Louisville and two captains in the Louisville Division of Police, was appointed to study the proposal and draw up a working plan.

The following pages present the detailed findings and recommendations of the study committee, made after a period of fact-finding and group discussions on the need for a Police Training Institute, the organization and methods that should be employed in the training program, and the amount of financial support necessary.

The broad finding of the study committee is that there is a need for a Police Training Institute at the University of Louisville to serve the states in the Southern region of the United States. It is recommended that such an Institute be established to conduct three course a year of twelve weeks duration for twenty-five police officers a term. The proper provision for personnel, equipment and supplies, and scholarships would amount to an outlay of $301,250.00 for an initial period of operation of five years. It is recommended that immediate steps be taken to secure a grant for the establishment of the Police Training Institute from private foundations concerned with social-political progress in the South.

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*Those present at the committee meeting were Dr. Joseph Lohman; Dr. John W. Taylor, President, University of Louisville; Col. David A. McCandless, Director of Public Safety of the City of Louisville; Mr. Roy Owsley, Administrative Assistant to the Mayor of Louisville; Chief of Police Carl Heustis; Capt. William Kiefer, Superintendent of the Crime Prevention Bureau; Dean A. C. Russell of the School of Law of the University; Mr. Woodrow Strickler, Director of the Extension Division of the University; Mr. Charles T. Steele, Executive Secretary of the Urban League.

The study committee believes that the present need in the South is for short courses to reach selected police officers in administrative, supervisory, and training positions, and that the time has not arrived for the establishment of a four year curriculum as a regular part of the university curriculum. An institute reaching seventy-five police officers a year from the various parts of the South would point the way toward the ultimate goal of the professionalization of the police. A broad course covering not only the essentials of police science but also embracing law, administration, and sociology would contribute to the assumption by states and localities, instead of the federal government, of leadership in solving southern problems of legal justice for all segments of the community. Although police work with racial minorities would be only part of the curriculum of the training course, the need for increased police knowledge in that sphere is one of the important reasons why a southern police institute should be established. Gunnar Myrdal concluded after studying the racial problems of the South:

> "It is my conviction that one of the most potent strategic measures to improve the Southern inter-racial situation would be the opening of a pioneering modern police college in the South, which would give a thorough social and pedagogical training as well as a technical police training. The typical Southern policeman is a promoted poor white with a legal sanction to use a weapon. He is low paid and insecure, economically and socially. His social heritage has taught him to despise the Negroes. He has had little education which could have changed him; his experiences as a policeman have been such as only to make him still more prejudiced and sometimes corrupt. This man is, however, performing a crucial function towards the Negro community, by representing white society and the law of the land. The effects are truly disastrous. I have stated it as my conviction that as far as the cultural and social adjustment of the Negroes are concerned, the Southern police system is undoing much of what Northern philanthropy and Southern state government are trying to accomplish through education and by other means. Could police standards in the South be raised--of education, specialized police training, independence of local politics, salary and social prestige--some of the most morbid tensions in the unhappy region would be lessened.
>
> Legislators now take it for granted that teachers and social workers ought to have a college degree; a

a college education should be even more urgantly required for fulfilling the duties of a police officer. He should, for one thing, have some understanding of the wider aims of crime prevention. He should know the society which he is serving. He should have an understanding of its problems, its ideals, and its trends. He should be something of an educator and something of a social worker at the same time that he is the arm of the law. Even in the much superior police systems of the North too little interest has been given to social and educational viewpoints in the training of police officers; and, as a result, the policeman in America is not liked and trusted as he rightly ought to be. The policeman's task is much more difficult in the South. It is my belief that in the changing South the graduates from such a school should not need to fear unemployment. I have been told that in recent years increasingly Southern cities begin to employ Negro policemen. This shows a growing understanding of the crucial character of the problem. But the most important thing is not whether the policeman is white or black, but is that he is a thoroughly competent man for his most difficult task."*

The opportunity is at hand for a Southern community to take the initiative in that direction. It is believed that the following plan can implement Myrdal's important recommendation.

OBJECTIVES OF THE INSTITUTE

The members of the Committee decided that the Police Training Institute at the University of Louisville should be designated to meet the need for police training in the Southern part of the nation (specifically, in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia). The objectives of the Institute have been worked out as follows:

1. To provide police training for communities in the Southern Region where such training would otherwise be unavailable, either because of inertia or because

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*Gunnar Mydral, "Social Trends in America and Strategic Approaches to the Negro Problem," Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture, IX (1948), p. 209.

of the absence of adequate facilities. This purpose would be accomplished by training police personnel for recruit schools, in-service training, and supervisory duties in the local community.

2. To augment existing facilities by providing advanced training for key officers in the local departments.

3. To professionalize policing by providing trained police officers in all areas of the region.

4. To provide training relating to the special problems in the field of policing in the Southeastern section of the United States. Sociological, anthropological, and psychological information will be included in the course of study.

5. To broaden the perspective of supervisory officials in the various local departments by making possible their association with alert leaders in well-managed and progressive departments.

6. To advance policing methods by enlisting the aid of scientists and experts in other fields who will devote guided attention to specific problems in this particular field. New standards will be established.

7. To increase the confidence of the local community in their police officers, because of the public's realization that local officers are also trained officers.

8. To improve the administration of police departments by providing training in management for officials charged with the performance of supervisory functions and for police officers who may rise to those ranks.

9. To maintain efficient law enforcement without infringing on the basic rights of the individual guaranteed by the federal constitution and by state constitutions and laws.

10. To develop public interest in the maintenance of a professional as distinguished from a political police department.

11. To stimulate interest on the part of local departments in keeping abreast of scientific developments in law enforcement methods.

12. To lay the foundation for the eventual establishment under the auspices of the Institute of a Police Science Laboratory with the most modern equipment and highly trained technicians to serve the Southern Region.

13. To provide a setting in which plans for research can be formulated, looking forward to the eventual establishment of research program in police science, both in technical and sociological aspects. Such research would be conducted on generic and applied levels.

TRAINING IN POLICE DEPARTMENTS IN SOUTHERN CITIES

Questionnaires were sent to police departments in the 110 cities of 15,000 population or more in eleven southern states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia). A total of 93, or 85 per cent, were returned. The majority were answered by chiefs of police, but some of the replies came from officers in charge of police training in their departments. The results were as follows:

		Response		
	Question	yes	no	other
1.	Do you have a police training school?	57	34	2
2.	Do you have in-service training for patrolmen?	73	17	3
3.	Do you have training periods for promotional examinations?	8	82	3
4.	Do you have a training school for commanding officers and administrative officers?	20	71	2
5.	Is there a need for a training school for commanding and administrative officers?	80	7	6
6.	Would the states in the Southern region support a police academy for training police personnel in teaching and administrative law enforcement techniques?	52	9	32*

*Includes 16 replies of "?", 6 replies of "doubtful", 10 did not answer the question.

The replies indicate that some type of police school for recruits exists in 61 per cent of the departments replying and that there is some degree of in-service training for partolmen in 78 per cent. Training for commanding officers and administrative officers exists in only 22 per cent of the departments replying, although 86 per cent think such training is needed. In regard to whether it was believed the Southern region would support a police academy for training in teaching and administrative law enforcement techniques, 56 per cent answered in the affirmative, 10 per cent in the negative, and 34 per cent were doubtful or did not answer the question.

These replies show that the majority of cities in the eleven states recognize the need for police training and have made a start in training within the police departments, but that such training programs are by no means universal and usually do not include the higher ranks. More than one-half of the departments already interested in the idea of a regional police academy and it is believed that most of the remainder would respond favorably to a more detailed interpretation of such a program.

POLICE TRAINING BY COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE SOUTH

A survey was made of colleges and universities in the eleven southern states covered by the inquiry into training by police departments. It was found that no colleges or universities in the eleven states offer resident police training as a regular part of the four year curriculum. Extension type programs under university auspices have been experimented with in two states in the past, and a third state university currently offers short training courses to police personnel in the state. The extension Division of the University of Tennessee held two day institutes for state and local police in 1944, 1945, and 1946, in cooperation with the F.B.I. The Extension Division of the University of Florida held a four weeks institute for police officers in 1937, and currently offers study materials to police departments desiring them. A well-developed extension type program is carried on by the Institute of Government of the University of North Carolina. Study material and training courses from three to thirty days in length is offered city, county, and state law enforcement officers; the F.B.I. has cooperated closely with the work.

POLICE TRAINING IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES OUTSIDE OF THE SOUTH

There was no attempt to make a systematic study of police training outside of the eleven states in the South selected as the area that should be served by the Institute. However, a great deal of information was secured by writing to police

training officials in colleges and universities where training was known to exist. Several universities offer programs in police science leading to the bachelor's degree upon the completion of the usual four year period, and graduate work is possible in a few institutions. Among these four year courses as part of the regular curriculum of the institution are those at Michigan State College, Washington State College, Indiana University, University of Wichita, and in the State of California at San Jose State College, Visalina College, and Fresno State College.

Bulletins and syllabi were secured about these bachelor degree courses. It was the strong impression after perusal of the material that the four year courses are still of a pioneering nature, that student enrollment has been limited, and that the time has by no means been reached in the professionalization of police work to embark on such a four year program at the University of Louisville.* Incidentally, it was noticed that the most successful of the courses were those sponsored by and affiliated with a police system, either state police or local department.

Individual courses, institutes, and extension courses as a special part of the curriculum are offered outside of the Southern Region, some regularly and others at irregular times, by a number of colleges and universities. Among these are the University of California, Topeka University, Harvard University, Purdue University, University of Cincinnati, Ohio State University, Swarthmore College, City College of New York, Texas A. and M., Rutgers University, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Southern California, and Northwestern University

The two institutes which have appeared to the committee as the most similar to the organizational type suitable for the Police Training Institute at the University of Louisville are two institutes offering specialized police instruction: (1) the Delinquency Control Institute at the University of Southern California, a twelve weeks course offered three times a year for instruction in police juvenile delinquency work,

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* After reaching this conclusion the committee found that a University of Minnesota Committee had made the same negative findings about four year collegiate training. Although this study was made in 1937 in another state the thinking of the committee is pertinent to the present question of college training for police work. The Minnesota committee recommended short extension courses in police science and the establishment of a Police Science Laboratory by the University of Minnesota. See Survey of Police Training, University of Minnesota, 1937, pp. 3-10.

and (2) the Traffic Institute at Northwestern University, offering a sixteen weeks course in traffic control twice a year. Both of these institutes are sponsored by police organizations although offered under the auspices of universities, have an adequate and trained staff, and have good financial support. A definite curriculum and certificates upon graduation are offered. Although there are no formal educational requirements for admission.

There are two national organizations offering technical advice and assistance to police training courses in educational institutions: the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the Association of College Police Training Officials. The latter organization was established in 1945 to set standards for college training courses in police science and to work toward the professionalization of the police. Correspondence has been carried on with both of these organizations and full cooperation has been offered.

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

No study of police training would be complete without mentioning the great contribution that has been made to police departments throughout the country by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The F.B.I. National Police Academy was created in 1935 to train representatives of local, county, and state law enforcement agencies as police instructors and administrators. Three sessions of twelve weeks each are held annually at Washington, D. C. No tuition is charged but the student or the respective police department must meet the personal expenses of attendance. A second phase of F.B.I. training is the supplying of instructors and equipment to police departments conducting their own recruit schools or in-service training. Consultation service on the training problems and needs of particular police departments is also available. These services are given without cost.

The F.B.I. is interested in the study of the possibility of police training at the University of Louisville. A letter offering full cooperation in the venture has been received from Director J. Edgar Hoover, and it was followed up by a visit from the Special Agent in charge of the Louisville office, Mr. Fred Hallford.

ORGANIZATION, POLICIES, AND CURRICULUM OF THE INSTITUTE

Name

Police Training Institute, University of Louisville

Sponsoring Organizations

The University of Louisville and the Division of Police of the City of Louisville.

Organization

The Police Training Institute is planned as an autonomous unit within the organization of the University of Louisville. It will be subject to the administrative direction of the President of the University and subject to the final control of the Board of Trustees of the University. The Institute shall be established by action of the Board of Trustees and its continuation shall lie within the jurisdiction of the Board.

A Policy Board of nine members to serve overlapping terms of three years each shall be appointed as follows: three faculty members by the President of the University of Louisville, three police officers by the Director of Public Safety of the City of Louisville, and three representatives of the general public to be elected by the membership. The membership shall elect a chairman who will serve a term of three years. The Director of the Institute shall serve as Executive Secretary of the Policy Board.

The Policy Board shall determine the policies and instructional scope and methods of the Institute, subject to the approval of the President and the Board of Trustees of the University, and shall have such other duties as are hereinafter specified.

Staff

The full-time staff of the Institute shall consist of a Director, an instructor, and a secretary.

The Director shall have been graduated from a recognized college or university, or shall have an equivalent education, shall have had comprehensive and progressive experience in the police field of not less than five years, of which not less than one year shall have been spent in supervisory, training or administrative duties, and shall have administrative experience or the potentiality for administration. The Director will be selected by the Policy Board, with the approval of the President of the University, and the President shall make the appointment. The Director shall have the responsibility for the administrative direction of the program of the Institute, including the recruitment of students.

The part-time staff of the Institute shall consist of such instructors, technicians, and demonstrators as are necessary to assist in the instructional program, appointed by the Director.

Admission Policies

An applicant for admission to the school must (1) be a police officer in active service in a city, county, or state unit of government, (2) have had one year's police experience, (3) have his application approved by the head of his department, or in case of chiefs of police, by the authority with the power of appointments, (4) be assured of a leave of absence (or equivalent temporary special status) with full pay during the period of training, (5) have the statement of his superior that he will be returned to active service upon completion of the course, (6) agree to return to his department and remain in its employ at least two years, and (7) be in good health and physically fit. Preference shall be given to applicants holding training, supervisory or administrative positions. The Policy Board of the Institute shall make the final selection of students to attend the school from applicants approved by the Director.

Instruction and Accreditation

Courses of instruction will be planned to meet the objectives of the Institute. Each student will be examined and graded in such manner that will ascertain whether he is maintaining a satisfactory level of learning. A certificate shall be awarded for the satisfactory completion of the course of study.

Size of Classes

Each class shall consist of not more than twenty-five students.

Length of Course

The course will consist of an instructional period of twelve weeks. There will be three such courses each year, beginning in September, January, and April, with intervals of two weeks between the courses ending in December and March. This will leave a period of three months each year; one month for staff vacations, and two months for intensive recruiting activities and instructional preparation.

Scholarships

Each applicant accepted by the Institute shall be awarded a scholarship by the Institute covering the round trip cost of transportation to Louisville and a stipend of $400.00 to cover costs of maintenance during the twelve weeks training course.

Curriculum

It was determined that the course of study in the school should consist of the following ten areas of instruction. The emphasis and length of time to be given each was discussed, but it was not deemed practicable to give such details at this stage of planning. The curriculum suggested is based on subject matter important for the higher ranks of police officers to be served and with attention to the particular needs of the Southern Region.

1. Legal Aspects of Police Administration
2. Police Organization and Administration
3. Socio-legal Problems of the Southern Region
4. Crime Prevention and Juvenile Delinquency
5. Teaching and In-service Training Methods
6. Scientific Investigation and Identification
7. Criminal Psychology and Sociology
8. Police Records Systems
9. Police Patrol and Communications
10. Combat Methods and Safety Techniques
11. Traffic Control

FINANCING THE INSTITUTE

Adequate funds will be necessary if the proposed Police Training Institute is to be established. The Committee believes that the budget of the Institute must provide for a qualified director, staff, and instructors, and for other elements of administration, including travel funds for the director to use in promotional trips in the South when the school is not in session.

The members of the study committee stress the need for a financial provision for scholarships to enable police officers to attend the school. Without this, they do not believe that attendance would be secured, as neither individual police officers nor police departments would be able to defray the expenses of attendance. The payment of the officer's salary by the police department, as listed in the policies proposed above, is necessary in itself but it is not sufficient; the great majority of officers who would attend have family obligations that such salary must be used for. A scholarship grant, including travel expenses, is considered imperative for each student.

The following is the budget proposed for the first year of operation of three terms of twelve weeks each:

Director- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	$ 7,000.00
Instructor- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	5,000.00
Secretary- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	2,000.00

Instructors, technicians, and lecturers, part-time - - - - - -	5,600.00
Office equipment - - - - - - - - -	1,200.00
Consumable office supplies - - -	500.00
Training supplies and equipment- - - - - - - - - - - - -	2,050.00
Travel, staff- - - - - - - - - - -	1,000.00
Purchase of books- - - - - - - - -	500.00
Scholarships*- - - - - - - - - - -	34,500.00
Total - - - - - -	$ 59,350.00

The budget above makes no provision for physical plant, utilities, or janitorial service. It is planned that these items will be furnished by the University of Louisville and/or the City of Louisville.

The yearly budget request would be prepared by the Director and presented to the Policy Board not later than April 1st of each year. The Board would review and determine the budget, subject to the approval of the President of the University.

A five year period is considered the minimum initial period the operation of the Institute should be planned for. The budget given above, with a reduction of the office equipment item to $500.00 a year after the first year, would amount to a total of "296,750.00 for the five years. A period of preparation of not less than six months, during which the director and secretary should be on duty would have to precede the opening of the first term of the Institute, in order to prepare the details of instruction and recruit the first class. This would take a sum of $4,500.00, which added to the total of five years operation makes a grand total of $301,250.00 needed to establish and continue the Institute. During the five year period (on the basis of 375 students trained at a budgetary outlay of $301,250.00) the per capita cost of training per term would amount to $303.00**

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* Based on twenty-five $460.00 scholarships a course for the three courses a year. The amount of $460.00 consists of the $400.00 maintenance grant plus $60.00, the average transportation cost per student to and from points within the eleven Southern states.

** The Delinquency Control Institute at the University of Southern California, operating a twelve week course three terms a year with twenty students a term for the training of police juvenile officers, reports a per capita cost per term of $775 ($525 average training cost plus $250 travel and subsistence allowance, in addition to the salary paid by the police department granting the educational leave). The cource is of a more restricted subject matter and requires less equipment than the proposed Institute at the University of Louisville. See Progress Report Delinquency Control Institute, University of Southern California Press, 1949, p. 13.

It is obvious that this sum could not, and furthermore it should not, be contributed for the purposes of the Institute by sources in Louisville, The Institute would be for the benefit of the eleven states in the Southern Region and the contribution would be not only to the eleven states directly concerned, but to the larger social and political welfare of the nation as a whole. It is believed that the financing would most appropriately come from a private foundation or a national organization with particular interest in working with the problems of the South as a contribution to the welfare of the entire nation.

OUTHERN
OLICE
ISTITUTE

UNIVERSITY
OF
LOUISVILLE

SRC

81

THE ATTACK ON

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

and

THE GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

A Brief Statement on the
History and Aims of
The Southern Regional Council
October, 1955

THE ATTACK ON FREE OPINION

Last March the Southern Regional Council declared:

"There is presently a concerted attempt by official leadership (in the deep South) to stamp out independent thought and stifle all dissent with respect to school segregation...."

In recent weeks, the attempt to intimidate and silence those who believe in an enlightened, law-abiding approach to race relations has gone into high gear. Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook took up the attack in a diatribe aimed mainly at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the course of his speech, Mr. Cook also attacked the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

The object of this side attack on two constructive Southern organizations was to frighten off the thousands of religious, civic, labor, and business leaders who have joined together to work positively at the South's most urgent problem. It is revealing that, although the work of these two organizations goes back 35 years, Mr. Cook has only now chosen to strike at them.

Every intelligent person will recognize this cynical attack for what it is. Mr. Cook hints darkly at "subversion," "sinister manipulation," and"leftwing associations." There is on the statute books of Georgia a strong law providing severe punishment for anyone guilty of subversive conduct or association. As the chief legal officer of the state, Mr. Cook should be expected to act through the process of law, safeguarding the rights and reputations of good citizens. But Mr. Cook knows his charges are false. Neither the Southern Regional

Council nor the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has ever been listed or accused of disloyalty by the U. S. Attorney General or any other official body. So Mr. Cook must resort to smear and innuendo in the public forum.

This, in brief form, is the story of the Southern Regional Council. Many Southerners may disagree with the Council's point of view. But no fair-minded person, in full possession of the facts will doubt that it is an honest and patriotic organization, responsible in both its methods and its aims.

HOW THE SRC BEGAN

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity. The Commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the Commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials. It provided a meeting ground where the best people of both races could work together to dispel prejudice, tensions, and violence. It made possible, through persuasion and education, much of the interracial progress of which Southerners today can be justly proud.

Early in the 1940s, leaders in the Southern interracial movement joined together to revitalize their efforts. As a result, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation merged in 1944 with the newly formed Southern Regional Council. The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a "call" issued by some of the South's finest leader-

ship, including:

C. H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

Since this auspicious beginning, the Council's membership has included distinguished Southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for six years -- from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

The Council's present and past board members number well over 150. The quality of its leadership may be measured by the list of members of the Executive Committee over the past 12 years, appearing on page 9.

HOW SRC WORKS

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. The members listed on page 10, are respected residents of their states and their communities. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an Executive Committee which meets at least every three months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

WHAT SRC HAS DONE

The Council works through the sound methods of education, fact-finding, and persuasion. It seeks no legislation, it carries on no court action, and it uses no "pressure group" tactics. It collects the facts about racial problems and progress in the South and makes these facts available to private citizens and public officials. NEW SOUTH, the Council's monthly publication, has built an unchallenged reputation for reliability and accuracy. Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

* Employment of Negro policemen in Southern communities.

* Newspaper handling of racial news.

* Community self-surveys, in which local people study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

* Conferences of leading white and Negro Southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest -- health, housing, education, etc.

* Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

* Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

* Orderly adjustment at the community level to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

AFFILIATED STATE ORGANIZATIONS

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern states. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the state involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the state groups become strong, self-sustaining bodies.

The affiliated organization in Georgia is the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Georgia Committee has a long and distinguished history, having operated continuously since 1919. Its directors and officers include some of Georgia's most respected clergymen, church women, and civic leaders. Its executive director is Dr. Guy H. Wells, President-Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville. A list of the Georgia Committee's board members appears on page 11. To suggest that people of such intelligence and character would lend themselves to an unworthy cause is insulting

to them and absurd on its face.

CHURCH SUPPORT

Church people have always been the moving force in the Southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the Southern conferences of The Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Province of Sewanee (Southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious Southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated state groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Council, received the 1953 Annual Award of the Catholic Committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

COMMUNISM AND RACE RELATIONS

Those who seek, for political or other reasons, to fan the fires of racial prejudice have set out to brand interracial progress as "communist-inspired." By this means they hope to confuse the public and discredit the growing number of individuals and organizations who believe in equal citizenship for all.

Not only is this phony "anti-communism" vicious; it offends the intelligence of every thinking person. The international communist movement has one, and only one, interest in our racial problems -- that is, to exploit them throughout the world. Some two-thirds of the people of the earth are dark-skinned, and the communists are trying desperately to win them with the claim that our kind of democracy is available only to white persons. If there were no racial discrimination or segregation in this country, the communist movement in Asia and Africa would lack its must effective weapon.

A perfect example of this fact is the reaction of Soviet Russian officialdom to the Supreme Court decision. For days, the government-controlled Russian press made no mention whatever of the decision. When at last they could ignore it no longer, they announced defensively that the decision meant nothing -- that it would never be implemented. This is precisely the argument that Attorney General Cook and his fellow demagogs make so noisily. Unwittingly perhaps, but undeniably, they do a great service to the cause of communism every time they raise their voices on behalf of "white supremacy."

Individuals and organizations that work responsibly and conscientiously for the growth of democracy in the South and the Nation are the opponents that the communists really fear. Yet it is precisely these individuals and organizations that Mr. Cook and his kind seek to defame and discredit. What could please the communists more than to get the credit for every effort to make our American ideal a working, living reality? What could please them more than a campaign to arouse suspicion and hatred of those citizens who work intelligently for a more just, democratic, and Christian society? How they must delight in the

irony of such Americans being stigmatized as servants and dupes of the communist cause!

No informed person believes that the communists want to see Negroes accorded equal rights and dignity or that they want to see our racial problems solved through the orderly processes of the law and constructive community action. The communists want to see us hopelessly bogged down in our prejudices and our fears. They want to see us defying the law of the land, whipping up racial hatred for political purposes. In this respect, they have a common purpose with Attorney General Cook and his kind.

TO KEEP OPINION FREE

The Southern Regional Council is a realistic organization. It was organized by Southerners and is run by Southerners who have lived with the problems of our region and know them well. Therefore, the Council recognizes the difficulties inherent in the changes now required of the South. But the people who make up the Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation believe that we can and will -- as, indeed, we must -- make the transition to a society in which citizenship is not qualified by race.

The issue here is not whether everyone can agree with this point of view -- obviously many do not. The issue is whether or not citizens can voice this and other legitimate opinions without suffering abuse at the hands of irresponsible officials.

The answer must be "yes" if we are not to have thought-control in the South. The power of state officials is great, and if misused it is dangerous to all. If any citizens can be penalized for legitimate opinions honestly held, then all citizens can be penalized at the pleasure of a few.

MEMBERS OF SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PAST AND PRESENT

Name	Identification*	Term of Office
Mr. Morris Abram	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1954-1955
Mr. Francis R. Bridges	Tallahassee, Fla.	1944-1944
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1952-to date
Mr. Paul R. Christopher	Labor official, Knoxville, Tenn.	1951-to date
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Pres., Atlanta University	1944-to date
Dr. A. W. Dent	Pres., Dillard Univ., New Orleans	1952-to date
Mr. John A. Griffin	Educator, Emory Univ., Ga.	1952-to date
Mr. Leonard Haas	Attorney, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-to date
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	Exec. Sec., Atlanta Urban League	1951-1951
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	Educator, Richmond, Va.	1944-to date
Dr. Charles S. Johnson	Pres., Fisk Univ., Nashville, Tenn.	1944-1952
Dr. Guy B. Johnson	Educator, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1948-1951
Mr. C. H. Gillman	Labor Official, Atlanta, Ga.	1946-1950
Rt.Rev.Msgr.T. James McNamara	Savannah, Ga.	1944-1951
Mr. Alfred Mynders	Editor, Chattanooga Times	1952-1954
Rev. V.J. O'Connell, S.M.	New Orleans, La.	1952-1952
Dr. Howard W. Odum	Educator, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1944-1945
Mr. Edmund Preston	Richmond, Va.	1945-1945
Mr. Homer P. Rainey	Educator, Stephens College, Mo.	1944-1944
Rev. J. McDowell Richards	Pres., Columbia Theol. Sem., Decatur	1954-1955
Dr. Harry V. Richardson	Pres., Gammon Theol. Sem., Atlanta	1952-to date
Capt. Frank W. Spencer	Businessman, Savannah, Ga.	1946-1948
Dr. Harold L. Trigg	Pres., St. Augustine's College, Raleigh	1947-1953
Mr. Carter Wesley	Newspaper publisher, Houston, Tex.	1944-to date
Mr. John H. Wheeler	Banker, Durham, N. C.	1949-1951
Miss Josephine Wilkins	Civic leader, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-50 [illegible]-45
Mr. Paul D. Williams	Textbook publisher, Richmond, Va.	1945-1951
Mr. Marion A. Wright	Attorney, Linville Falls, N. C.	1950-to date
Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.	Newspaper publisher, Norfolk, Va.	1944-1948
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean	Dean of The Oratory, Rock Hill, S.C.	1953-to date
Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed	Mobile, Ala.	1953-1954

*NOTE: Organizations and institutions shown are for purposes of identification only and represent the identification of the listed individuals at the time of their service on SRC's Executive Committee.

Rev. 10/25/55

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Johnson, Guy B.	Professor	Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill, N. C.
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Mantinband, Charles#	Rabbi	808 Mamie St., Hattiesburg, Miss.
Mays, B. E.	Educator	Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

McCann, John	Businessman	231 Baronne Street., New Orleans, La.
McDowell, E.A.	Professor	So. Bapt. Theol. Sem., Wake Forest, N.C.
Milner Clyde	Educator	Guilford College, N.C.
Milton, L.D.	Banker	Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta, Ga.
Mitchell, G.S.#	Exec.Dir.	SRC, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
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Paul, Mrs. Marion%	Civic Leader	2324 Washington St., Columbia, S.C.
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Weiss, Morton	Businessman	182 Marietta St., Atlanta
Wellons, R.D.#	Educator	Pembroke College, Pembroke, N. C.
Wesley, Carter*	Publisher	Box 3086, Houston, Tex.
Wheeler, John H.	Banker	Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.
Wilkins, Miss Josephine	Civic Leader	c/o Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Ga.
Williams, Paul D.	Businessman	3320 Gloucester Rd., Richmond, Va.
Wright, M. A.*	Lawyer	Top Knot, Linville Falls, N. C.
Young, Thomas W.	Publisher	Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

SYMBOLS

* SRC Officer
\# Ex-Officio
% State representative

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NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR QUOTATION

PROPOSED STATEMENT FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IN ANNUAL MEETING
NOVEMBER, 1959

What is right for the South to do has become what is practically urgent for the South to do. During the five years since the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases, vast transformations have occurred throughout the world. One has only to recall the advent of space explorations; the fearsome developments in military weapons; the incredible industrialization of China; the growing economic and technological power of the Soviet Union; the emergence of African and Asian nationalism; or the amazing increase of the earth's population.

During these same years, the South has straddled the realities of the twentieth century. Its economic progress has kept pace with the demands of the times. But much of its political leadership, in willful evasion of the Constitution, has seceded from reality. Not for long can this schizophrenia be kept from tearing down the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and the remnants of its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country. Nor can it be restrained from invading the self-interest of every Southerner -- the business man whose operations are endangered by the decay of law and order, the worker and consumer whose fortunes depend on the health of the economy, the youth whose education is threatened by interruption.

The harsh shouts of the Citizens Councils have little sense or relevance under the arc of man-made satellites; the filibuster, the electoral purge, the closed school are equally useless in meeting the challenge of an alien system. Unless this thoughtless resistance to both law and reality can be outgrown, the region will be a liability to the nation and the cause of human freedom which the South has believed itself to love.

An urgent objective should be to get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the custody of responsible educators.

The American legal system assumes that when the law has been declared in a case, all persons in similar situations will comply, even though not parties to the case. Neither American constitutionalism nor the Common Law contemplates an endless web of litigation for the spreading of every legal concept. Nor is this the path to desegregation as a rewarding adventure in human relations.

The irresponsibility of most Southern political leadership has decreed this ordeal of litigation, and, for the present at least, the political machines seems incompetent in many states to undo the obstruction ~~it~~ they have ~~has~~ caused.

But positive local leadership has been available in certain areas of the South. These places give witness to the fact that where there is leadership, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without the coercion of federal courts;

they have shown that the South can avoid a second Reconstruction by reconstructing itself. To mobilize such leadership in other communities is the first order of business for concerned persons.

There is a growing understanding that school closings, violence, demagoguery, and the products of defiance come with a price tag. The South has moved ~~too~~ far in recent years toward reclaiming its economic equality with the rest of the country; only the ignorant or the self-serving would want to destroy that progress.

Those communities which have desegregated, whether voluntarily or through court order, are now free, as they never before have been, to resolve the problem of race relations. They can do so by accepting the only approach that has ever had realistic promise -- that is, by treating their Negro citizens as individuals, and not as impersonal "problems." Instead of submitting themselves to court dictation, they can choose to control their own schools, by moving in advance of the courts to end segregation in good faith.

Southern communities need to redefine their school problem: instead of "How few Negroes must we admit?", they need to consider, "How best can we educate all our youth?" Neither under the law nor within today's social complexities is a segregated school system adequate to equip our young people.

By revising the question, one moves from a political to a professional problem, to be solved not by politicians but by educators; and that is as it should be. Such a change in

terms is probably the indispensable prelude to the changed policies which are required to extricate the South from its present confusion.

In this connection, we condemn the use by some state and school districts of so-called pupil placement as a device to evade or to minimize desegregation. When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest.

In the present climate there can be value in plans, such as that of Louisville, which permit both Negro and white students relatively easy transfer out of assigned schools. But plans which put on the Negro child and parent the total social and psychological burden of achieving desegregation are unjust and patently intended to escape the law. It is indefensible that parents and children should have to run the gauntlet of a hostile school board in order to enjoy their rights under law.

The Southern Regional Council was conceived sixteen years ago out of the conviction that Southerners themselves must ultimately work out democratic solutions to the South's problems. We remain convinced that the South, out of its long experience and abundant kindliness, will someday set an example for every part of the world where persons of different color live together. The way to begin is with white and Negro citizens planning together school systems that will respect the

personality and rights of each student, and to do this as one phase of a general movement toward ending segregation in all public life. Thus will we hasten the time when Southerners are distinguished from each other by individuality, not by race, and are bound to each other by a consciousness, not of color, but of common humanity.

See Policy Statement - 1959

NEWS RELEASE
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE:

Sunday, December 6, 1959

The Southern Regional Council today called for an urgent effort to "get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators."

The 80-member council of white and Negro Southerners, dedicated to the improvement of race relations, issued a policy statement on the school question from its Atlanta headquarters.

It proposed that Southern communities redefine the problem as "How best to educate all our youth?" rather than how to bar Negroes from white schools.

The Council also expressed opposition to the use of pupil placement as "a political device to evade or thwart desegregation."

It said: "When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest."

The council declared that much of the South's political leadership, while eager for economic progress, has "seceded from reality" on the school issue. "Not for long," it warned "can this contradiction be kept from blighting the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country."

In contrast, the council cited more than 200 Southern school districts where desegregation was started voluntarily. It added: "They give witness to the fact that where responsible leaders take the initiative, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without turmoil or court decrees."

THE FULL TEXT OF THE STATEMENT FOLLOWS:

STATEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

What is right for the South to do has become what is practically urgent for the South to do. During the five years since the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases, vast transformations have occurred throughout the world. One has only to recall the advent of space explorations; the fearsome developments in military weapons; the incredible industrialization of China; the growing economic and technological power of the Soviet Union; the emergence of African and Asian nationalism; or the formidable increase of the earth's population.

During these same years, the South has straddled the realities of the twentieth century. Its zeal for economic progress has kept pace with the times. But much of its political leadership, in vain adherence to the unconstitutional practice of segregation, has seceded from reality.

Not for long can this contradiction be kept from blighting the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and the remnants of its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country. Nor can the damage be kept from invading the self-interest of every Southerner -- the business man whose operations are endangered by the decay of law and order, the worker and consumer whose fortunes depend on the health of the economy, the youth whose education is threatened by interruption. Unless thoughtless resistance to both law and reality can be outgrown, the region will be a liability to the nation and the cause of human freedom which the South has believed itself to love.

Fortunately, there is a growing understanding that school closings, violence, demagoguery, and the products of defiance come with a price tag. The South has moved far in recent years toward reclaiming its economic equality with the rest of the nation; only the ignorant or the self-serving would willingly risk destroying that progress. To avoid that danger, however, realism alone compels us to discard our outworn myths and prejudices and face up to the imperatives of change.

AN URGENT OBJECTIVE is to get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators.

Southern communities need to redefine their school problem. Instead of "How can we keep Negroes out?" or "How few can we admit?", they need to consider, "How best can we educate all our youth?" By revising the question, one moves from an emotional to a professional problem, to be solved primarily by educators; and that is as it should be.

For example, we strongly oppose the use of so-called pupil placement as a political device to evade or thwart desegregation. When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest.

In the present climate there can be value in plans, such as that of Louisville, which permit both Negro and white students relatively easy transfer out of assigned schools. But plans which put on the Negro child and parent the total social and psychological burden of achieving desegregation are unjust and patently intended to escape the law. It is indefensible that children should have to run the gauntlet of hostile officials in order to enjoy their rights under law.

THE AMERICAN LEGAL SYSTEM assumes that when the law has been declared in a case, all persons in similar situations will comply, even though not parties to the case. Neither American constitutionalism nor the common law contemplates an endless web of litigation for the spreading of every legal concept. Nor is this the path to rewarding human relations.

Irresponsible political leadership has decreed this ordeal of litigation, and in some states this leadership is so far unwilling or unable to undo the obstruction it has caused. But positive local leadership has been available in certain areas of the South. In six Southern states, more than 200 school districts have initiated desegregation without conflict and without the compulsion of a specific court order. Hesitant and limited though many of these changes have been, they are at least beginnings toward voluntary compliance with the law. They give witness to the fact that where responsible leaders take the initiative, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without turmoil or court decrees.

Those communities which have desegregated, whether voluntarily or through court order, are now free, as they never before have been, to solve the problems of race relations. They can do so by adopting the only approach that has ever had realistic promise -- that is, by treating their Negro citizens as individuals, not as impersonal "problems." Instead of submitting themselves grudgingly to court direction, they can control their destinies by moving on their own initiative to end segregation in good faith.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was conceived sixteen years ago out of the conviction that Southerners themselves must ultimately work out democratic solutions to the South's problems. We cannot -- any more than the rest of the world's people -- control the global pressures which bear in upon us and dictate the inevitability of change. But we can and must be accountable for the way in wiich we respond to these historic forces of our time.

We remain convinced that the South, out of its long experience and abundant kindliness, will someday set an example

for every part of the world where persons of different color live together. The way to begin is with white and Negro citizens planning together school systems that will respect the personality and rights of each student, and to do this as one phase of a general movement to end segregation in all public life.

Thus will we hasten the time when Southerners are distinguished from each other by individuality, not by race, and are bound to each other by a consciousness, not of color, but of common humanity.

Minutes of Meeting
Of The
PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE
December 15, 1954

TO: Morris B. Abram and staff of SRC: GSM
Mrs. James Birnie HCF
Philip G. Hammer FHR
H.V. Richardson GTH
Miss Josephine Wilkins CHP

The Committee met and completed the following questions:

I. What are the specific and binding conditions of the grant to the Southern Regional Council from the Fund for the Republic?

II. How is the overall program of the Southern Regional Council developed?

III. A. What is the role of the staff?

B. What is the role of the Executive Committee?

1. How is the agenda for Executive Committee meetings prepared?

2. What information and materials are sent to the Executive Committee members before meetings; what materials and information are sent to Executive Committee members regularly?

C. What is the role of the Board?

1. How is the agenda for Board meetings prepared?

2. What information and materials are sent to Board members before Board meetings; what materials and information are sent to Board members regularly?

IV. What is the responsibility of the Board and of the staff for fund-raising needed to meet financial commitments of the grant?

V. What steps have been taken to discharge these commitments?

VI. What are the functions of the Central Staff of SRC and to whom are the responsibilities for these functions assigned?

A. What criteria are used to determine use of each staff member's time?

VII. How is the program development related to budgeting?

VIII. What steps are being taken to meet the SRC's obvious responsibilities in critical areas of the South like Clarendon County, S.C., and Prince Edwards County, Va.?

The Committee requested an all-day meeting at a time when the Executive Director would be able to attend, along with other members of the professional staff as are available, in order that the Committee may have an opportunity to [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Saturday, January 8, 1955, was suggested as a time convenient for the members of the Committee. It was suggested that a place for the meeting should be secured with the facilities for an uninterrupted day's work.

G.T. Hamilton
Smf
12/17/54

December 21, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO. PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE

FROM: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton

Saturday, January 8th, has been agreed upon for the all-day meeting of the Program Planning Committee with the Executive Director of the SRC and professional Staff. Please mark your calendar.

The meeting will be held at the Walluhaje Apartments, 239 West Lake Avenue, N.W., Atlanta. We will convene at 9:30 a.m. Luncheon will be provided.

Clearcopy Onion Skin

GTH/rnf
Mr. Hammer
Mr. Abram
Dr. Richardson
Mrs. Birnie
Miss Wilkins
Staff: GSM, HCF. GTH, FBR, CHP

FBR

MINUTES OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE OF SRC
Wednesday Evening, May 18, 1955

Attendance: Morris Abram (presiding)
Philip Hammer
Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mrs. Cassandra Maxwell Birnie

Staff: Harold Fleming
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
George S. Mitchell

The meeting began by considering the draft of the Report of the Program Committee. It was the concensus that the Report represented a summary of the Committee's appraisal of the situation and that the section entitled "Summary of Recommendations" should not be described as the Committee's recommendations. It was voted that the section headed "Summary of Recommendations" should be changed to read "Preliminary Appraisal." It was also voted that the following sentence should be added to the Report: "The above report represents the Program Committee's preliminary appraisal on the basis of its work to date (May 1955). However, there is considerable feeling on the part of the Committee that additional action program might profitably be undertaken by the Central Office. The Committee may present its recommendations to the Executive Committee for such program activity in the future."

The Committee then moved to consider the suggestions made by the Assistant for Program in the attached "Proposals for Program Development for State Organizations." Members of the Program Committee had received the copy of the letter from the Executive Director to the ExecutiveSecretary of the Fund for the Republic and it was noted that Proposals I, II and III were incorporated in the letter. There was some discussion about the advisability of requesting permission from the Fund for the Republic to use resources designated for the development of the Council's program but in view of the fact that the letter had been sent already it was agreed that it was more profitable to discuss ways in which the program of the state organizations could be strengthened through use of the remaining financial resources available. The discussion turned to the advisability of planning for a leadership conference and/or a staff workshop as described in Proposals IV and V. At this point the Executive Director arrived and expressed his preference for meetings in each state of SRC board members and volunteer and staff leadership of state organizations. He stated that he had become aware of the practical difficulties of arranging such conferences in the time remaining in this great period due to prior commitments which have been made by staff members who would be involved in the planning and execution of such meetings. Following discussion of the merits of both proposals it was agreed that both methods of leadership development (staff workshop and leadership meetings) were useful techniques. The Executive Director suggested that he would prefer planning for a staff workshop in late summer and the scheduling of three area meetings for the lay leadership of the Council and of state organizations, in the following months. Upon motion it was voted that the Committee would not make any report on recommendations at this time. The meeting adjourned at 11:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Secretary for the Committee

rnf
5/23/55

SUMMARIES FROM A. U. CONFERENCE

August 11, 1955

This conference was called to help strengthen the services of the Central Office to state organizations and the region during the current period of accelerated social transition.

Whitney Young: SRC has a dilemma: agreed to goals, but what can we do to achieve them with what we have ? or Program designed for what we now have or effective, realistic program and develop staff for it ?

State Organizations have some 400 Board Members, very important. Acquiring Board Members one thing, keeping them , another; involvement needed to maintain their interests; activities designed for "where they are" to take them where we feel they should be.

Indoctrinate staff with broad objectives and some specific program steps; train staff to stimulate Board to take proper action.

Louis Killian: Council has clearly stated goals to achieve. It can't deal in politics; therefore, there are two approaches open to it, (1) mobilization of like-minded people; (2) education of those not so fully committed.

Question of tactics: take people where they are, work with them. Lowest common denominator: "Desegregation can't be ignored".

Needs: spell out functions of Council, State Organizations, "locals". Research on what is going on; research on process and effectiveness of SRC Disseminate info from research to select list of people.

Robert Johnson: (as evaluator) Is the program accomplishing what we set out to do? Is the program being effectively run? Questions to be asked: (1) what are stated objectives; (2) who made them and how were they communicated to state people; (3) how are they working in the field?

Emphasis must be placed on implementation of objectives. (Like U.S. Constitution, they should be sufficiently explicit to give direction, sufficiently flexible to permit area differences.)

Need to think about: What percent of work devoted to school desegregation? Delimitations of Council's work. Roles of Boards, of Staffs. Relationship of Central Office and State Organizations. How to pool information and experiences of state staff people. Need to specify machinery of communications. Redefine minority leadership. Have regular region wide staff meetings.

Irene Osborne: There is need to sharpen the tool, tighten the organization. Particularly in the field of communications is this so; internal and external.

Ruby Hurley: Need specification on how autonomous are the state organizations, "locals" ? Need to step up communications between groups and between organizations. Need for community organization education. Increase work of Church Women... work with other similar groups. NAACP concerned with groups who go to talk with school boards, what orientation have they? NAACP has formula. Legal process is a part of the social process.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Harry Walker: (1) tighten up organization; (2) each organization to have functional committees: program and fund raising; (3) Central Office to prepare memo on types of projects which could be undertaken; (4) each state organization to work more closely with established organizations; (5) disseminate information to state organizations as to techniques, tactics, etc... roles of various institutions, groups etc...

Francis Manis: Write, in non threatening manner, memo on relationship of Central Office and State Organizations; (2) need better distribution of direct services of SRC to state and community; (3) what are we training for? how we do it guides and limits and directs program; (4) need for program director in SRC; (5) evaluation of consultant programs Vs Exec. Dir. programs; (6) role of New South, state organization newsletters ... need technical letter from Central Office to state organizations.

Emory Jackson: (1) give priority to school desegregation; (2) give practical guides to state and local organizations; (3) summarized monthly reports to be circularized to all staff; (4) transfer all fund raising to Boards; (5) each state organization to contact all Boards of Education: communicate not negotiate; (6) regular region wide staff conferences; (7) same basic policy in all states; (8) increased use of interracial teams; (9) beware of "excuses".

Bonita Valien: Take proceedings of this meeting -- have small group examine closely, draft definitive memo to staff, Central and State, on (1) what does SRC do? (2) SRC's limitations of program; (3) resources; (4) program areas, sufficiently broad? (5) critical evaluation of Central Staff in functional terms; (6) need Program Director in Central Office; (7) need similar meetings for state groups; (8) get consultants and Exec. Directors together regularly for staff conferences.

FBR

TO: MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FROM: PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE

There have been five meetings of the Program Planning Committee, appointed by the Executive Committee at its December meeting. At these meetings we have explored the Council's operations with the Executive Director and other members of the staff.

Before going further we would like the thinking of the Executive Committee on the attached questions. Please consider them before the February 17th meeting so that we may discuss them together at that time.

PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE

Morris B. Abram, Chairman
John A. Griffin
Philip G. Hammer
Mrs. James Birnie
H.V. Richardson
Josephine Wilkins
~~Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton~~

Time and place of Executive Committee meeting:

Thursday, February 17, 10:00 a.m.
Bishops Conference Room
Fourth Floor
Wesley Memorial Bldg.

1. In the opinion of the Executive Committee, what were the specific and binding commitments implicit in the grant to the SRC from the Fund for the Republic?

2. Did the Supreme Court decision of May 17 have significance for the SRC in meeting these commitments?

3. Are there critical situations in the South which broaden the SRC's obligations?

4. What is the responsibility of the Board in fulfilling the SRC's commitments implicit in the Fund's grant?

5. The individual responsibility of a Board member?

6. What is the responsibility of the Executive Committee, as the body empowered to act for the Board?

7. The individual responsibility of a member of the Executive Committee?

8. To what extent is the Board assuming its responsibilities?

9. To what extent is the Executive Committee assuming its responsibilities?

10. What information between meetings do the members of the Board need?

11. The members of the Executive Committee?

THE BASIS FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT -- SRC

BASIS: To change behavior rather than attitudes (see statement in decree .-- "-----it should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them." It should be emphasized that the decrees indicate the need for increased labor rather than rejoicing or lethargy (opinion polls and attitude tests not relevant in present period). This means that efforts must be expended to create and/or modify situations which permit experience in integration.

The task ahead is no longer "the Negro's problem."

An analysis of differences within the region is essential. The differences must determine the advisable courses of action. The situations will determine advisable means.

The following is a tentative analysis of the main groupings of states within the region:

HARDCORE: Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi
Louisiana (Catholic influence)

MID-BAD: Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, Texas

NEXT BEST: Florida, Tennessee

POSSIBLE: Kentucky, Arkansas

HARDCORE:

(1) Legal action to challenge subverting amendments and/or state legislation. (Illustration, Georgia -- prompt applications to state university units. Role of white supporters -- to endorse applicants and to find endorsees.)

(2) Continuing information and publicity re inequalities.

(3) Continuing publicity and information re problems of total society resulting from "separate and equal" principle. (Illustration -- demographic studies of communities particularly urban studies of school support problems, problems of school administration the basis of which is lack of representation in policy-making and administration.)

(4) Appeals to outside agencies particularly economic agencies re economic wastage and cost to industry by increased tax burden required for improvement of public facilities, and wasted resources.

(5) Increased effort to extend and utilize political leverage.

(6) Increased pressure on religious groups to stress moral and legal obligation.

(7) Efforts in as many communities as possible to extend community analysis re facilities, and to discover "extra-official" groups and individuals who are supporting. (Basis for communication across racial lines.)

MID-BAD: See (1) to (7) above.

(8) Favorable publicity for such local efforts toward compliance as may appear.

(9) Diagnoses of state to determine soft-spots not only in terms of public education but also in other institutionalized aspects.

(10) Emphasis upon church supported institutions and other private organizations and agencies.

NEXT BEST: (1) Exploitation of two-party political factors.

(2) Socio-economic diagnoses of state to determine areas of greatest leverage.

(3) Attention and emphasis to particular local communities.

(4) Publicity re sound efforts toward compliance.

POSSIBLE: (1) Major emphasis upon extra-legal means.

(2) Publicity upon good and bad developments.

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FOR ALL AREAS: Attention to demographic factors particularly in urban areas. Fact-finding studies re present location and adequacies of all schools followed by publicity upon advantages of compliance particularly as related to tax structure.

USE OF NATIONAL INFLUENCES: Efforts to insure protective clauses in programs of assistance to states for education and other social welfare services.

Pressure upon Federal executive agencies (health and welfare, and Commissioner of Education) for all possible aid in fact-finding re inadequacies, inequalities, and possibilities for conditional assistance.

ROLE OF NATIONAL PRIVATE AGENCIES: Encourage development of analyses of extent and need of present programs of Federal assistance to states in all categories above.

Use of national influences upon which Southern states are dependent (industry, labor and media).

ROLE OF STATE STAFF: (1) To develop and strengthen services which will encourage programs above. Indications for particular attention to information services -- legislative and administrative. Development of consultant services re sources of help and information.

(2) To encourage and develop all possible means for participation in both decision-making and administration by Negroes (official and non-official groups) as a means of developing and extending communication across racial lines.

(3) To establish effective communication and coordination between individuals, organizations and agencies interested in supporting the effort towards building an integrated society.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 25, 1956

TO: All State Directors and Chairmen

FROM: Frederick B. Routh

The figures used in the money-raised graph in the July 15 Progress Report Card were based on donations and memberships. Inadvertently we did not include New South subscriptions or sale of literature, both of which count toward the minimum requirement. A new Progress Report Card will be issued September 1, which will include all sums raised by State organizations.

Sent May '56
July '56

PROGRESS REPORT CARD LIST
51 - total

7/25/56

All State Executive Directors

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2206 Dowling Street
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Staunton, Virginia

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D

(30)

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Dr. R. B. Atwood, Vice-Chairman, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.

Louisiana

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Mrs. C. C. Dejoie, Jr., Treasurer, 3400 Annette Street, New Orleans, La.

Mississippi

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Mr. A. E. Cox, 2nd Vice-Chairman, Route 1, Box 58, Cruger, Miss.
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Jos. B. Brunini, Treasurer, P. O. Box 57, Jackson, Miss.

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South Carolina

Miss Rebecca Reid, Treasurer, 29 E. Calhoun Street, Sumter, S. C.

(cont.)

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Virginia

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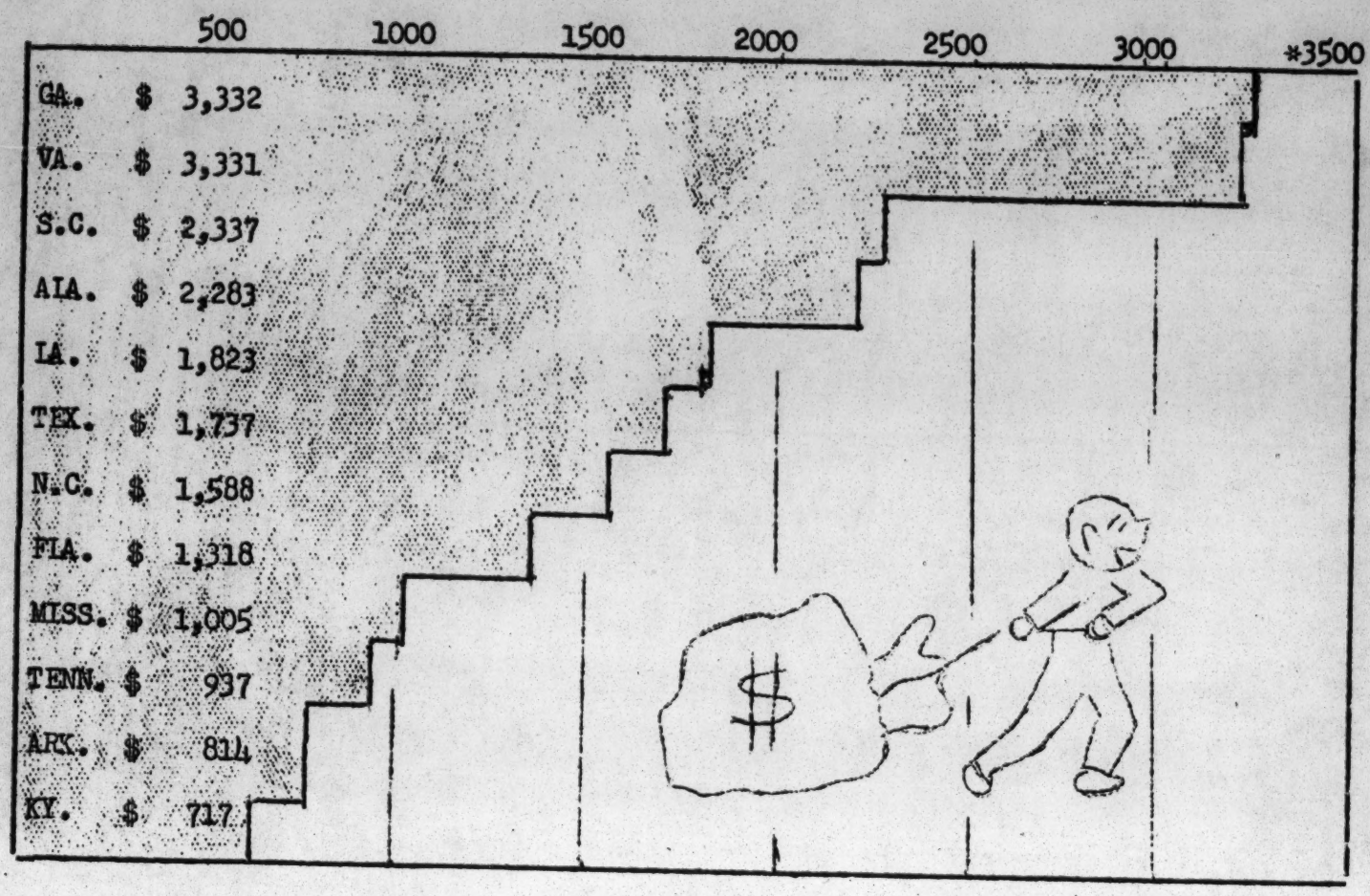
Mr. Wilson M. Brown, Treasurer, State Planters Bank and Trust Co., Richmond, Va.
Mr. William Cooper, Asso. Executive Director, Box 203, Hampton Institute, Hampton Institute, Va.

Also:

Marion A. Wright, Top Knot, Linville Falls, N. C.

SRC
PROGRESS REPORT CARD
JULY 15, 1956

STATE FUND RAISING



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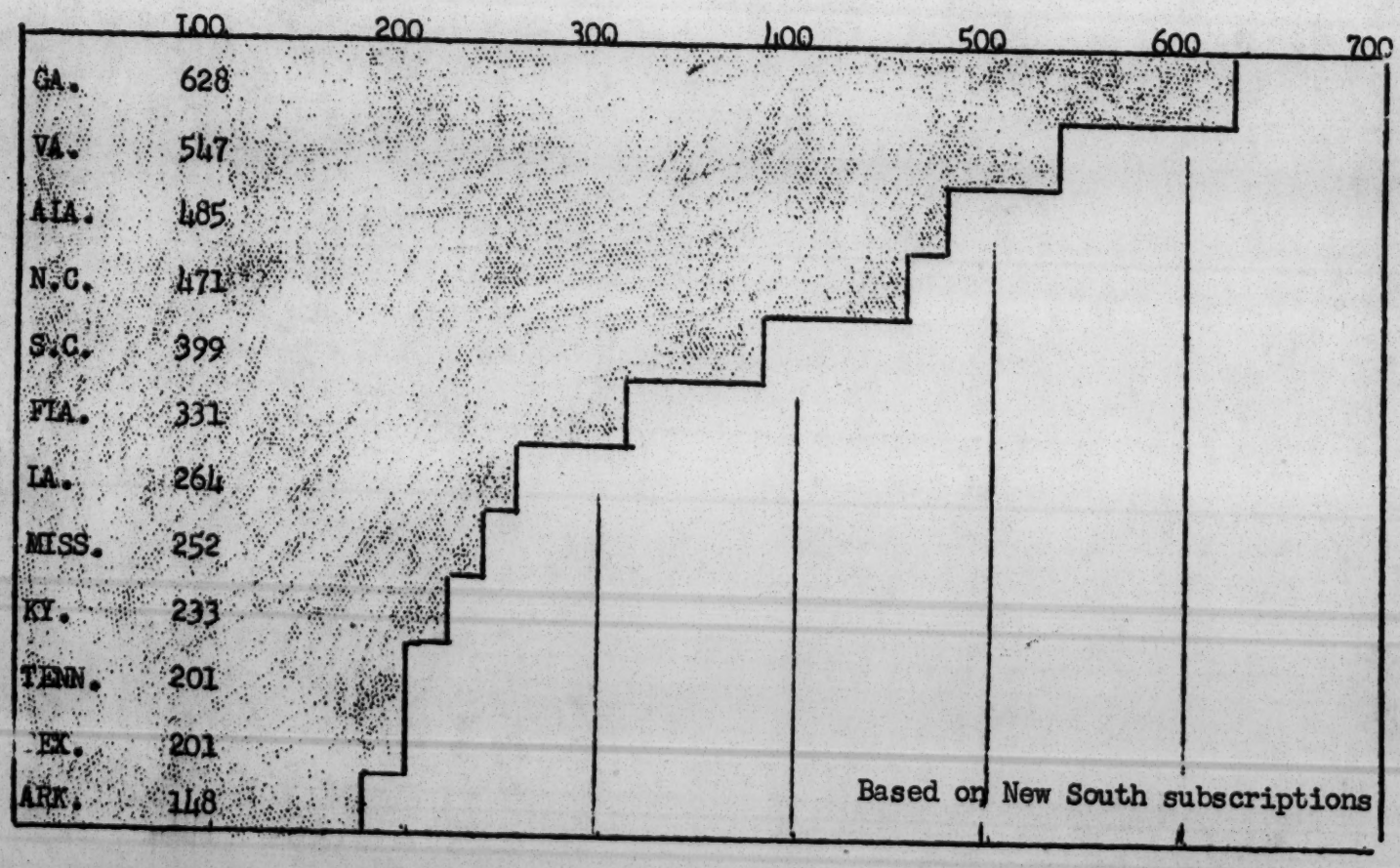
STATE MEMBERSHIP



F. B. Routh

Rec'd 6/20/66
file: SRC projects
field activities
please keep copy
file in SRC Commendations

MJ - file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAM

June 17, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for Ed Stanfield's new Field Activities Newsletter. As you have seen, I do have my share of papers crossing the desk, but if they were all as concise and interesting as the newsletter there would be no problem. I vote yes.

Sincerely,

Jane

Jane Hinchcliffe

P.S. I thought the Information Center meeting went extraordinarily well. Ask Eliza to fill you in.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

June 27, 1966

State Council Staff Changes

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has accepted the resignation of Ozell Sutton with regret, but with understanding. He has accepted a position with the Community Relations Service. Ozell will continue to live in Little Rock, but will travel in Arkansas and surrounding states. His resignation comes less than a month after he was named Executive Director upon Nat Griswold's pre-retirement leave-of-absence and after many years of service as Associate Director. As we understand it, Ozell could not love the Arkansas Council half so much, loved he not the prospect of college-educated children more. (Apologies to Will Shakespeare.) His resignation is effective July 31.

The Alabama Council Board of Directors has named Mr. Jerry Roden, of Auburn, Executive Director. At the same time they acted to retain as Associate Director Robert S. Valder, who has been doing a great job for the Alabama Council under the NAIRO Intern program for the past year. They also voted to move the state council office from Huntsville to Auburn. (New address: P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama.)

Jerry Roden was President of the East Alabama Chapter of the Alabama Council during 1965. Under his leadership that group grew from about 100 members to more than 300. (It has since increased to nearly 400.) It also developed vigorous programs, including cultural enrichment programs in several rural schools, work on voter education, an adult education class, a six-week lecture series, and sponsorship of four Head Start Centers.

Jerry, who is a Ph.D. candidate in the English Department at Auburn University, resigned as Editor of the Auburn alumni magazine in order to take up his doctoral studies last year. He had held that position for four years, and before that was a field representative for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Thus he is very well qualified, and we welcome him into the state council tribe.

The Virginia Council has employed Mr. Bailey Wharton as Assistant to the Director. Mr. Wharton is a graduate of Hampton Institute in Virginia. He has a particular interest in urban problems. In his new position he will be especially concerned with local council organization and program, including efforts at membership enlistment and local fund-raising.

The White House Conference

Most of the state council Executive Directors attended the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" on June 1 and 2. Bob Combs, Alice Spearman, August VandenBosche, Frances Pauley, Bob Valder, Baxton Bryant, and Ozell Sutton were there -- as well as Paul Anthony, Vernon Jordan, Pat Watters, Emory Via and yours truly from SRC.

Poverty Conference in Mississippi

The Mississippi Council sponsored a conference on poverty in Jackson on June 4th. With a modest assist from SRC the MCHR brought in "grass roots" folks, gave them a chance to speak to federal and state anti-poverty officials, and provided opportunity for an exchange of views -- to put it mildly. The people who are on intimate terms with Poverty seemed to have no trouble communicating, despite the fact that they were not, as one put it, "highly-falooted speakers." To your reporter their story was put in a nutshell by a lady poet who remarked, "I can tell you it's been hard. Sometimes our hearts pack solid."

South Carolina Council Begins "Project SPEED-UP"

The South Carolina Council began "Project SPEED-UP" with a week of orientation for participating college students June 5 through 12. SPEED-UP means "Student Project for Economic and Educational Development -- Utilizing the Poor." With a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity the SCCHR is employing 200 students from South Carolina Schools and Colleges for ten weeks, 40 hours per week, in educational and community organization projects all around the state. Besides the help to communities, the employment will enable the students to continue in college.

Alabama School Desegregation Conference Ends Series

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has sponsored a series of state-wide conferences on school desegregation this spring. They were held in Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Arkansas, and Alabama. After each

conference the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the council on human relations in the respective states, and other state groups cooperated in a nuts-and-bolts session designed to guide local leaders in organization to secure student transfers under freedom-of-choice desegregation plans. Attendance at these conferences averaged about 700, with the larger groups in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.

At the Alabama Conference in Birmingham on June 11 some 1,200 people heard Commissioner Howe of the Office of Education reaffirm strongly that the new desegregation guidelines were legal and would be enforced. He did so in the face of daily machinations by Governor Wallace aimed at having the new guidelines voided and non-compliance by Alabama school boards. William Taylor of the Civil Rights Commission also spoke.

We should note gratefully the dedicated labor of the Civil Rights Commission field staff, under Mr. Samuel Simmons, and of Jean Fairfax, Constance Curry, and Winifred Falls of the AFSC staff in preparing these conferences on an almost-weekly basis. And they have commented often on the splendid cooperation from state councils on human relations. A pat on the back all around!

State Council Presidents Meet

On June 17 and 18 the Southern Regional Council brought together in Atlanta the presidents of the state councils for a day of discussion of purpose and philosophy of human relations councils, common problems, future emphases, staff needs and benefits, and the like. Presidents Walter Clancy of Arkansas, Duncan Gray of Mississippi, C. G. Gomillion of Alabama, Joe Hendricks of Georgia, H. Franklin Williams of Florida, and David Scull of Virginia attended. Treasurers G. J. Tarleton of Tennessee and Emery Rann of North Carolina represented their presidents, Martha Ragland and John R. Taylor, respectively. Mr. Frederick Fleming represented Mr. Henry Groppe of the Houston Council.

This was the first time that the presidents had had a conference without staff members present. They felt that it was helpful and asked that it become an annual affair. (It might also be helpful to have two or three hours of discussion on philosophy and direction at a meeting of each state council Board about once a year.)

Paperback Books Project

The first shipments of paperback books have gone out to projects in Auburn, Alabama, and Nashville, Tennessee. Within the next few

days a shipment will be sent to the Selma (Alabama) Interreligious Project.

Proposals for these experimental projects in book distribution are beginning to come in, but so far we have had very few from local chapters of state councils on human relations. This is a disappointment, since such a project seems a "natural" for local councils. Perhaps some follow-through is needed by state council staffers -- checking with local groups to which you have recommended the project.

Notes on the SRC Special Projects

A Director for SRC's Special Project in Criminal Rehabilitation and Prison Reform has been found. Mr. John O. Boone will join the SRC staff in that capacity in July. Mr. Boone is a graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, and has a Master's degree in social work from Atlanta University. For fifteen years he has been employed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Currently he is Chief of the Classification and Parole Department of the federal prison at Terre Haute, Indiana. Before transferring to Terre Haute he had worked in the same department of the U. S. Penitentiary in Atlanta.

The Voter Education Project now employs Administrative Assistant Thad Olive and Research and Information Director Marvin Wall and two secretaries (Nobbie Morgan and Pat Franklin) in addition to Director Vernon Jordan. The VEP has funded 61 projects throughout the South. They range from a $200 project by the Lee County (Alabama) League of Women Voters, which taught some 2000 new voters how to use the voting machines, to "umbrella" projects covering several counties and sponsored by groups such as the NAACP in Alabama and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The break-down by state and number of projects is as follows: Alabama, 13; Arkansas, 3; Florida, 1; Georgia, 13; Louisiana, 4; Mississippi, 3; North Carolina, 4; South Carolina, 10; Tennessee, 4; and Virginia, 6.

Of particular interest to human relations council folks is the fact that voter registration projects are being sponsored by the Arkansas Council and the Knoxville Council. The Arkansas Council project will conduct a registration drive in 16 counties over a twelve-week period, employing a director and three field representatives. The Greater Knoxville Council's project will cover only Knox County. It will run for eight weeks and will employ a director and five area coordinators.

VEP funds have been concentrated on voter registration prior to this year's primary elections -- and general elections, where important, as in Arkansas this year. Later it will be possible to fund more citizenship education projects. Many local human relations councils should be able to sponsor or assist with these.

Al Ulmer, Director of the Community Organization Project, convened a planning conference on Cooperative Training at Mt. Beulah Conference Center, Edwards, Mississippi, on June 9, 10, and 11. Participants generally felt that while cooperatives are useful tools and more of them should be developed, a great deal of educational work needs to be done. They came up with some ambitious and far-reaching ideas about getting the necessary administrative and technical assistance. A summary of the conference is being sent to state council executive directors and is available to others on request.

Al (who says he prefers to stay at least a week in a place and dislikes one-day meetings) plans to spend a week in Lee County, South Carolina, in the near future, working on a possible buying club and credit union. Also in his future is a week in Amelia and Nottaway Counties, in Virginia, where the Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee has done some preliminary work on credit unions and a study club on consumer education.

Moreland Smith of the Housing and Urban Planning Project thinks a revision of his report, "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program," which is now in print will be of interest to the human relations councils. He would appreciate any comments and suggestions. He also would like to know about any efforts at neighborhood stabilization.

A Local Council That We Hope Is As Good As It Looks On Paper

We quote from a summary of the April 30 meeting of the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Council:

"Mr. Thomas Donnelly reported that the CHAPEL HILL-CARRBORO Council is involved in many activities, some of which are equal employment -- informing domestic workers of their rights under the Social Security program, fair working hours, summer vacations, etc.; education -- the youth group conducts a small scale "Operation Head Start" which includes games and reading for the children each Saturday; voter education -- informing new registrants on voting and government; housing -- bringing to the attention of the proper authorities infractions of the housing code, encouraging renters to keep records of their rent payments. Also, they are working to obtain sewers for some areas of the city, and they have organized a legal aid to handle civil hardship cases and to act as a clearing house for other groups."

Unquote.

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

file
SRC projects
"Field Acts"

7-7-66

Dear ____

As you know, SRC has considerable interest in urban planning and programs concerned with the broad areas of housing. For our information, in knowing of programs underway, programs anticipated and resources available, we have drawn up the very brief questionnaire enclosed and would be grateful if you would fill it out and return it to us.

As a part of this we would ~~be~~ particularly welcome your ideas on what local and state governmental units should do in this overall area. ~~While we assume your response will be directed specifically to what Atlanta and Georgia will do we~~

It would be of great help to us if this information could be returned by July 15th.

Thanks for your cooperation, and best wishes,

sinc.~~ly~~

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

letter mailed to all on attached list

Please answer each question in the space directly beneath it. In order to assimilate the information all at one time, may we have your reply by July 15.

1. Is your organization directly concerned with or interested in equal opportunity in housing?

Yes_____ No_____

2. If your organization is interested or active in equal opportunity in housing, please answer the following:

a. What is the nature of your program (for example: educational, stabilization of a particular neighborhood, purchaser and seller seeking, etc.)?

b. What resources are you using to carry out your program (for example: housing committee, staff of_____people, direct mailings, etc.)?

c. What is the current status of your program (for example: inactive, seeking staff; inactive, need financing; active, need more staff; etc.)?

d. What achievements have you made so far?

3. What do you believe to be the <u>three most important</u> things that the city government could do to reduce or eliminate the housing problem? State government? County government?

Please return to:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

40

DRAFT OF LETTER
TO CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN RELATIONS ORGANIZATIONS

As you know, Southern Regional Council and its affiliate organizations have been interested in housing problems in the area for several years. At this time we would like to know about activities and programs currently underway. In order to accomplish this we are asking the Civil Rights and Human Relations organizations to supply us with information concerning their interests and activities.

Please answer each question in the space directly beneath it. In order to assimilate the information all at one time, ~~we must~~ may we have your reply by July 15.

1. Is your organization directly concerned with or interested in equal opportunity in housing?

Yes_____ No_____

2. If your organization is interested or active in equal opportunity in housing, please answer the following:

a. What is the nature of your program (for example: educational, stabilization of a particular neighborhood, purchaser and seller seeking, etc.)?

b. What resources are you using to carry out your program (for example: housing committee, staff of _____ people, direct mailings, etc.)?

c. What is the current status of your program (for example: inactive, seeking staff; inactive, need financing; active, need more staff; etc.)?

d. What achievements have you made so far?

3. What do you believe to be the three most important things that the city government could do to reduce or eliminate the housing problem? County government? State government?

Please return to
S - B - C -
5 Danzig St
Ste

Mennonite Service Committee
540 Houston Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Don McEvoy
National Conference of Christians and Jews
1009 First Federal Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Jack Sisson, Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
8017 Palm Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Mr. Jac Wasserman
National Sharecroppers Fund
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Victor T. Glass
Home Mission Board
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Spring Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Cliff Hoffman
Regional Office
Unitarian-Universalist Association
1145 Peachtree, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Earl H. Henderson
Field Representative
United Automobile Workers
1776 Peachtree St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia.

The Reverend Edward M. Brown
Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches
499 Emory Circle, N.E.
Atlanta 7, Georgia

Miss Rosetta Gardner
YWCA National Student Council
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Reading file

10

Miss Constance Curry
American Friends Service Committee
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Noyes Collinson
American Friends Service Committee
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
3600 Nelson Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Attn: Randolph Blackwell
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Georgia Council of Churches
26 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Al Kehrer
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department
Suite 1422
40 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Florence Robin
ACLU of Georgia
52 Fairlee Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The Reverend John Morris
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

(5)

Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold N. Arnold, Director

Mr. Clarence Coleman
National Urban League
Southern Regional Office
78 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Joe Tucker
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
Southeastern Regional Office
859½ Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

PA - See Projects Field Activities

File

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

See attached: It's time there reports ~~Starting~~ Started trickling in - Want to nudge them?

mj

REGARDING

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

File - See projects "Field Activities"

July 8, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Stanfield

FROM: Paul Anthony

It would be highly desirable to have from you a six months report of Field Activities by July 15th. This must be submitted to the Ford Foundation and we may share it with a number of foundations and with our Members. A major portion of your report would be, I think, the reporting of all grants made to the state Councils and what is coming of it. For instance, new staff hired, Louisiana Council being reorganized, etc. A narrative report covering this should be nor more than several pages long, unless you have a strong urge to write more. Then the attachments for financial breakdowns and capsule descriptions of the relevance with the state Councils should be included.

August 23, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Stanfield

FROM: Paul Anthony

I hate to bring this up but at a fairly early date we have got to get that special committee together that was appointed last year to consider the future relationships between SRC and the state councils. At the Executive Committee Meeting of September 12 the statement passed by the Presidents will be on the Agenda. It might be good to have the other meeting after our Executive Committee has discussed this and we could, of course, report to the Executive Committee that such a meeting of the special committee would be held shortly.

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303
[illegible]-8764
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

August 23, 1966

More Staff Changes

It must be the season as well as our expansion on "all fronts". The staff changes, both in the state councils and SRC, are coming so fast that it is getting difficult to keep up!

The Arkansas Council has named Mr. Elijah Coleman to be their Associate Director. (Nat Griswold has been asked to return to his post as Executive Director until his replacement can be found.) Mr. Coleman has been principal of Townsend Park School in Pine Bluff since 1954. From 1959 through 1961 he was President of the Arkansas Teachers Association. He has also served as Chairman of the Pine Bluff Fellowship, an interorganization association of Negro professional workers for community progress. He is a native of Smackover, Arkansas, a graduate of Philander Smith College in Little Rock, and holds a Master of Education degree from the University of Arkansas. Mr. Coleman is married and has a 15-year-old son and a 10-year-old daughter.

Robert Alexander has resigned as Executive Director of the Houston Council on Human Relations. He has returned to Los Angeles. His successor has not yet been named.

Changes at Southern Regional Council

Sam Adams, Director of Research at SRC, has resigned to take up studies at the University of Wisconsin this fall. He is the recipient of a Russell Sage Foundation fellowship.

Edwyn E. Lewis will leave SRC August 19 in order to return to Miami's sun and sand and a management job with the community action agency of Miami's anti-poverty program.

On the additions side we have Miss Susan Bresler, who will work as an associate to Moreland Smith in our special project on

housing and urban planning. Miss Bresler holds a B.S. in City Planning from the University of Illinois. She has worked as an intern in the planning departments of Champaign and Moline, Illinois, and with the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission. Before coming to SRC she had been employed for a year in the Community Planning Division, Planning and Industrial Development Board, State of Alabama.

As for secretaries, we note the loss of Jerry Gimarc from the Housing and Urban Planning Project and Joan Browning from the Labor Project. Of particular interest to state council folks is the employment of Mrs. Mary Lee McCallister as secretary to the Director of Field Activities. Her experience includes thirteen years as a secretary with General Electric in Atlanta and four years with the American Red Cross in Chamblee.

Books For Equal Education

Books for Equal Education is a joint project of the United States National Student Association and the United State Youth Council. It is a non-profit, charitable organization engaged in distribution of college texts and fiction to unaccredited Negro colleges in the southeastern region. The book distribution office is located in Atlanta.

Many of the books received by BEE are not suitable for use at the college level, but are in good condition and perhaps could be utilized in other areas. These materials include: texts in mathematics, science, English and social studies at both the elementary and secondary levels; juvenile fiction; pre-school reading pamphlets and other similar materials. Suggested uses might be: adult literacy programs, Head Start projects, community libraries, and the like. Those interested in the books for such purposes should be forewarned that many of the texts are out-of-date. However, the books have been "culled," so that the ones offered are in good condition -- and many are definitely "quality" books.

There is NO CHARGE for the books, but the recipient is responsible for transportation of them from Atlanta to their final destination. Interested persons should write for a copy of the BEE guidelines. The address is: Shawn Boles, Southern Director Books for Equal Education, 416 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

Leadership Training Laboratory at Emory

Most of the state council directors took SRC up on an offer to pay tuition for them to attend a week-long leadership training laboratory at Emory University in Atlanta. The dates were July 24-31, and those attending were Pat Miller of Louisiana, Ken Dean of Mississippi, Jerry Roden of Alabama, Alice Spearman of South Carolina, Will Allred of North Carolina, Bob Combs of Virginia, and Ed Stanfield. Baxton Bryant of Tennessee came, but had to leave after only one day because of a death in his family.

The laboratory was sponsored jointly by Emory University and Georgia State College in cooperation with National Training Laboratories. Focusing on the process of group action and the dynamics of interpersonal relations, the laboratory was designed to make participants more aware of the bearing of personal, human problems on group functioning. The week was harrowing (not to say "hairy") at times, as everybody sought to figure out why everybody else behaved so oddly. Folks leveled as well as reveled with one another. One comes away from such an experience with the feeling that he gained something important -- but that only time will tell just what!

Incidentally, the faculty included two mental health men, one psychologist, one social psychologist, and a consultant in human relations. Seems like the weight given to mental health and psychology says something about somebody's conception of the meaning of leadership in southern communities these days!

State Council Directors Meet

The state council directors met in Atlanta on August 9 and 10. Primary purpose of the meeting was to iron out some communication problems we have had in getting local councils informed of the program help now available from SRC. A six-page descriptive catalogue was prepared and discussed and is now being distributed to the state councils in sufficient quantity to promote the programs extensively in each state. In the process the group had opportunity to clarify many points in conference with the special project directors. Next meeting of the directors is scheduled for September 21 and 22.

Random Notes

...On the morning of August 10 a delegation from the Georgia Council on Human Relations had an interview with Governor Carl Sanders. Among other things they urged him to employ a special assistant concerned with civil rights and to establish a civil rights division of the state attorney general's office. They pointed out discriminatory practices of the State Patrol and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. They also reminded the governor and, through press coverage, the public that no Negroes sit on the following state boards: Education, Regents, Corrections, Pardons and Paroles, Game and Fish Commission, Veterans Service, Personnel, Industry and Trade, State Medical Examination, and State Scholarship Commission. There may not be immediate results, but this strikes me as a good piece of work nevertheless. We get so accustomed to the southern landscape that even people of good will do not notice so glaring an injustice as the omission of Negroes from practically every state board and agency. Surely one of the most important tasks of every human relations council is to keep nagging officials and the public about this kind of matter-of-fact outrage.

...Speaking of never-ending tasks, I had occasion not long ago to ask Mrs. H. A. Pfiffner, President of the League of Women

Voters of Georgia, how they managed to get objective studies and reports with volunteer workers. Her reply read, in part: "Most local and state Leagues have regular observers at official boards and commissions--at every open meeting--at budget hearings, etc. It is surprising how much one can learn from regular attendance and careful listening to aid in factual evaluation." It occurred to me that if every local council did nothing else but assign a couple of people to monitor every meeting of (1) their city council, (2) their board of education, (3) their county commission, and (4) their police or recorder's court, their existence would be justified. Why not make this "standard operational procedure"?

...Project SPEED-UP roars on in South Carolina under the leadership of Brad Posten, who is the project director. Brad has completed his year as an Eleanor Roosevelt Intern with the South Carolina Council. He writes, "The project has met with great response from the communities and over 2,000 children and adults are enrolled in the twenty-eight centers."

...We keep finding out about really great things that are being done quietly by human relations councils. Johnny Carlisle of the Youth Council on Human Relations, affiliated with the Palm Beach chapter of the Florida Council, wrote the other day, seeking just $150.00 to buy materials for their second "Summer Tutorial and Enrichment Program." Twenty-two young people, including advanced high school students, high school graduates, and junior college students, are tutoring 91 children, aged 4 to 13, who live in the vicinity of Pleasant Heights Baptist Church, which is their center. They have tutoring classes in reading, math, geography, history, science, arts and crafts, and music. And field trips include the zoo, the Junior Museum of Science, Norton Art Gallery, "and other points of interest." All these young folks needed was a little financial assistance and the continuing interest and advice of the council board. Mrs. R. W. Glasner, chapter president, and Mrs. W. Fred Ellington, work closely with them.

...The Virginia Council is putting major emphasis this year on intercultural (multi-ethnic) textbooks for use in public schools. The Council took cognizance of the fact that Virginia's children, Negro or white, could easily graduate from high school, using the texts approved by the Virginia Board of Education, without knowing that Negroes had made any significant contribution to the life and history of America. Further, they discovered that many textbooks are published in two versions: one with biracial illustrations and another lily white. VCHR has just published an attractive printing of its review of Virginia textbooks, including suggested courses of action, and a catalogue of intercultural texts available.

-- J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

File
Field Activities

MS

September 12, 1966

Mr. Howard L. Jones, President
Northfield and Mount Hermon Schools
East Northfield, Massachusetts 01361

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of September 6 and for letting us know that The Independent Schools Talent Search Program is also seeking Negro boys to enter southern secondary schools.

I look forward to hearing from Mr. Simmons and shall be grateful for any information he can send us.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield

JEF:mlm

bcc: Messrs. Paul Anthony
John Ehle

See Field Activities

February 6, 1957

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Stanfield

FROM: Paul Anthony

Do you think this is something that could be handled by a memorandum from you to the Council Directors? Are there students left over in John Ehle's program that he might appreciate the opportunity of doing more with this question, etc.

all comes on to
Ed.

February 6, 1967

Mrs. Alfred Gross
Student Transfer Education Plan (STEP)
30 Parkway Drive
Roslyn Heights, New York 11577

Dear Mrs. Gross:

I do recall meeting you last year at the CCAP affair.

We will be happy to be of any possible help to you in the STEP Program, and I think possibly we may be able to. We have, for instance, recently been helping to recruit appropriate students for southern prep schools. I am passing your letter on to Ed Stanfield, our Director of Field Activities, and you will likely hear from him further in this regard.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Jim — Field activities

MEMORANDUM

May 9, 1967

To: Ed Stanfield

From: Paul Anthony

I hate to hold it up, but I think this matter of financial support to Jelinek's program is a doubtful one for SRC. My quick half-considered opinion is that we probably will not be able to do so. Certainly, we should make a final decision on this before the June 23rd meeting of the Advisory Committee.

See Field Activities

MEMORANDUM May 9, 1967

To: Ed Stanfield

From: Paul Anthony

Ed, everything about this man Witherspoon sounds better all the time. This certainly includes the proposed conference. If it gets shaped up we can provide suggestions on participants. And while the less it costs the better, we would also be able to put a little money in this one.

See Field Activities Memos

Southern R[illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] A 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

June 7, 1967

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

An article by Robert Sherrill, titled "It Isn't True That Nobody Starves in America," in the New York Times Magazine, June 4, 1967, confirms and summarizes reports that we have been getting from many sources for many months that literally thousands of people in Mississippi, Alabama, southwestern Arkansas, eastern Tennessee, and other areas of the South are starving. It further confirms that in the very worst counties emergency distribution of food through Surplus Commodities or Food Stamps programs is inadequate or--for most intended recipients--non-existent. The Department of Agriculture has thus far been unwilling or unable (because of opposition from powerful southern congressmen) to make changes of administrative policy to cope with the situation.

That conditions constitute a dire emergency has been confirmed for us most recently by a delegation of medical doctors, including Robert Coles and Raymond Wheeler, who personally observed and report, from the point of view of medical men, quite intolerable malnutrition and susceptibility to disease because of starvation diets in the areas visited.

This is to urge you to read the Times Magazine article, if you can obtain a copy, and to request your members, through newsletters and appeals included in any talks you may be making and in any other way you can think of, to write to The Honorable Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, simply stating concern over these conditions and inquiring whether emergency procedures are possible to get surplus commodities or free food stamps to these people.

I recognize that this is precious little to do and (to those of us who are at all acquainted with USDA operations) probably futile in itself. However, such expressions of interest and concern will coincide with other efforts that are being mounted. We have hopes that the combined efforts will get some results.

A Statement made by Dr. Raymond Wheeler on July 11, 1967 before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, chaired by Senator Joseph S. Clark

I am distressed and concerned that Senators Stennis and Eastland interpret my remarks this morning as libelous to the state of Mississippi.

I was born and reared and educated in the South. I love the region as much as they do. I reported what I saw because it is intolerable to me that this situation should exist in the region I love. I saw those children and their parents, and I told you what I saw and the message of despair and helplessness which they communicated to me.

For the past twenty years I have worked in the South, my birthplace and my home. During that time I have come to know in depth the white and the Negro -- their problems, their sorrows, their joys.

Throughout these years, my heart has wept for the South as I have watched the southern black man and white man walk their separate ways distrusting each other, separated by false and ridiculous barriers -- doomed to a way of life tragically less than they desire -- when by working together they could achieve a society finer and more successful than any which exists in this country today.

And through all of that dreadful pageant of ignorance and suspicion and mutual distrust, the most distressing figures of all has been the southern political leader who has exploited all of our human weaknesses for his own personal and selfish gain -- refusing to grant us the dignity and the capability of responding to noble and courageous leadership -- when all of us had nothing to lose but the misery and desolation which surrounds our lives.

The time has come when this must cease for we are concerned with little children whose one chance for a healthy and productive existence into which they were born -- is at stake.

I invite Senator Eastland and Senator Stennis to come with me into the vast farm lands of the Delta and I will show you the children of whom we have spoken. I will show you their bright eyes and innocent faces, their shriveled arms and swollen bellies, their sickness and pain and the fear and misery of their parents.

Their story must be believed -- not only for their sakes -- but for the sake of all America.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES

75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

July 11, 1967

Statement to United States Senate

Sub-committee on Manpower and Employment

by

Robert Coles

I have been working with rural families in the South and in Appalachia for nearly 10 years -- since 1958, when I lived in Mississippi and started my medical and psychiatric studies. I have worked with sharecropper families, migrant farm families and the families of the mountain people of North Carolina, Kentucky and West Virginia.

I wish to emphasize how <u>national</u> their problems turn out to be. When a sick, chronically malnourished child leaves a plantation or a mountain hollow for Chicago or Detroit, rural poverty becomes urban poverty. (The <u>internal</u> migration this country has recently seen has been enormous -- had the same dislocated people come from outside we should no doubt have all kinds of emergency plans made to help them along and also help the areas in which they settled.)

I would like to speak here briefly about the psychiatric aspects of my work -- the psychological observations I have made. Some of them are already on record in my book <u>Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear</u>. In volume Two of <u>Children of Crisis</u>, entitled <u>Migrants, Sharecroppers and Mountaineers</u> (now in preparation) I am describing in detail what it means for a child (and his or her parents)

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to be sick more or less all the time and hungry more or less regularly. That children can "adjust" to such a state of affairs goes without saying. They become tired, petulant, suspicious and finally apathetic. One can talk with them and play with them and observe their behavior and ask them to draw or paint pictures and from all that learn how the aches and sores of the body become for the child of four or five more than a concrete physical fact of life, but -- in the child's mind-- a reflection of his worth, a judgement upon him and his family by the outside world. They ask themselves and others why -- what they have done to keep them from the food they want, or what they have done to deserve the pain they continue to feel. When the rest of us miss a meal or two, or experience a stomach ache or an injury we are moved to do something about it -- and succeed in evading the irritability and annoyance and anger we may quite naturally feel. Consider what it means for a child to grow up without doctors for his complaints, without the dependable and balanced diet we take for granted.

In my experience with families in the Delta -- some of whom I've known and observed for many years -- their kind of life can produce a chronic state of mind, a form of withdrawn, sullen behavior that the word "depression" only begins to describe. I have seen some of the families I know in the South go North and carry with them that state of mind; they get more food more welfare money, and in the public hospitals of Northern cities certain minimal medical services -- but as one tape-records their

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expressed feelings and attitudes month after month, as I am now doing in a Northern ghetto, one sees how persistantly sickness and hunger in children live on in adults -- who doubt any offer, mis-trust any goodness or favorable turn of events as temporary and ultimately unreliable. I fear that we have among us hundreds of thousands of people who have literally grown up to be and learned to be tired, fearful, anxious, suspicious, and (as a physical fact of life) on a very basic, inflexible and tragic sense, unbelieving.

I will conclude with three very brief, clinical examples.

File
File Activities

M E M O R A N D U M

August 14, 1967

TO: Paul Anthony
Ruth Alexander
Bob Anderson
Pat Watters
James Wood
Marvin Wall
Vernon Jordan
Bill Farmar
John Boone

FROM: Ed Stanfield

Attached, for your information, is a memorandum to the staff personnel of the state councils concerning the retreat at Gatlinburg.

A little later in the month, I shall be in touch with each of you concerning further details, including sharing of cars.

ROOM LIST
SRC-HRC STAFF RETREAT
Mt. View Hotel -- Gatlinburg, Tennessee
September 5-8, 1967

SHARING ROOMS

William H. Harrison
Al Henry

Isaac Richmond
L. S. James

Baxton Bryant
Robert Valder

Frank Adams
Mrs. Frank Adams

Harry Wiersema
Mrs. Harry Wiersema

Guy Long
William Miles

Elijah Coleman
August VandenBosche

W. C. Allred
Glennis Barnes

Patricia Miller
Alice Spearman

Jack Murray
John Boone

Bill Farmar
Lewis Black

Vernon Jordan
Marvin Wall

James N. Wood
Mrs. J. N. Wood

Libby Ledeen
Frances Pauley

SINGLE ROOMS

Kenneth Dean

Hubert Thomas

Ruth Alexander

Paul Anthony

Bob Anderson

Pat Watters

Ed Stanfield

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

August 10, 1967

TO: State Council Staffs

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: The Gatlinburg Retreat, September 5-8, 1967

Attendance and Room Assignments. The response has been very good and we are pleased with the number of you who have made plans to attend the retreat. Most have indicated willingness to share a room, thereby greatly reducing costs, and we appreciate that. Some changes may have to be made in the attached list of room assignments at the Mt. View Hotel. Please go over the list, however, to be sure that we have not inadvertently omitted anyone who plans to attend or included anyone who does not plan to attend.

Schedule. Our opening session will be at 7:30 P.M. on Tuesday, September 5. The concluding session will end at noon on Friday, September 8. We are deliberately keeping the schedule and agenda loose and open, as explained below, but have planned tentatively for morning and evening meetings on Wednesday and Thursday.

Program. The primary purpose of the retreat is to provide sufficient time, with as few interruptions as possible, for meaningful thought, discussion, and planning jointly by the several professional staffs of the human relations councils and the SRC staff. We anticipate that informal discussion, during recreation hours and at other times, will be as meaningful in this process as the plenary sessions. That is why we have kept the schedule loose, with plenty of free time. (Golfers should bring their clubs, hikers their shoes, etc.)

At the first meeting, on Tuesday evening, there will be three initial presentations. One will consist of very brief comments by me on "A Position Paper on Future Roles and Relationships of the Southern Regional Council and the Councils on Human Relations" and the enclosed article, "On Human Relations Councils," which will

appear in the summer issue of NEW SOUTH. (A copy of the first draft of the position paper has been sent to council directors; a revised draft will be sent to everyone shortly.) Another brief presentation will be made by Paul Anthony on the future and direction of the SRC generally.

I have asked Baxton Bryant, as designated spokesman for the state council staffs, to prepare a third paper summarizing your comments--as they have come to him--on the position paper and NEW SOUTH article, thoughts about the future and function of the human relations councils and their relationship to the SRC, and any other relevant concerns. To help him do this, please write or call him about any points which you think his presentation should include.

At the session on Wednesday morning and continuing Wednesday evening, if necessary, we would like to have brief "state of the states" reports from each council director. These could deal with general conditions, special problems and concerns and needs, or almost anything else that may be on the directors' minds. We assume that everyone will have a general knowledge of SRC's programs and of regional conditions, so the object here is to get the SRC staffers cued in to the state councils and the state council staffers cued in to each other--especially the new hands and those who do not attend the regular meetings of state council directors.

On Thursday morning (or another time of the group's choosing) we want to schedule specifically a plenary discussion on the Tuesday evening presentations. We are leaving Thursday evening open and tentatively plan a "summary and review" for Friday morning.

Travel Arrangements and Expenses. SRC will pick up the tab for room and board. (Breakfast and dinner may be taken at the hotel, if desired, and put on the tab. The hotel restaurant is not open at noon.) We are asking that each state council pay transportation costs for one staffer (normally the director) and that automobile transportation be used where practical, in order that other staffers may be brought along without additional cost. Where distance is too great to make auto travel time reasonable, SRC will pay the air fare for the additional professional staffers invited. (We will negotiate, however reluctantly, on "hardship" cases!) Staffers' spouses are welcome to come at their expense.

For those who have to travel by air, we are advised that Gatlinburg may be reached from the Knoxville airport by airport or hotel limousine at a cost of approximately $12.00 per trip. Alternatively, one may take a limousine to downtown Knoxville and then a bus to Gatlinburg. (Buses run about every hour.) Let me suggest that those who will travel by air advise me of their time of arrival in Knoxville by August 31; if these are sufficiently close together, I could arrange to have the hotel limousine pick up several at once.

See Item 2 Actuaries
Ch. ref. David Apter + Assocs
re: State Council Proposal
Acceptance of Apter Concerning fund raising

file

M E M O R A N D U M

August 16, 1967

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Apter and Associates' Proposal

Thus far only the Virginia Council and the Georgia Council have indicated a definite interest in our proposal concerning fund raising in connection with Apter and associates.

The Alabama Council and the Arkansas Council have definitely turned it down.

I have checked informally with Augie VandenBosche and Will Allred, and they say that the indications are that their Boards will be cool toward the idea.

If we eliminate Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi, as I think we must, that leaves only South Carolina as an additional possibility.

Thus, it appears that the idea will not be accepted by as many as four of the state councils. This is not definite and I think we should wait until after the Gatlinburg retreat to determine one way or the other, but at this point it does not appear that we will be able to use Apter's idea.

See Field Activities

October 5, 1967

PA from ES:

This is in reference to the conversation we had yesterday about future handling of aid to state councils -- namely, the idea of operating in the manner of an ersatz foundation, with the SRC executive committee acting upon staff recommendations of specific proposals after the staff has evaluated the proposals along with the organizations submitting them.

I think the subjection of proposals, together with our evaluation and the reasons therefor, to our executive committee would be an excellent procedure, good for all concerned.

It seems to me, however, that the difference between the nature of a foundation and the nature of an agency like SRC needs to be recognized in a significant difference in method of operation. That difference is this: that while a foundation is dealing with its own money and dealing with organizations which, from its frame of reference, are agencies-in-being, the SRC is dealing with someone else's money (the foundations) and dealing with agencies in varying stages of development, the development of those agencies being the program-purpose for which the SRC received the money. That is to say, the negotiations involved will not be bipartite, but tripartite. We need to account to the executive committee for our stewardship of the funds in relationship to the ultimate recipients. But the executive committee has also to account for its stewardship to the ultimate donors.

Accordingly, we need some firm criteria (which may have to be set up rather arbitrarily) for determining whether we are using the donors' funds (1) to create a human relations council or (2) to encourage and strengthen a human relations council which has been created. If the problem is to create a (genuine) human relations council, it seems to me a mistake to trust to luck, trial and error, and the judgment of a policy board which in all probability will have an inadequate conception of what it is they are trying to bring into being. In such a case, I still think it would be best to provide the necessary staff work (professional staff work, that is) ourselves, including both choice and supervision of personnel; the "Board of Directors" of such a nascent state council should be, in effect, an advisory board. Whenever, by whatever criteria may be set up, a state council is ready to be independent and autonomous, our relationship to it would change: they would assume responsibility for their primary staff, and we would deal with them concerning their program. Our program, in this whole context, is -- first and primarily -- the creation of state councils, and I don't think we can responsibly delegate that program. Our program is -- secondarily -- the strengthening of councils-in-being, and this can legitimately take the form of delegating to them responsibility for things which are, essentially, other program concerns of the SRC.

Thus we might say (and you have heard this before) that we will arbitrarily consider a council established when it is able to employ an executive director, maintain an office, and provide

that executive director with a specified minimum of clerical help and travel funds. Until it is, by that definition, established, we will gladly hear any recommendations of the (advisory) board concerning program needs within their state beyond the primary program of council organization; but, in effect, it would be impossible to entertain a grant request from an organization which is not yet established. (I don't believe this would rule out occasional small grants to local councils, such as we have made in the past, because I would assume different criteria of "establishment" for local councils.)

After an organization is "established," we would follow the procedure you outlined yesterday for considering grant requests.

In seeking funds from foundations we would, of course, make this distinction clear. And we would then specify what we need to employ SRC field staff and provide them travel money for the development of state councils and, on the other hand, what we need to make fuller use of -- and simultaneously strengthen -- those state councils which have been developed.

I am afraid this is not very clear and just hope it makes some sense. Let me conclude by saying that, without being able to put my finger on it, I just have the uneasy feeling that without some such clear distinctions of both purpose and ways of operating (and relating) we will wind up in the same muddle we now have.

File Field Activities

October 29, 1967

File

PA from ES:

I want to pick up on our discussion of Friday morning, briefly addressing myself to it, then raise some issues that I think are related to it, at least remotely.

At this point I am still disposed to think that we should stick without exceptions to the principle that no agency should forfeit control of funds for which it is still to be held accountable by its supporters. No agency should divest itself of the means of carrying out its policies in any particular area of concern without also divesting itself of responsibility for whatever policies may be set and carried out. That control may bbe in the form of an agreement on a specifiable project to be delegated or in the form of direct selection and supervision of general operations staff. I thinki t very hazardous to give over selection and supervision of general operations staff to a policy group which cannot or will not be responsible for maintaining it. I believe the history of the human relations councils demonstrates this hazard.

It is true that Augie and the Florida people currently come as close to being allowable exceptions as anyone could be, but I don't think they really are. (Incidentally, it may be significant that Augie explicitly supports the proposed change, at least in general, and I know of no particular opposition to it among his Board members. H. Franklin Williams is chairman of the committee which is recommending it. The opposition is from Ken Dean and others who have far less justification for any claim that they should be excepted.) Where

the SRC does not need, at the moment, the leverage which would be provided by the administrative change, because the man on the field is doing on his own initiative about as good a job as possible under the circumstances, that man on the field probably does need that leverage. He needs a change in the circumstances.

With respect to any given state we have to ask, first, Is a genuine, independent and autonomous human relations council feasible? If our answer is no, then surely we ought to stop investing in a hopeless cause and put our resources into voter education, community organization and other forms of pressuring for the pre-requisite conditions. If our answer is yes, we assume that it is feasible, then we have to ask, Why, after so many years of effort, has such an organization not been established? Our answer to that cannot be a simple one, but I am convinced that a large part of the answer will be that there has been lack of attention to that purpose on the part of the staff, or lack of response on the part of the membership and their policy-board representatives, or perhaps both at times. And I am saying that we should so structure the effort, if indeed we are to continue it, that staff cannot be relieved of the necessity of attending to the organizational purpose and membership cannot remain under an illusion of responsibility.

That is not all there is to it, of course. I have noted that the answer is not simple. I acknowledge the need for

more vigorous, more imaginative leadership from the SRC field department, -- ideas, training, etc. Believe me, I am not at all sure that I have the capacity to provide what is needed in that regard. But I am poorly motivated to come up with good administrative and programmatic ideas until the organizational muddle is straightened out, so that my efforts would be something more than an academic exercise carried on in a vacuum.

That leads me to the related issues mentioned above and which I have outlined to you ~~you~~ by telephone, last night.

Paul, the job I now hold is my first experience at working in a bureaucracy. Heretofore I have worked virtually alone, doing everything, except for clerical help. I was the staff of the churches I served and of the Alabama Council, until Valder came. In all cases, of course, I had a constituency; I served a voluntary association.

I think I have told you what a great adjustment I had to make when I came to the SRC staff. From the beginning I felt that my potential productivity was cut at least 50% by the weight of bureaucratic housekeeping. Where I used to write every letter that went out and read every one coming in, there was the necessity of plowing through a month-old reading file to find out, belatedly and vaguely, what was going on. Where I used to cut a stencil and run it off, there was the necessity of dealing with someone else whose specialty that was. But however annoying all that is, it is necessary and can only

be accepted, and I knew that. I reckon I have adjusted to it very well. Besides, there are compensations.

But increasingly, over these two years, there has been an ill-defined feeling that my job simply is not satisfying or fulfilling. I look back on these two years and ask myself, "What have I accomplished, really?" And in all honestly, I have to answer, "Nothing!"

Would you believe? I find myself looking back to those 16 months in Alabama as the most satisfying and fulfilling in my working life. We did something there. We accomplished some things. And I had a good bit to do with it. To be sure, as I have told you, the first three months in Alabama were the worst of my life from the standpoint of tension and anxiety. They still stand as that, even after these last three. (I hope I mean these latest three!) But while my pain was worse, my morale was better, because I was moving; I was getting somewhere. And in the light of those entire 16 months, the first three become insignificant.

By contrast, I now have a job with no real responsibility. I cannot fail at it, because it is set up so that I cannot be blamed for what happens. In a sense it is a professional sinecure. I guess that's the good side of it. But by the same token I cannot succeed at it. So it is also a professional cul de sac. (Cul de sad sac?)

In Alabama I had some powers. What I am just now realizing about a bureaucratic position is this: No subordinate staff officer has any powers not delegated to him by the staff director

(or whoever is that officer's superior in the bureaucracy) -- not if he is loyal to his superior. As a staff director has power only insofar as he represents the agency itself, so his subordinates have power only insofar as they represent him. A subordinate staffer derives no powers from a constituency; the constituency belongs to the staff director. He cannot influence his agency's policy unless he can influence the director or the policy board through the director (unless he disloyally lobbies directly with members of the policy group). If the people with whom he is supposed to deal ever have reason to believe that he does not ordinarily speak for and with the backing of his superior, he becomes a nonentity.

I realize that all of that is well known to you, but the full force and implications of it are just now getting through to me; so I am going over it just by way of letting you know "where I am."

In the light of this realization I began to examine my predicament. In contrast, I believe, to every other department head and project director at SRC, the director of field activities (which is, as I have said, a misnomer) has neither staff nor discretionary budget nor clearly defined and delegated administrative powers. In contrast to those with whom he must deal most often, he has, of course, no constituency. Some might think that the grant-in-aid program is a significant administrative power, but you and I both know the field director's range of discretion in administering it is, practically speaking, very narrow.

I have never told you how often I have been embarrassed when someone would approach me during a field trip or by telephone, outline some little project, and ask if SRC could fund it for $300 or $500 or $1,000 dollars. All I can ever say is, "Write out what your proposal is and I'll take it up with Paul." On occasion I have ventured to say that it sounds good to me and seems to be within the area of one of our little pockets of money, only to find that -- for reasons which I sometimes understood and sometimes did not -- we could not do it. It seems inevitable that the message would begin to sink in, as I sense that it has: Stanfield is just a functionary, a glorified messenger boy. He not only makes no decisions; he doesn't even influence Anthony's decisions.

That message has been signalled in stronger ways:

(1) At the start of the expanded grant-in-aid program I was told that the chance of getting anything like that much money for that purpose again was very, very slim; that I should hammer away at that; that we should press the state councils to use this money for these three years to make themselves independent. I attempted to follow that lead. Quickly recognizing that the message was not getting through, I urged that termination of the grant-in-aid program be made a matter of policy, as well as "probable" necessity. This was not done. And now it is embarrassing to me that I even have to discuss the possibility of continuing the grant-in-aid program, slightly disguised, perhaps, not only with state council directors, but also with you.

(2) You agreed to the criteria I drew up for the expanded grant-in-aid program that first year. Remember? At the end of the first year, and again at the end of the second year, recipients would be evaluated on the basis of performance in membership enlistment and increase of local funding. Subsequent grants would be made on the basis of performance, not need. I blush to remember such brave talk! At the end of the first year you simply informed me that "we have to hold things together one more year...."

(3) Inevitably, I suppose, the infamous Gatlinburg "position paper" stands out in my mind as the symbol of my situation. It was my best thinking to date, but even so I knew it would need interpreting, expansion, elaboration, modification. You and I went over it carefully and several changes were made at your suggestion; and I well understood that you were not entirely happy with it. Nevertheless you commended it as an effort at the sort of "solid, in-depth thinking we have to be doing." I was prepared, I honestly believe, to reason and think further with all concerned. But at the first salvo of emotional and, by your own testimony, unreasonable dissent -- my paper was publicly and dramatically abandoned, with no opportunity for rational debate. To be sure, I kept talking about it at the retreat (what else could I do?) but my talk was all academic; silently conditioning every opinion I expressed was the unspoken phrase, "If I had any say in it...." Since then I have felt myself the laughing-stock, both of the SRC staff and the human relations councils staffs.

(4) Nevertheless, I attempted a revision. It granted the

point that we should try to find money to provide basic staff services for yet another while to state councils which could not or would not use the three years of expanded grant-in-aid to develop organizationally. It abandoned the contention that a state council, to be really autonomous, should be funded out of a membership base -- let it be funded from any source whatever to which it could justify its existence and program. It cut back to what is, to my mind, the barest bone of principle, the one outlined in the first section of this memo. I outlined it to you over breakfast one morning before the special committee on SRC-HRC relations met. You had not read it, but your first impression, from what I told you, was that it had the sound of "genius" -- which is high praise indeed. We had no chance to discuss it further before the committee met, but I assume that you read it, for you encouraged me to outline the idea for the committee. That committee adopted it as the recommendation they would make to the SRC Board and Executive Committee. You seemed satisfied with it ... until Ken Dean told you that there would be objection to it. You promptly surrendered that last, bare bone of principle -- which will, I firmly believe, make the question of who gets what turn, as it now does, on the question of who can make Paul Anthony most uncomfortable.

Paul, I have at least attempted to be reasonable, thoughtful, and above all loyal. (This makes no claim for the strength of my ability to reason and think.) But the foregoing documents,

I think, that when the chips are down you respond pretty consistently, not to reason and thought and loyalty, but to emotional opposition and threats of unpleasant controversy. You have always been extraordinarily considerate of me and my family in all things personal; you have always been patient and understanding of my foibles and problems; your salary recommendations have been most generous. Surely you know how grateful I am for your support and friendship in that sense. But professionally speaking, you have with some regularity abandoned your friend and rewarded your enemies.

Paul, I dread to say this, but I must: I have lost confidence that you will back me in any controversial effort, even though I secure your prior approval of my plans. By the same token, I can only assume that you have little confidence in my discretion, perceptivity, and judgment. As things now are, that can only mean that my job is at an end, even though I am still on the payroll.

To put it another way, Baxton and company have already won, having stripped me of my job in every respect save its being a livelihood. They have done this by appealing, with good results, to the front office. You suggested that I am letting Baxton, Francis and their like get to me. Not at all. I sincerely believe I can handle more hostility than they can dish out. Only, one must have a base on which to stand. The fact is, they have already gotten to me, not by direct assault, but by causing to shift the only base of power available to me in my position: you.

Frankly, I can see no future for me in that position. At this moment only three things keep me from resigning: the good salary, the fear of being thought a "drifter," and the logistical problems and emotional strain of again uprooting my family (as would probably be necessary to get a non-bureaucratic job).

Those three things are not insurmountable difficulties to a change, in view of the career-withering alternative, but they are enough to make me write so long and -- believe me -- painful a memorandum in an effort to see if we can come to some new terms which would make my position viable to me.

At this point you may conclude that you simply made a mistake in choosing a field director, and that what is needed is not a redefinition of the job or a reorganization to make it possible to do the job, but a man adaptable enough and imaginative enough to be effective under the conditions which prevail. If so, I can assure you of my respect for that decision.

FIELD ACTIVITIES

Most of the new special projects provide consultation service or some other kind of program assistance to state and local councils. The field activities department will naturally have much of the responsibility for coordinating and otherwise assisting the human relations councils to utilize these opportunities fully. Likewise, information gained by the Director of Field Activities in his travels and from reports will have to be shared with the special project directors.

The expanded grant-in-aid program will entail new and additional responsibilities for the field activities department, such as a search for additional talent for state council staffing and the re-establishment of the Louisiana Council.

In working with state councils the Director of Field Activities expects:

(1) To emphasize the necessity of significant growth in membership and significant increase in financial support from the membership and others within each state.

(2) To emphasize development of program activities which will strengthen local councils and involve individual members, and to provide aids to such programming.

(3) To alert state and local councils to the need for a transition to new kinds of programs as the social problems of the South become more "sophisticated," moving beyond problems of simple justice.

(4) In cooperation with the state councils, to move toward higher professional standards for state council staff; among the ways in which this might be done are provision of more frequent meetings of council directors (perhaps one "retreat") and securing consultants, such as an expert in interpersonal relations, for some of these meetings.

The field activities department will continue to serve as the secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference and otherwise seek to increase opportunities for interagency cooperation and join programming.

Staff - Programme Reports

file

DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES (E. Stanfield, Dir.)

During this quarter the field director has attended at least one function of each of the ten state councils on human relations. This travel helped to acquaint him with the several organizations.

Inauguration of the expanded grant-in-aid program made possible by our $300,000 grant from the Ford Foundation was one of the significant tasks of the quarter. General conditions for recipients, prepared by the field director, stress growth and self-sustenance by the state councils.

Another major concern of the field director has been to establish a staffed operation in Louisiana. To this end the New Orleans Community Relations Council has affiliated with the state council and a decision has been made to locate the LCHR office in Baton Rouge. A search for a director has started.

An "Experience Report" requested by the U.S. Conference of Mayors was assigned to the field director. It is a study of positive actions by municipal officials to improve human relations. The report is near completion.

The field department has cooperated with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and private agencies in planning ten state-wide conferences on school desegregation. The first was held in Louisiana on March 26 with 750 participants. Others will be on successive Saturdays in April and May. S.R.C. secured a

grant of $8,000 to obtain resource persons and provide travel expenses for participants in these conferences.

Other activities include the usual duties connected with SRC's functioning as the secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, attendance at a regional consultation of the National Social Welfare Assembly in New Orleans, speeches at two local councils, "trouble shooting" trips, and efforts to help the North Carolina and Alabama councils find directors.

Free
Feel Opportunity
(handled by
=25)

The Macon County Community Action Child Day Care Center is one of several child development projects under the direction of Mrs. Beulah Johnson. It is funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity with the Macon County Community Action Committee, Inc., as the applicant and sponsoring agency.

The City of Tuskegee made available for the Center an old "Boy Scout hut" which is centrally located as a part of the in-kind contribution of the community to the program. This building is in a predominantly white neighborhood. Unfortunately, the equipment, repairs, and remodelling necessary to bring the building up to the standards required by the Alabama Department of Pensions and Security were not anticipated, and the City has no funds with which to make the necessary adjustments.

We are reliably informed that there is considerable hostility to the location of the Center in a facility formerly exclusively for whites. Opponents include, it seems, an obstructionist element on the Community Action Committee itself. This has made it impossible to get help from any public bodies, and Mrs. Johnson had had to turn to individuals and local Negro organizations.

Mrs. Johnson informs us that $250 will assure operation of the Center.

~~SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL~~

~~DIRECTOR OF~~ FIELD ACTIVITIES — file

Report for January - June, 1966

Inauguration of the expanded grant-in-aid program for state councils, made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation, has been the chief activity and achievement of the SRC's Department of Field Activities during the first half of 1966. It has entailed staff changes in Arkansas and North Carolina; expansion of staff in Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia; and the beginning of staffed operation in Louisiana. Staff expansion is pending in Florida. Important new programs have been the result in Houston and Mississippi. (A copy of the grant schedule for the first year is attached.)

A grant ~~of $9,000~~ to the Alabama Council made possible retention of Mr. Robert S. Valder as Associate Director on a permanent basis, upon completion of his year of internship with the Alabama organization. It also permitted filling the position of Executive Director with a very able man, Mr. Jerry Roden, who is a former Editor of the Auburn University Alumni Magazine and a Ph.D. candidate at the university. This simultaneous strengthening and expansion of a state council staff is the sort of result we have been working for in administration of the expanded grant program.

The grant ~~of $8,000~~ to the Arkansas Council permitted significant improvement of the salary scale for the Director and Associate Director, as well as the clerical staff. It was greatly needed and past due. Unfortunately the Arkansas Council

has been plagued with problems. Their plan was to retire Mr. Nat Griswold as Executive Director, replace him with his long-time associate Ozell Sutton, and employ a new Associate Director. First, an able young minister who had agreed to accept the position as Associate Director felt obliged to accept, instead, a position dealing with race relations within his denominational structure. Then, while they were searching for another likely candidate, Mr. Sutton resigned to accept a position with the Community Relations Service. This is merely a coincidental series of setbacks and, under the vigorous leadership of their President, Father Walter Clancy, the Arkansas Council is moving quickly to remedy the situation.

Our increased aid ~~A $7,000 grant~~ to the Florida Council was designed primarily to stabilize their operation. It has done so. They do plan, however, to employ an Assistant to the Director soon, on the schedule stipulated in the grant conditions. The Board and membership seem to be responding well to the call for membership recruitment and increased local support.

With their grant the Georgia Council has employed the Reverend Eddie Smith, a Southern Baptist Clergyman, who will begin work August 1. He will concentrate on developing new chapters of the council. (He probably will also take an interest in SRC's special project in prison reform and criminal rehabilitation. Mr. Smith is the author of a book on capital punishment.)

~~Using their $10,000 grant,~~ The Louisiana Council has employed an Executive Director for the first time since 1957. She is

Mrs. Patricia B. Miller, a former business woman who has recently earned a master's degree in counselling at Southern University. The Council in in the process of setting up an office in Baton Rouge.

The Mississippi Council's grant [redacted] is being used primarily for work with students and on the campuses of the state. Mr. William Silver, who was employed to do this work last September, resigned ~~to/in/May~~ June to become Director of the Young Democrats of Mississippi. The Council provided a ~~dozen~~ dozen work scholarships for students to assist in this work during the second semester of the last school year, and they will do so again ~~in~~ during the next semester.

North Carolina's grant ~~of $8,000~~ was ~~being~~ intended to stabilize their operation, and it has~~ing~~ enabled them to employ a uniquely qualified Executive Director. Mr. William C. Allred, formerly with the Pilot Life Insurance Company of Greensboro, received this spring ~~a Master~~ a M.A. degree in history from Emory University. His thesis was "A History of the Southern Regional Council:1943-1961." Allred began work July 1 and already ~~gives~~ shows promise of vigorous leadership.

The South Carolina Council [redacted] grant ~~of $[illegible]~~ has been used thus far to employ three student assistants, all of whom are interested in careers in the field of human relations. It is anticipated that ~~one of these~~ a full-time assistant to the director will be employed in September.

The Tennessee Council combined their ~~$11,000~~ grant with good fortune to secure the service of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Wiersema, a youthful husband-wife team, as Assistants to

the Director. Both come to the Council after extensive experience as volunteers in the Civil Rights movement and as employees ~~in~~ of the Office of Economic Opportunity. L.C. M.C.

The Houston Council used a modest ~~$4,000~~ sum to secure the services of eight VISTA volunteers to work in slum areas of Houston.

~~Our grant conditions~~ Through our grant conditions and through emphasis in meetings and ~~conversation~~ conversation we have stressed development of chapter organizations ~~in~~ and programs, increased membership, and increased local financial support for all state councils. It is our intention that the ~~resources~~ resources provided by the Ford grant for this purpose shall be used to develop organizational strength and effectiveness, as well as to meet program needs.

Definite steps have been taken to upgrade the state council staffs, which was a second purpose of the Ford grant. Whereas it was previously impossible to bring state council staffs together ~~for~~ more than once or twice each year, we have had two such conferences in this first half and plan two others. ~~Besides a week-long community of participation~~ In addition to these, all of the Executive Directors except one will participate in a week-long Community Leadership Laboratory at Emory University, July 24-31. They were able to take advantage of this training opportunity because of the stipulation that the expanded-aid grants were to be used, in small part, for attendance at such "professionally edifying" conferences.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 101 TWENTY-ONE TWENTY-ONE BUILDING, CORNER 8th AVENUE NORTH AND 22nd STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - 35203
PHONE 252-2722
Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSON, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

Insert:

Under the direction of Mrs M E Tilly a significant meeting was held in Atlanta on — at which the heads of — national women's organizations came together to plan a joint program of encouraging Court reform & related needs. State wide meetings are planned ~~on~~ with the objective of creating in most southern communities vigorous groups of women who will lobby intensively at local law enforcement & Court practices & such means of improving them. We feel this program could have a considerable impact on the region.

One of the most promising among other achievements of this first half of the year, was the staffing of Rural Advancement Projects in Alabama and Florida. (A similar project was begun in Georgia last fall, and one has been in South Carolina for several years.) ~~Using grants of $12,000 each, from the Fund for the Advancement of~~ Mr. Lewis Black has been employed by the Alabama Council and Mr. LaVert Taylor by the Florida Council. The work is carried out in cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund. In addition to administering grants which make it possible, SRC assists the Rural Advancement Projects through the work of Mr. Al Ulmer, Director of our Community Organization Project.

One interesting and helpful innovation was a meeting of the Presidents of the state councils held on June 17 and 18, in Atlanta. This was the first time the Presidents had been brought together for discussions of the philosophy, purpose, and problems of state councils -- and they asked that this be done annually.

See Insert

Another major activity of the Field Director has been in connection with a series conferences on school desegregation held in nine states this spring. Funds administered through SRC's Field Department brought community leaders from throughout each state to the conference and an extra session on community organization for effective desegregation. The conferences were sponsored by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. ~~The extra~~ sessions were planned and carried out jointly with other agencies.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SCHEDULE OF REGULAR GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATE COUNCILS FOR 1966

Alabama	$ 5,500
Arkansas	4,600
Florida	4,600
Georgia	4,600
Louisiana	3,200
Mississippi	4,800
North Carolina	4,800
South Carolina	4,600
Tennessee	4,600
Virginia	4,600
Houston	1,800
Contingency	2,000
Geo. S. Mitchell Award	1,000
TOTAL:	$50,700

Insert before this ~~first~~ regular grant-in-aid schedule

EXPANDED GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM FOR 1966 38

to

STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS*

STATE	ALLOCATION
Alabama	$ 9,000
Arkansas	8,000
Florida	7,000
Georgia	9,000
Louisiana	10,000
Mississippi	16,750
North Carolina	8,000
South Carolina	9,000
Tennessee	11,000
Virginia	8,250
Houston (Tex.)	4,000
Total:	$100,000

*Made possible by a three-year Ford Foundation grant. Grants to state councils will be revised for the second year, and again for the third, in the light of their progress toward attaining both substantially increased membership and financial support from the membership of the several state councils.

Still another Field Activities program was our Paperback Books Project. Just gathering momentum in May and June, the project will distribute about 40,000 paperback books throughout the South in an experiment to determine ways of encouraging book use and library services, as well as book ownership, among those who have not had much access to books.

There have been, of course, many other continuing and incidental tasks for the Director of Field Activities. Three meetings of the Southern Interagency Conference, which we serve as its Secretariat, were held during the period covered by this report. The Field Director participated as a consultant in a meeting of the Personnel Directors from the largest Post Offices in the South, sponsored by the civil rights compliance office of the department's Personnel Bureau. Many meetings of state council Boards were attended, both to be of assistance where possible and to learn more about each council, its personalities, and it problems. And there were special events such as the Poverty Conference in Mississippi, a conference for local council officers and committee chairmen in Florida, and the White House Conference in Washington on June 1 and 2.

Plans for the remainder of the year include preparation of a manual for fund-raising, assistance with fund-raising and membership recruitment drives, and -- hopefully-- preparation of a program of education on race and race relations aimed at the moderate and indifferent white people of the South.

Ed Hayfield
Dir 9/2 - A

July 18, 1966

Kathy Martin from Ed Stanfield:

Please show Paul this draft of the school desegregation report, so that he can make desired corrections or additions.

Then retype the report. We'll need at least two carbon copies, and Paul may want more.

We still need to get the financial report on these conferences from Ruth. (She is being held up by the failure of Ozell Sutton to give the accounting for Arkansas. I called him last week and he assured me that it was on its way.)

The financial report, samples of programs, attendance lists are to be attached to the report, of course.

I'll call in around noon today and will be in tomorrow.

Ed

REPORT TO THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION ON SOUTHERN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CONFERENCES, 1966

Conferences on school desegregation were held, as proposed, in eight southern states and the border state of Maryland under the sponsorship of each state's Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Following each of these, except the one in Maryland, a brief after-meeting was held to discuss the problems of achieving desegregation and to give practical guidance to Negro community leaders on the processes necessary. Such a meeting was also held in Tallahassee, for North Florida, although there was no Civil Rights Commission conference there. These meetings were sponsored jointly by the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the human relations councils of the several states and civil rights groups active in each.

Schedule and Attendance

The Louisiana conference was on March 26 at the Bentley Hotel, Alexandria. Approximately 1,000 people attended the conference and about 400 were at the after-meeting.

In South Carolina, April 2, at Dreher High School, Columbia, there were 800 at the conference, 250 at the second meeting.

The Virginia conference on April 9 was at John Marshall High School in Richmond and was attended by about 600. 200 remained for the after-meeting.

An estimated 1,200 people turned out for the Mississippi conference at the Heidelberg Hotel in Jackson on April 16. At least 450 stayed for the community organization meeting.

The North Carolina conference was at the University's Greensboro campus on April 30. Some 600 people attended,

with about 150 at the second session. ~~[illegible]~~

On May 7 the Arkansas Conference was held at Philander Smith College, Little Rock. About 550 attended, with 200 staying for the after-meeting.

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On April 23, while the U. S. Civil Rights Commission staff was engaged in the Maryland Conference, a small meeting was held for Negro parents and leaders in Tallahassee. About 70 people attended. The American Friends Service Committee, assisted by a staff member of the Florida Council on Human Relations, planned that extra conference, and the Southern Regional Council paid some travel expenses for participants.

The Programs

The conferences followed very similar patterns. Copies of the schedules for two of them are attached. It can be seen that the same basic program was used for both, and it was used for the others also. Speakers and other leaders varied, of course.

The organization meetings were also much alike. Ordinarily the entire group stayed together for a briefing, usually by Miss Jean Fairfax of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, or a member of the

American Friends Service Committee staff (which has been ~~work~~ working intensively on school desegregation for a number of years). This briefing included the ~~salient~~ key points of the new guidelines, techniques of organization to secure transfers to formerly all-white schools, dodges ~~and loopholes~~ to watch for, etc. There was also time for specific case-problems and questions and answers.

By April 30, when the North Carolina Conference was held, the transfer period was supposed to have been over. There was an extension. Nevertheless, the after-meetings of the last four conferences dealt more with what happened -- instances of guidelines violations, difficulties, and the like -- than with organization and planning. ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ There was wide-spread frustration and an often-expressed feeling that "freedom of choice" plans would never do away with the dual school systems.

The Response

Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina had the largest attendances and, ~~so~~ as it seemed, the greatest interest. This was no doubt ~~due~~ due to the fact that these are the states in which there has been least progress toward school desegregation and most frustration. (The attendance in Georgia was a little smaller than in the other Deep South states. Georgia and Alabama had had good conferences on school desegregation a couple of months before -- and Georgia did not have the widely-publicized, total opposition of the state administration to the guidelines that Alabama ~~did~~ had.)

In Louisiana, where only six parishes had "voluntary" desegregation plans and five times as many were under court order,

the interest was remarkable. ~~People By conservative estimate 400 people who came at 9:30 were still listening carefully at 5:30 P.M.~~ There was little organization in Louisiana, the civil rights groups not having conentrated on that state, and the people seemed to feel the need keenly. ~~There was a spontaneity about this group: civil rights organizers were not conspicuous; and the participants seemed to be "grass roots" people who were not accustomed to attending conferences.~~

~~Miss~~ The Mississippi and Alabama Conferences had the added attraction of an address by Commissioner Howe himself. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The challenging circumstances and considerable civil rights leadership also contributed to the greater interest shown.

However, the response in Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia was not at all disappointing.

Costs

A statement showing ~~xxx~~ expenditures for transportation state by state is attached.

Virtually all of the money expended from the New World Foundation grant was for transportation expenses of participants. Since most of the experts used were either from government agencies or ~~XXXXXXX~~ the staffs of private organizations, only one or two consultants had to be utilized. Thus ~~xxx~~ there was less expense for this purpose than we anticipated.

In addition, there was general agreement among ~~the~~ representatives of the sponsoring agencies that we should not try to pay the entire cost of operating a car to the conference, but only the cost of gasoline and oil.

At the first ~~Confer~~ conference, Louisiana, we paid drivers

at the rate of six cents per mile. We noted that many who collected were school principals, teachers and others who were not in the low-income group. Subsequently we reimbursed drivers at the rate of three cents per mile, which we calculated to be enough to buy gasoline and oil for the trip. (Except that in Virginia we were already committed, by a letter of invitation to the after-meeting, to six-cents per mile.)

Evaluation

We feel that the conferences and after-meetings were very valuable and that the provision for participation by the poor greatly increased the value.

At all of the conferences a large number of counties were represented. (See attached partial listings of participants in the community organization meetings.) As a result information about the regulations, the rights of minority-group pupils, the specific steps required of school boards (including copies of required letters and forms), and the techniques of organization for school desegregation was widely disseminated. The staff of the Civil Rights Commission provided literally tons of government publications -- and they were taken eagerly by participants. Sponsors of the second sessions provided kits of material on organization to secure transfers and to monitor procedures of the local school board.

A second value of the conferences was that they gave people opportunity to see, perhaps to meet, employees of government and private agencies who could be called upon for assistance. We feel that it was encouraging to community leaders to see what and who was available to help.

We also think that it was valuable for government officials to be confronted with people from remote counties and with their fears and difficulties concerning school desegregation.

The conferences provided a platform for reaffirmation by government officials of ~~dxxxx~~ the validity of the guidelines and the determination of the administration to achieve desegregation. Commissioner Howe's speeches in Mississippi and Alabama, for example, were widely publicized. ~~Thxxx~~ This kind of thing was valuable at a time when governors and senators and shhool officials from these states were publicly decrying the guidelines as illegal and calling for resistance to them.

File
Fiel d Activities

August 19, 1966

TO: CATHY MARTIN

FROM: ED STANFIELD

Please mimeograph the attached memorandum to Southern Interagency Conference members -- enough to send to the following:

(1) Each name on the attached SIC list
(2) All SRC senior staffers (distribute to them when completed)
(3) Executive Directors of the state councils on human relations.

125 copies run

I gave Mildred the copy for the field activities newsletter. I said we would need 200 copies, but we may need more. It should go to the following:

(1) All members of each state council staff (e.g. Jerry Roden, Robert Valder, and Lewis Black in Alabama)
(2) Members of the SRC board
(3) Mildred's list of foundations
(4) The Southern Interagency Conference persons which I have checked in red ink on the attached list
(5) All SRC staffers

350 copies run

We missed you last week. Welcome back!

Ed

Bernice will run envelopes for the Board Members

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303
[illegible]2-8764
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 23, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Member Agencies, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

SUBJECT: The next meeting

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held in Atlanta on September 20 and 21. It will be convened at 2:00 p.m. on the first day and will end at approximately 12:30 on the second. Please put these dates on your calendar.

Further details as to the exact place of the meeting and the agenda will be sent later. Tentative plans made by the steering committee include an overview of the national mood (covering black power, the riots, white back-lash, the significance of conservative strength in deep-South elections, the difficulty of the 1966 civil rights bill, etc.) We expect to have an expert analysis and a reactor panel. There will also be an analysis of primary election results and several other features.

Please, if it is impossible for you to attend this meeting, take steps to see that your agency is represented.

File

See Field Activities

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File Field Activities Reports

File

MEMORANDUM

October 14, 1967

Confidential

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Mississippi Board Meeting, October 12, 1967

The board meeting was rather uneventful but the report of Glennis Barnes and Ken Dean were interesting in that there is some indication of a purposeful program development. They said that the education report on which Glennis has been working is nearing completion. It has to do with state supported Negro colleges and includes some comparison of educational facilities, standards, and budgets. The Board was very interested in this report and encouraged the staff in it, while at the same time cautioning them upon the inherent limitations.

I was particularly encouraged by the reports of efforts of local council organization. On the ~~proceeding~~ preceding day Glennis and Dean had been in West Point (Clay County), Columbus, and Starkville organizing a council in that area. They're working through college people, a local integrated ministerial association, and have a target date of February, 1968 for formal organization. On the day following the board meeting they were both going to Port Gibson where they have, according to their reports, prospects of another local council.

They report that the Oxford council is well established now with about sixty members and a mailing list of about 150. The Gulf Coast council and the Jackson council also have about sixty paid members. Ken also mentioned preliminary efforts to start a council in Canton.

Another project on which the staff is working is desegregation of draft boards. They have also had something to do with negotiations with HEW and OEO for the development of a pre-school educational training center at Ole Miss. This is to be sponsored by the Ole Miss Department of Education.

They seem to have other reports in progress: one is on employment discrimination and salary discrepency in federal employment in Mississippi, another is on law and order, dealing (in a manner which is not quite clear to me) with recent rash of murders, bombings and the like. Ken said that in addition to all of this they have, of course, devoted much time in the last several months to the problems of poverty and hunger, working with Senator Clark and his Senate Sub-Committee.

I had dinner with The Reverend Powell Hall who is slated to become the next Chairman of the Mississippi Council. I find him to be a very intelligent fellow and he certainly has a touching history. He was one of the group of some twenty ministers who made

a relatively mild statement following the Oxford riots. He is the only one remaining in the state and he has never, since that time, received anything other than a minimum salary appointment from his Bishops (he is a Methodist). As the father of five children this is, of course, a great hardship. He bears it with apparently no bitterness, although he admits that his wife takes it with somewhat less grace.

We discussed some of the apprehension he had about becoming Chairman of the Mississippi Council. Among other things, he had some slight misgivings about his ability to work with Ken. Interestingly enough, an observation of his verified a feeling of mine, namely that Ken has mellowed somewhat since his marriage. He observed that Ken is notably more considerate, more sensitive to the feelings of the people with whom he deals and much less given to sharp and snappy retorts. As I indicated, I think there is something to what he says.

At any rate, Powell Hall has made his decision to accept the Chairmanship and I think it will work out very well.

See Field activities Reports

file

MEMORANDUM

October 14, 1967

Confidential

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield E

SUBJECT: Arkansas Council Board Meeting and workshop for local council leaders - Pine Bluff, 10/14/67.

The most significant action of the Arkansas Board at this meeting was their authorizing Father Clancy to negotiate for employment of Baxton Bryant as Associate Director of the Arkansas Council. At the same time they renewed Elijah's contract, and the understanding was that he would be the "senior executive."

It seems that Will Campbell advised Clancy of Baxton's availability. When he further suggested that money from Field Foundation could likely be had to pay his salary, at least for the first year, Clancy saw it as a chance to make up for Coleman's weakness in relating to the white community and, at the same time, get some of the aggressiveness which he strongly feels the Arkansas Council needs.

Clancy is going into this with his eyes open. He knew, even before I told him, Baxton's weaknesses, as well as his strengths. He is aware of the potential difficulties. Despite my misgivings, I sensed that it would be unwise to attempt to block the move. Actually, Clancy approached the subject more in the manner of letting

me know what he was about to recommend--and why--rather than as seeking my opinion and advice. He had determined to step down as Chairman after this time, feeling frustrated under the present set up. He told me, and had told Baxton, that, if they could get Baxton, he would accept another term as Chairman. He knows that, without a strong Chairman, Baxton would "overwhelm Elijah" and the Board, too. He knows that they cannot rely on Baxton to organize and serve local councils, but his strategy is that he (Clancy) and Elijah can follow through with the organizational work after Baxton get things off dead center in various communities. I can imagine that, although my imagination doesn't run away with me.

At any rate, Clancy thinks they have little to lose and may gain a great deal, if they can get him. Getting him is no sure thing, of course. Clancy claims Coleman is pleased with the idea. I had no opportunity to talk to Elijah after the meeting, but will do so. He will talk to Baxton in Nahsville on Tuesday. Other questions: Will Baxton leave Tennessee? Will Les fund Arkansas for him? Will he take, even technically, and associate position? Will his wife think Little Rock is close enough to Dallas?

If it comes to pass, it could mean some continuing trials for us, but there are some things to be said for it, I think. First, my objection to Baxton has never been so much to what he does as to the manner in which he goes about it--disregarding his policy

board--and to what he leaves undone. If Clancy can, as he thinks he can, handle those problems, it might work out. Second, it would pacify Les and provide an out for the Tennessee mess. As it is now, Baxton is cornered, and he needs an ego-saving alternative. (Incidentally, I would guess that he would go ahead and line up his forces to win a request for re-consideration of his resignation--and then stick to his decision to leave.)

The workshop was well attended. There were representatives from several new local councils--Wynne, El Dorado, Camden, Forrest City, Fort Smith, as well as Jonesboro, North Little Rock, Conway, Pine Bluff and other places. Clancy bore down on the importance of local councils, and clearly Elijah, with Clancey's help, has been working at organizing them.

In turn, there were several "testimonies" from the local leaders about the importance of the state council staff to them. One of Arkansas' problems, of course, has been reluctance of locals to affiliate with the state council and support it. I feel that they are making headway on that problem.

Some good work by Howard Himmelbaum on welfare problems was in evidence, and the local council folks were keenly interested in this. (Howard was not there--National Guard duty.) Clancy and Carole Taylor both say that Howard has matured, that he has shaved his beard, and even works with middle class council members pretty well! Clancy spoke of his complete dedication and his stomach for grinding at details. He hopes to have Himmelbaum take Carole's

place when she leaves (to go to graduate school) in the fall of 1968.

May I raise with Clancy and Elijah the possibility of funding Howard further, specifically to guide local councils to look into welfare practices? Since they aim to keep him around anyway, it might put some of our funds for that purpose to good use and help the Arkansas Council.

It really is rather amazing what Clancy has patched together out there with practically nothing. Carole, besides being "administrative assistant" or whatever, is something of an expert on education--as is Coleman. It sounds darned impressive when Clancy introduces them, then refers to Himmelbaum as "on our staff, doing a special project on welfare practices," and introduces Ben Grinage as "director of our statewide voter project." Especially when he winds up with "Nat Griswold, staff Director Emeritus, who is on leave-of-absence to do some histroical research and writing."

WELFARE

One activity that the affiliates can perform is to negotiate with the county welfare department concerning:

(A) The employment of Negro Welfare Investigators.

(B) Changing some of the practices of Welfare Investigators which do not conform to Welfare Department regulations or federal law. (i.e. removal of AFDC families from the rolls because the mother has an illegitimate birth, removal of welfare recipients and the refusal of applicants without written notice.)

A. When negotiating about the employment of Negro Welfare Investigators, it may be necessary to talk with the county welfare board, as well as with the Director, because the county board has final say on who is employed in the welfare office. Applicants for the job must take the State Merit Examination. From the list of the top three candidates the board may select any one of the three they believe to be best suited to the job. Under these conditions it is vary easy to eliminate a Negro candidate, unless all three of the top scorers are Negroes.

The following is a list of the County Welfare Boards in counties where we have local affiliates.

FAULKNER COUNTY

Mrs. Alene Dickens
Route 2
Conway, Arkansas

Leonard J. Lewsaw
Parkview Apt.
Conway, Ark.

Richard J. Strack
460 Ongram St.
Conway, Ark.

F. H. Harrington
Greenbrier, Ark.

Joe W. Newton
Box 786
Conway, Ark.

Herman Winningham
Damascus, Ark.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

Ben Clark
Route 1
Elkins, Ark.

Dr. David L. Harner
Fayetteville, Ark.

Dr. Coy C. Kaylor
Fayetteville, Ark.

Lynn C. Smith
409 Maple Avenue
Springdale, Ark.

Curtis S. Crouch
Box 218
Fayetteville, Ark.

Arthur Johnson
Springdale, Ark.

Robert H. Pitts
Sincoln, Ark.

SEBASTIAN COUNTY

J. Clib Barton
Merchants Nat'l Bank Bldg.
Fort Smith, Ark.

Alpha E. Dodson
2100 N. 14th. St.
Ft. Smith, Ark.

Paul B. Gean
Ft. Smith, Ark.

Morgan Wright
509 N. 23rd. St.
Ft. Smith, Ark.

Ralph Crigler
5916 Park Avenue
Fort Smith, Ark.

Norman E. Ferguson
909 N. 35th. St.
Fort Smith, Ark.

Bruce McNeil
2420 Independence
Fort Smith, Ark.

JEFFERSON COUNTY

Mrs. V. I. Dupree
1316 W. 5th.
Pine Bluff, Ark.

Roger W. McNew
129 Main St.
Pine Bluff, Ark.

Roy H. Smith
1209 W. 32 St.
Pine Bluff, Ark.

L. E. Leas
1839 Oak St.
Pine Bluff, Ark.

Charles Penix
Pine Bluff, Ark.

PULASKI COUNTY

Mrs. Noland Blass
3 Longfellow Circle
Little Rock, Ark.

Mrs. D. G. Brown
401 N. Monroe
Little Rock, Ark.

F. W. Parris
5704 Hawthorne Place
Little Rock, Ark.

Mrs. Avonell Boyce
3301 W. Capital
Little Rock, Ark.

Mrs. R. J. Mackin
35 Wingate Drive
Little Rock, Ark.

L. L. Thornhill
2300 Schiller
Little Rock, Ark.

UNION COUNTY

Aubra Anthony
1412 N. Jefferson
El Dorado, Ark.

Curtis Kinard, Jr.
411 N. Murphy
El Dorado, Ark.

F. D. McNutt
Norphlet, Ark.

W. H. Guinn
Box 284
Huttig, Ark.

Mrs. Frances M. Landers
1801 W. Block St.
El Dorado, Ark.

Sara Stone
613 Nolia
El Dorado, Ark.

CROSS COUNTY

Oneal Lemke
Hickory Ridge, Ark.

Mrs. Claude Norris
Route 1, Box 299-A
Wynne, Ark 72396

J. H. Quessenberry
Birdeye, Ark.

Robert H. Winters
Rt. 2,
Wynne, Ark.

Gordon Morris
Parkin, Ark.

Sewell Parker
P.O. Box 156
Cherry Valley, Ark.

Mrs. Mary P. Ritchey
1016 Hamilton Ave.
Wynne, Ark.

OUACHITA COUNTY

Harold Cromwell
Box 95
Stephens, Ark.

E. R. Mathis
305 Walnut St. SW
Camden, Ark.

Lawrence Purifoy
Chidester, Ark.

Miss Thelma Haynes
221 Adams Ave NE
Camden, Ark.

C.V. Peacock
249 Agee Ave.N.W.
Camden, Ark.

CRAIGHEAD COUNTY

J. T. Barnes
Monette, Ark.

J. R. Jones
Route 3
Walnut Ridge, Ark.

W. H. Stone
Bay, Ark.

Wes McBroome
Jonesboro, Ark.

Eldridge Thompson
Rt. 4
Jonesboro, Ark.

W. R. Thompson
Route 2
Lake City, Ark.

ST. FRANCIS COUNTY

John Preston Clark
Box 96
Caldwell, Ark.

David Gates
Forrest City, Ark.

Galvin Parker
P. O. Box 87
Palestine, Ark.

Meridith E.Wilson
1119 N. Izard
Forrest City, Ark.

Bob Mosley
2420 E. Broadway
Forrest City, Ark.

Paul Gehring
Wheatley, Ark.

S. R. Wilkens
Box 76
Colt, Ark.

Some facts concerning the rules and regulations of the state of Arkansas Department of Public Welfare follow:

1. A person can apply for welfare help at anytime.

2. The welfare worker must give you an application.

3. You can bring someone to help you when you apply for aid.

4. If the welfare worker refuses to give you an application you should write to the Commissioner of Welfare, telling him what has happened.

5. You should get WRITTEN notice about the welfare departments decision within 30 days after you apply. If you do not receive written notice within 30 days, write to the Commissioner of Welfare.

6. If they refuse to put you on welfare, cut your money down, or cut it off----or if they do anything you think is wrong, ASK FOR A FAIR HEARING
WRITE TO THE COMMISSIONER OF WELFARE
STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
Tell him why you want a fair hearing.

7. If your husband lives with you and your family you CANNOT receive welfare, unless he is disabled.

8. A family cannot qualify for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) if its income from all sources (income, pensions, social security, etc.) exceeds $174.00 per. month.

9. A family consisting of a mother and seven children (or more) can receive the maximum check of $125.00 a month from the Department of Public Welfare.

10. The Welfare Department CANNOT legally remove a family from the welfare rolls if the mother has an illegitimate birth.

11. There are four major categories of welfare assistance. They are:

(A) Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
This category aids families in which there is either no male parent or where the male parent is completely disabled.

(B) Aid to the Blind (AB)
A person must be sixteen years of age or older, and certified as being legally blind by the welfare department, in order to qualify for AB.

(C) Aid to the Aged
In order to qualify for AA a person must be 65 years of age and be in financial need.

(D) Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled(APTD)

In order to qualify for this assistance a person must be at least 18 years of age and under 65 years of age. The applicant must be certified as medically unable to work at any job in order to qualify. The welfare department interprets this regulation very narrowly and many people who are in obvious need of help do not qualify.

One of the major problems that exist in Arkansas is that welfare recipients and rejected applicants do not know that they can ask for a FAIR HEARING. They also have the right to bring to the hearing any representative of their choice. He can be a lawyer, neighborhood friend, a member of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, etc.

The following is a breakdown of the Fair Hearings in 1965-66 by county. It will give you an idea of how few appeals people have made in the past, when they disagreed with a decision.

FAULKNER COUNTY

AA	AFDC	AB	APTD
2	-	-	2

WASHINGTON COUNTY

AA	AFDC	AB	APTD
5	1	-	-

SEBASTIAN COUNTY

AA	AFDC	AB	APTD
-	-	-	-

JEFFERSON COUNTY

AA	AFDC	AB	APTD
4	2	-	1

PULASKI COUNTY

AA	AFDC	AB	APTD
3	4	-	7

UNION COUNTY

AA	AFDC	AB	APTD
4	-	-	-

CROSS COUNTY

AA	AFDC	AB	APTD
-	-	-	-

OUACHITA COUNTY

AA	AFDC	AB	APTD
1	1	-	4

CRAIGHEAD COUNTY

AA	AFDC	AB	APTD
1	1	-	4

ST. FRANCIS COUNTY

AA	AFDC	AB	APTD
-	1	-	2

Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas
October 1967

QUESTIONNAIRE AND CHECKLIST FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The following questions are designed to inform both the local affiliates and the state office about the situation in the community. (Answers to these questions will be important in the event of court action.)

They are general questions which fall into two broad categories:

(1.) How your desegregation plan is administered and working and,

(2.) Inequality between white and Negro schools.

These questions are general and are designed to suggest problem areas. Please provide any information about problems you are having with your school district.

The Desegregation Plan

1. Did parents receive freedom of choice forms? If so, how were they received? (Mail, at school, other?) Did they have to pick them up personally at the Superintendent's office?

2. Did any parents have any difficulty in making their choice? (Provide names of persons who experienced difficulties and describe the difficulties they had.)

3. (a) Was anything required by the school authorities other than the completed freedom of choice form, such as birth certificates, health record, transcript of grades, etc.?

(b) Did any parents have trouble meeting these requirements? (Provide names of any students who were denied their choice because they were unable to fulfill those requirements.)

4. (a) Did all students, white and Negro, have to fill out a choice form to attend school? Or just Negroes who wanted to transfer?

(b) If students did not fill out a choice form, how were they assigned to the school they were presently attending? (By appearing at the school the first day of the class?)

(c) Could Negro students attend a Negro school by just "showing up" the first day of class? If not give names of Negro students who were denied admittance after "showing up" at the white school.

5. (a) Were any choices denied? (Give names of students whose choices were denied.)

(b) If school officials gave reasons for denial, list reasons.

(c) How were students told whether choices were granted or denied? (If by letter, attach a copy.)

(d) When were students informed their choices were granted or denied? (Date) How long after the choice period?

(e) Were second choices given to students whose first choice was denied? How long were these second choices made? (When?)

(f) If students were denied for "overcrowding" at the white school, compare overcrowding there with overcrowding at Negro schools of the same grade level.

6. (a) Was any public notice given of choice plan?

(b) When and how often did public notice run?

(c) Where was public notice given? (Radio, T.V., Newspaper.)

7. How long was the choice period? Dates?

8. (a) Are Negro students allowed to transfer from the desegrated schools back to the Negro school after school begins? (Names of students and schools involved.)

9. (a) Did teachers or other persons influence parents or students in making choices? (How? Names of principals, teachers, supervisors or other persons influencing choices. Did any teachers tell students which school to choose?)

10. Approximately how many Negro pupils are enrolled in each formerly all-white school in your district?

11. Did the school authorities deny transportation to any Negro students to white schools? (Names)

12. Have Negro pupils been discriminated against in white schools? (Segregated seating in classroom, lunchroom, auditorium; not given books, not permitted to participate in any activity? Other? Give names of pupils and teacher or other person responsible for discrimination and description of discrimination.

13. If your community has pre-registration for students entering the first grade, describe how this works, indluding:

(a) How are children informed of pre-registration?

(b) Are students informed where to pre-register?

14. List any problems that members of your community have had excercising their rights under the designation plan.

15. Has there been any announcement of the transfer period for the 1967-68

school year? Dates? Changes in the plan?

B. Facilities

1. List all schools in your district indicating:

(a) The grades taught in each school.

(b) Whether it is a predominantly Negro or predominantly white school.

(c) Provide a map of the district locating each school on the map.

2. Describe each school (shack, wood, brick, indicating the kind of playground facilities, lunchroom,auditorium, gym, restrooms or outhouses, etc.) How old is each school?

3. Indicate name of every new school which has been built and every school which has had an addition within the last four years.

4. Indicate any schools which will be opened for the first time next year (1967-68 school year.)

5. Indicate any plans your district has for new schools which have not been started including information about bond issues, sites which have been purchased, etc. (If the district has announced when building will begin, give date.)

6. Indicate generally how the Negro school in your district are inferior to white schools in your district. Send pictures, if possible.

7. Are any classes taught in rooms not intended to be classrooms? (Auditorium, gym, lunchroom, student hall, etc.?)

8. Are Negroes expected to provide equipment, utilities or services which are provided by the school board for white schools?

9. Since you have had a court order, has your school board closed any inferior Negro schools? Name them. What happened to the children and teachers from these schools?

C. Curriculum

List courses taught in each school of your district to the extent possible.

1. Indicate what courses are taught in the formerly white schools that are not taught in Negro schools and courses taught in Negro schools not taught in formerly white schools.

D. Pupil Teacher Ratio

1. There are usually more Negro students per teacher in Negro schools than there are students per teacher in the formerly white schools. Indicate for your district to the extent possible, the number of pupils assigned to each teacher in the Negro schools and in the white schools.

2. Indicate any classes which are combined -- for example one teacher instructing several grades in one room, etc.

E. Books and Equipment

Often the books, libraries, science equipment, playground equipment and other facilities used in the schools are fewer and older in the Negro schools than in the white schools. To the extent possible, indicate the differences in all facilities and equipment in the Negro schools and formerly white schools, including class books, libraries, playground equipment, science equipment, motion picture equipment, office equipment, shop equipment, encyclopedias, lighting, language library, etc. Also please indicate any differences in blackboards, desks, and supplies, such as paper, pencils or other kinds of supplies which are present in white schools but not in Negro schools. Also indicate schools which do not offer lunch or which do not have athletic programs.

F. Special Services and Opportunities

Describe any special opportunities, such as scholarships, work and study programs with local businesses, etc., which are offered to white students but not to Negroes.

G. Teachers and Other Staff

1. Indicate the race and number of teachers in each school.

2. If any faculties within your district are desegregated, indicate the number of teachers, by race in each school.

3. Indicate the race of each principal and the name of his school.

4. If your district uses student teachers, are they assigned on a segregated basis?

5. Are there any Negroes in the central office?

6. Are there Negro or white supervisors with desegregated assignments.

7. If your district has new Federal projects, are the teachers white or Negro or both? Do they work on a racial or interracial basis?

H. Transportation

1. Indicate what changes, if any, have been made in the transportation system of your district since you have had a court order.

2. Have buses been re-routed?

3. Do bus routes carrying predominantly white students overlap bus routes carrying Negro students?

4. Do white and Negro students ride any buses together in your district?

5. Do any buses make more than one trip per day?

6. If Negro buses are more overcrowded than white buses, provide details.

7. Are buses carrying white children newer than buses carrying Negro children?

8. Does your district use student drivers?

9. List any other problems your community has with respect to transportation.

I. Transfers in and Out of District

1. If children are transported out of your district to another school district, please provide details including race of students and schools to which students are sent.

2. If students are transported into your district from another district indicate race of students and schools where they are enrolled.

3. Indicate the districts which students are transferred to or the name of districts from which students transfer into your district. (i.e. from city to county or visa versa.)

J. Athletics

1. Do teams from Negro schools play against schools from predominantly white schools?

2. Are Negro students in formerly white schools allowed to participate in athletic activities? Include names of any persons denied the right to participate.

K. Federal Programs

Please give any information about discrimination in, or the misuse of, programs supported with Federal funds, including the school lunch program and the new Federal projects.

L. General

List any other problems you have had with desegregation giving all of facts possible and names of persons involved, including harassment, double sessions, etc.

See Field Activities report

Attachment

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES
Southern Regional Council
Annual Meeting -- November 1, 1967

My report will be brief. Many of the routine responsibilities of the Field Department are not new to you. I shall not bore you with a complete listing of them.

Among activities in that category are an informal employment service, helping agencies in the intergroup relations field find personnel and helping individuals locate positions; attendance at annual meetings, board meetings, and other functions of state councils; numerous talks to an assortment of groups; and participation in meetings on various subjects with representatives of other agencies in the field -- ranging from a family planning conference in New York to a school desegregation strategy meeting in Washington to a convocation on techniques of adult education in Atlanta. There were three or four meetings of state council directors and/or staffs during the year. One of these was held in Washington, which provided a welcome opportunity to consult several officials; another was a planning retreat in Gatlinburg, about which more later. We had a meeting again this year for state council chairmen.

A Field Activities Newsletter is mailed regularly to about 600 people, including state council board members and the presidents of local councils, as well as the SRC Board members. The SRC continues to serve as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, and duties in connection with that function are carried out by your Field Director.

The Field Director this year served on the advisory committee of the Southern Rural Research Project, which is seeking to document discrimination in U. S. Department of Agriculture services. He participated in workshops for local council leaders in Florida and Arkansas. A "listening tour" was taken in eastern North Carolina in March, and in July I took a similar tour across north Louisiana with Pat Watters, Director of Information.

One small, but satisfying, development during the year was establishment of a working relationship with a group called the Citywide Committee of Organizations and Individuals for Human Rights in Austin, Texas. We have worked out an arrangement to help this group secure modest assistance which is sorely needed, and we are planning to sponsor, with them and the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, a conference on private and public human relations agencies in March of 1968. It will be held at the Texas Law School and will involve a large number of Texas attorneys, jurists, and other community leaders.

Turning now more specifically to state council affairs, the year has been marked by even more than the usual number of changes in personnel. The councils in Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida have all added associate directors. They are Mr. Glennis Barnes, Mr. William Harrison, and Mr. William H. Miles, respectively. The Houston Council, which was without an executive director at this time last year, has employed The Reverend John Murray, a Lutheran minister as its staff director. The Georgia Council has had a large number of changes: Paul Wahrhaftig, Associate Director, resigned and was replaced by The Reverend Al Henry, who also subsequently resigned; Mrs. Frances Pauley, who had been director of the Georgia Council for many years, resigned at the end of September. The new executive director of the Georgia Council is Mr. John McCown, who previously was in community organization work in Chatham County and a seven county area around Hancock County. Mrs. Alice Spearman, executive director of the South Carolina Council since its beginning, retired August 31 and has been succeeded by The Reverend Paul Matthias, a Methodist minister. In Virginia, both The Reverend Robert Combs and Mr. Bailey Wharton, Associate Director, resigned from the staff, and Mr. Frank Adams has been named the new executive director. Mr. Adams' experience includes work as a reporter for the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot and as a teacher of urban studies at Goddard College, Vermont. From the Tennessee Council staff Mr. Isaac Richmond and Mr. and Mrs. Harry Wiersema resigned to accept other positions.

Statistically the state councils continue to show slow, but steady, growth. Total membership in the ten state councils and the Houston Council came to approximately 13,422 this year, where it was 11,633 last year. This is an increase of 15.4%. Outstanding in terms of numerical growth were the councils in Louisiana, Houston, and Florida. The Florida Council is now the largest, with 2,114 paid members. Virginia is a close second, with 2,031.

Taken together, the councils raised $134,920 from local sources. That is an increase of 12% over last year's $120,388. The star performer in this respect was Houston, with about $32,000 in local funding, not including a $7,000 special project grant from the Houston Foundation. The Georgia Council was also outstanding, having raised some $19,264 from its members and friends.

There are now 123 local affiliates, whereas there were 109 at this time a year ago. Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and Tennessee have been especially successful in organizing local councils, although five--in Arkansas--is the largest number of new locals in any one state.

Professional staffers employed by the state councils numbered 28, at peak strength, and there were about 14 full time secretaries and clerical workers, besides a fluid number of part time workers.

Financial support of state councils from the Southern Regional Council was roughly the same as it was in 1966. Including our $150,000 grant-in-aid program, the Rural Advancement Projects and several project grants, it came to well over $225,000.

Some of the councils are making systematic efforts to attain fiscal independence, as well as autonomy. The Virginia and Tennessee Councils have both recently launched experiments in program development, organizational development, and development of financial resources, utilizing professional consultants. Others -- Florida, Alabama, and Arkansas come readily to mind -- have made serious efforts in that direction, utilizing their own leadership. As mentioned a moment ago, the Houston Council must be considered successful in this effort, as it has been for a number of years.

Nevertheless, I would be less than candid were I not to tell you that attainment of our goal of having the councils on human relations able to maintain their basic operations on their own financial resources alone by the end of 1968 is, at this time, very much in doubt. Understandably, our emphasis on this goal, together with frustratingly slow growth, has led to a great deal of soul searching, questioning, and debate among the staffs of the state councils and the Southern Regional Council. The high point of this process of thinking and rethinking during the year was a retreat at Gatlinburg in September at which the professional staffs of all of these organizations discussed at length, and sometimes heatedly, this goal and these frustrations. Among the questions we were asking and debating were these: Is it possible to sustain even a minimal staffed operation on the basis of support from within a southern state? Is the South so racist that it is futile to approach the goal of "equal opportunities for all peoples of the South" through a biracial, membership organization? Can a broad-enough base of support be gained only at the sacrifice of real involvement and effective action? Who can and should be sought as members of such organizations? What can and should be the program of such organizations?

This process is continuing, and you will hear a report from a special committee, set up by your executive committee two years ago, on the roles and relations of the human relations councils and the Southern Regional Council.

This re-evaluation has consumed much of our time and energy, both physical and emotional, during this year. Looked at from one point of view, this could be said to be a case of the sickness which has overtaken so many organizations, if not all of them, in the intergroup relations field in this year of the break-up of the civil rights movement, of Black Power, of riots in the nation's cities.

But I am convinced that the process is, fundamentally, a sign of health and that it bodes well the future importance and effectiveness of the human relations councils. Never, in fact, have the staffs of the state councils been stronger than they now are, either in numbers or in talents. We are going through a period of readjustment, as any healthy organism must when confronted by drastically altered circumstances. But biracial efforts toward an open and inclusive society in the South are more important than ever, and, because the members and staffs of the state councils manifest so much ability and so much concern and so much determination, I believe that our attempt at readjustment will be successful. It is not incautious to say that their future is as bright as the future of the South.

--J. Edwin Stanfield

Attachment 4

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES
Southern Regional Council
Annual Meeting---November 16, 1966

Insofar as this report might deal with the personal activity of the Director of Field Activities, it is tempting to summarize by quoting one of the central characters from the Book of Job. Whenever the council of heaven was called, "Satan came also among them." Bach time, in answer to the question, "Whence have you come?" Satan answered the Lord, "From going to and fro on the earth, and from walking up and down on it."

Taking advantage of opportunities during my first year to acquaint myself with the region, as well as carrying out necessary duties, has carried me twice to Arkansas, three times into Tennessee, twice to Washington, D.C., and once to Virginia. I have been four times each to North and South Carolina and thrice to Florida. I have lost the count for Alabama and Mississippi, and the air lines think I commute to Louisiana. Georgia can thank my desk work for distracting me from my duties here, except for attending the annual meeting of the Georgia Council, fairly regular attendance at their executive committee meetings, and a couple of speaking engagements.

Most of these wanderings have been occasioned by some function of the state councils. As with all of the professional staff of the SRC, however, there have been responses to occasional requests and opportunities, such as attendance at the Mid-Decade Conference on Children and Youth and the White House Conference on Civil Rights; a talk on "The Nature of Prejudice" at a workshop in Mobile for the Personnel Directors of the largest Post Offices in the region; an address to the United Church Women of Huntsville and to local human relations councils in Charleston, Aiken, and Auburn; and a briefing for Y.W.C.A. executives at Lake Junaluska.

Additional travel was occasioned by special program efforts involving the field department. In the spring and early summer we cooperated with the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defence and Education Fund, and the several state councils in workshops on school desegregation in each of the

southern states. These were held in conjunction with wider conferences sponsored by the state advisory committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Along with John Boone, Director of SRC's Special Project on Crime and Corrections, we assisted the Fellowship of Concern and the state councils with a series of workshops on "Dual Justice in the Courts." These, too, were held in each state in the region. Mrs. Tilly will tell you more about them later in this meeting.

In the course of the year we have been called upon for other services requiring less travel, but a great deal of administrative work. We were asked to secure the names of Negro boys now in the eighth grade, a list of apt candidates from which eighteen could be selected for admission to six of the top prep schools of the South.

A more involved project has been an experiment in the distribution of paperback books among people who otherwise have had little opportunity to use and own books. We are attempting to find unorthodox means of making them available, such as bookshelves in community centers; parents groups connected with day care or Head Start programs; in connaction with tutorial projects, reading rooms, and study halls; and by creating or supplementing inadequate classroom or school libraries. Under the able administration of Miss Louise Cole of our staff and with the invaluable aid of the Atlanta News Agency, we are well into the process of distributing some 40,000 paperback books in these ways.

Your field department continues to serve as the secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference, an informal gathering, four times per year, of most of the intergroup relations agencies working in the region for the purpose of discussing current problems and prospects and mutual briefing on new programs.

Service and assistance to the state councils on human relations remains, however, the primary continuing responsibility of your Department of Field Activities--and their growth in size, strength and effectiveness our constant concern.

As you know, we have been able this year, because of increased foundation support, to triple the total of our grants-in-aid to the state councils to $150,000. In addition we are now able to invest some $50,000 per year in Rural Advancement Projects under the structures of four state councils, working in close cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund. Moreover, the councils are able to take advantage of incidental program funds available in connection with SRC;s special projects for specific, short-term activities. Thus we are contributing between $225,000 and $250,000 to state and local council operation and program.

For the reasons mentioned by Mr. Anthony this afternoon the purpose of the expanded grant-in-aid program is to enable the state councils to grow to the point where they can be self-sustaining in their basic staffed operations. Our goal is to see this point reached by the end of 1968, with possible exceptions in the cases of the Mississippi and Louisiana Councils, which have only recently been reorganized. To this end we have constantly emphasized organized recruitment and involvement of members, organized efforts at indigenous funding, increase in size of staffs, and professional upgrading of staff--as well as concomitant development of program and services.

The response of state council leaders, both lay and professional has been gratifying and the results are notable. In addition to Rural Advancement Projects in South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Alabama--each with a full-time director--other full-time staff professionals have been added: two in Tennessee and one each in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. In Louisiana an office has been opened in Baton Rouge and an able Executive Director and Office Manager employed, giving that council a staff for the first time. The operations in Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Florida have been stabilized with adequate salaries for executives and full-time clerical employees.

While speaking of personnel changes, we note with regret that some members of the state council family who were present at this meeting last year are missing this year. Bob Alexander and Ozell Sutton resigned from the staffs of the Houston and Arkansas Councils, respectively, to accept other positions. Nat Griswold, who has been Executive Director of the Arkansas Council from its beginning, is on a six-month leave of absence to write a book and will formally retire at the end of the year. Most sadly do we report the death, on September 19, of Mr. Oliver Holmes, personable and invaluable Assistant to the Director of the Georgia Council.

As for training and upgrading of the council staffs, it has been possible to double the number of state council staff conferences. We have brought them together five times this year, in addition to their attendance at this meeting. One time it was for an eight-day Community Leadership Development Laboratory at Emory University--a first attempt to secure formal in-service training for council staffers.

The state council presidents were brought together also for a two-day conference on June 17 and 18. This, too, was the first meeting of its kind. The presidents felt that the discussion of purposes, policy and philosophy and the sharing of problems was very helpful, and they have asked that this be made an annual affair.

Time would not permit my telling you, even if I could, of all the imaginative, creative things the state councils have been doing. But let me mention a few.

The Virginia Council has made a thorough study of the ethnic bias of that state's approved textbooks and has promoted use of multi-ethnic texts by the preparation of two excellent publications on the subject, among other ways. They are also sponsoring a significant conference on religion and race, scheduled for the last of this month.

The Georgia Council has conducted and reported a well-planned study of the state's public assistance program. Jointly with the Georgia A.C.L.U. and with the aid of the SRC staff and resources,

the Georgia Council prepared an attractive, easily readable handbook titled Know Your Rights, which sets forth basic rights of persons arrested by police officers. It has received wide distribution and acclaim. The North Dekalb chapter of GCHR conducted a Voter Education Project which registered about 500 persons.

The Tennessee Council has done an effective job of securing truly representative and democratic Community Action agencies in two of the largest cities in the state. Since the addition of Mr. and Mrs. Wiersema to the staff they have begun important studies of public housing and public welfare in Tennessee. Their Knoxville chapter carried out an effective Voter Registration Project.

"Project SPEED-UP" of the South Carolina Council employed college students to tutor more than 2,000 children in 28 locations in 13 counties.

The Arkansas Council secured a grant from the Voter Education Project and conducted a registration drive in 14 counties. Well over 7,000 persons were registered to vote.

The Florida Council conducted a two-day workshop for local council leaders and, partly as a result of the ideas and resources discovered to them at that meeting, the local councils of Florida have been unusually active.

The Alabama Council, utilizing a VEP grant, did an excellent job in informing farmers in 12 counties about the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections and of policing the elections themselves. ASCS elections are vital because the representative chosen in them determine crop allotments for the year.

The Mississippi Council has sponsored a number of statewide conferences, including one which brought together a large number of the state's impoverished people and officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Executive Director has become an effective link in communication between the white establishment and Negro leaders.

The growth of the state councils is measurable statistically. We have sought this year to limit our reckoning of membership to those whose dues are currently paid. On that basis the total membership now stands at approximately 11,500, an increase of some 23% over last year. Percentage increases ranged from five percent in Virginia, which is the largest of the councils, to ninety-five percent in Arkansas, which heretofore had been one of the smallest. The Alabama Council, which won the Mitchell Award last year, increased its membership another ten percent this year. Tennessee registers a thirteen percent increase and South Carolina a jump of twenty-three percent. The North Carolina Council shows a 57% increase. And Georgia deserves special commendation of raising its membership enrollment by 53%, although starting from a relatively large base of more than a thousand members.

At the height of their strength the state councils had this year 26 full-time professional employees, an increase of 18% over last year. Part-time and clerical staffs have increased proportionately.

The councils have raised about $120,000 from their members and friends--an increase of 20%. At the same time the total of their operating budgets has passed $400,000--a leap of more than 25%.

All of these facts are encouraging.

But we cannot be satisfied with arithmetic progress when the sustained crisis of this region grows by geometric progression. The beleaguered people of the human relations councils have been these dozen years--to a greater degree than is generally understood--the salt of the South. But the conditions have been altered radically since their founding, and there are those both within and without the state councils who question the need or the possibility--or both--of their continuing. I for one am convinced that their proper role is more vital than it was in 1954 and 1955, although it needs, perhaps, to be differently conceived.

All of us are keenly aware of the radical challenge which has been thrown down by the "black power" movement and of the lightning speed of the "white backlash." Intriguing to me are the assumptions of "black power" advocates as articulated by one of their able interpreters, Mr. Julian Bond:

> ...the social system, as organized is no longer capable of solving, through normal channels, the urgent problems presented to it by history.
>
> ...white Americans, generally speaking, lack the will, the courage and the intelligence to voluntarily grant Negroes their civil rights and...must be forced to it by pressure.
>
> ...people do not discriminate for the fun of it;... the function of prejudice is to defend social, economic, political and psychological interests, and...appeals to the fair play of prejudiced people are prayers said to the wind.
>
> ...communities will change discriminatory patterns if they are faced with a clear-cut choice between bias and another highly developed value--economic gain, education or civic peace.

We have to ponder seriously these assumptions. We may lament the actions and strategy of those who make them. We may be grateful that no large portion of Negro Americans has been won to them. But neither the actions nor the number of those who thus believe disproves the validity of these beliefs.

Indeed, the reaction of the nation to date, far from disproving these assumptions, seems almost calculated to do the reverse. Much of the evidence brought forth in this decade of struggle for equal rights tends to confirm their suspicions. Certainly those of us who continue to discern the promise of the South's nobler customs and to dream the American dream must discern and dream by faith, for the reality is not yet.

As biracial associations of citizens committed to social change through the "normal channels" of fact-finding, education, negotiation, and enfranchisement, the human relations councils, are uniquely situated to disprove the "black power" assumptions--if indeed they can be disproven. If the human relations

council idea has any genius and destiny, it lies not in leadership of the oppressed but in its potential for education of the oppressing majority. There is a movement among the oppressed. To be sure it needs and deserves all possible aid, and those who are not themselves victims can provide technical assistance as needed and called for. But the movement is there; whereas there is as yet no significant movement among the oppressing or acquiescing majority. The dissatisfaction of the minorities is or will be aroused. What is needed is an answering dissatisfaction from those who sleep in the presence of moral--and possibly mortal--peril.

One member of your SRC staff tells of trying to secure help for people who were living in unheated slum housing in the midst of a cold snap in Atlanta last winter. "We had some middle class folks down there," he said, "but the emotion they felt was pity for these poor persons. As long as that is what they feel, they can't help much--because the appropriate reaction is anger." That is true. And what we need in the human relations councils is more people--a lot more people--who have the large capacity to hold in constant, creative tension anger over the misery of the minority and pity for the insensible soul-misery of the majority.

If we are to "make democracy work" in the South we shall not do so with ten or twelve thousand people, scattered through eleven states, backing the effort with an average ten dollars each. We have to be more serious and more intense than that!

Our antagonists are more serious and more intense than that. One well-known right-wing organization which, in the judgment of some of us, is doing the most effective job of indoctrinating the white people of the South claimed, about a year ago, more than 100 "chapters" in metropolitan Birmingham alone. By conservative estimate that would mean about 1,500 members in that small area. Only yesterday the Atlanta Constitution carried the boast of one of their "staff coordinators" that an estimated

150 chapters have been organized in Georgia. They have organized over the nation "committees" to counteract the civil rights movement. In Arkansas, for example, they claim such a committee in every town of over 3,000 population. And in May they lamented in print that their contributions fell a million dollars short of their mark in 1965. They spent $5 million while contributions came to only $4,089,000--up only $889,000 from the $3,200,000 contributed in 1964!

There are many variables which must be weighed into this, of course. But the conclusion is incontrovertible that those folks mean business. And so must we!

I have always thought (to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln) that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who permit it for themselves, and secondly those who permit it for others. I venture the opinion that we need not be anxious, in these days, about the former. I think it evident that the non-white citizens of this nation will never again resign themselves to oppression. But I am anxious indeed that white America, and the white South in particular, may continue to be permissive of oppression for others--thus to deserve it themselves.

We have therefore a message of great urgency to get across to the comfortable majority in the South. To this task I believe the human relations councils uniquely suited. It is no new idea, but an old one. It is no radical idea, but a truly conservative one. Lincoln said it:

> This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it.

File - Activities
Field Reports

MT - file

MEMORANDUM

January 2, 1968

TO: Paul Anthony and Joseph P. Witherspoon

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Report on Texas field trip, December 25-30, 1967

Attached are my notes on interviews with various individuals in Houston, Corpus Christi, and San Antonio. Also attached is an annotated list of additional persons suggested either by Dr. Witherspoon or by one of the persons interviewed.

On the basis of these interviews, I would say that there is generally a felt need for a multi-ethnic agency providing solid research and information, either at a regional or state level. If it should develop into a channel of program aid for existing organizations, after the manner of SRC's voter education and community organization projects, I believe that would be appreciated. The kind of research most often mentioned, incidentally, would be such as would focus on particular, local problems and provide help to the minority group organizations wrestling with them.

There was little interest, however, in trying to organize local, volunteer human relations associations. As indicated in my interview notes, the first person to make this specific was Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman of Rice University in Houston. I resented

her taking this view, at first, suspecting that she would be disposed to "research" a problem ad infinitum and never do anything about it. (As a matter of fact, Judge Seals had told me that she had that disposition. He favored emphasis on voter registration!) But, against my own preference, I became convinced as I talked to more and more people that no great need is felt for another organization in these communities. To the extent that coalition of the minority groups and Anglo liberals is needed, so the feeling seems to be, it will come naturally as their action groups are able to program effectively.

So the expressed need is for a state or regional agency, itself multi-ethnic, which would make local minority or liberal action groups more powerful and effective. The field service of the agency should be an extension of its research and information function.

Visits to other parts of Texas and to other states may change this impression, of course. (After all, each of the three cities visited on this trip already has some sort of human relations council or commission.) Also, Dr. Witherspoon may have a way of functioning in mind that I do not fully understand and, therefore, "sold" poorly.

But on the basis of this trip only, I would recommend that a "Council of the Southwest" be formed; that is concentrate, at least in the beginning, on first-rate research and information; and that its field service be designed to gather and apply information effectively, rather than to organize local human relations groups.

A second field trip to Los Angeles, with stops in west Texas and perhaps New Mexico and Arizona, is indicated. Perhaps a third would be needed. These might have an important bearing on the direction of the project, especially its scope.

ADDITIONAL PERSONS SUGGESTED, BUT NOT INTERVIEWED

Mr. Maco Stewart, Stewart Title Company, 801 Caroline Street, Houston. CA 4-7681. I was told that Mr. Stewart is living in Princeton, now.

Mr. Roberto Ornelas, 1131 W. Donovan, Houston. Office address is 2320 LaBranch, Room 261. Residence telephone: OV 1-2741; office CA 8-0611. Mr. Ornelas is currently national president of LULAC. Although he was not supposed to be working on the 26th, he said he would meet me at his office at 11:00 A.M. He did not keep this appointment.

Dr. Sol Tannenbaum, University of Houston (Sociologist). EM 5-7993. He was suggested by Jack Murray, who said he is a very knowledgeable and thoughtful man, but I was not able to get in touch with him.

Carlos F. Truan, 1010 - 600 Building, Corpus Christi. (512) TU 3-3651. An insurance agent, he was suggested to me by Judge Alfred Hernandez of Houston. He was also suggested by Mrs. Edward Harte. When I called he was out of town investigating a claim.

Ben F. McDonald, Jr., McDonald & Spann, 900 Wilson Building, Corpus Christi, Texas. Former Mayor of Corpus. He was out of town.

Senator Joe Bernal, 2154 West Summit, San Antonio. PE 3-9538. He was suggested by Senator Barbara Jordan. No answer when I called in San Antonio.

G. J. Sutton, 711 Pine Street, San Antonio. A Negro suggested by Barbara Jordan. She described him as a bit cynical about do-good organizations generally, but someone it might help to talk to. I could not get in touch with him, however.

Pete Tijerina, International Building, 314 W. Houston, San Antonio. An attorney suggested by Judge Alfred Hernandez. He is a LULAC leader in San Antonio and apparently rather aggressive. I could not reach him.

Judge Carlos Cadenas, S. A. Court of Civil Appeals, San Antonio. I could not find him listed.

Albert Armendariz, Southwest National Bank Building, El Paso. (915) 532-4050. Another suggestion of Judge Hernandez.

PA —

Thought you would like to look these over. A brief summary report to be added — but only what I told you yesterday.

Ed

1/2/68

JUDGE ALFRED J. HERNANDEZ - Office CA 8-1183
Room 515 Res: OX 5-4644
Kress Building
Main at Capitol
Houston, Texas

- Past President of LULAC
- He agreed emphatically that such a multi-ethnic agency is needed. Although he is very busy professionally and as a leader in LULAC, he promised his support and help in finding Mexican-American leaders who would cooperate and might have more time.

- Hernandez emphasized that there is hostility among Mexican-Americans toward Negroes. N-A's feel, he said that government programs such as OEO are directed too much toward Negroes, although there are far more mon-Negroes who are in poverty. He stated (as though it were an obvious fact) that Negroes got this attention by resorting to violence and riots, and sais that militant M-A's were calling for similar tactics. "But, of course, this is against our concept of responsible citizenship and, in the long run, will make matters worse for a minority."

- He went on to say that a recent OEO grant to help M-A;s was blocked by the NAACP because "they said it did not include Negroes." However, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund had more recently moved to provide legal services to M-A's, either directly or by assisting them to set up and find funding for a separate service.

- He commented several times about the plethora of M-A organizations and the lack of unity within this group, and he spoke of the pressure and antigism LULAC is under from more militant Mexican-American organizations.

Senator Barbara C. Jordan - Office OR 4-8465
5303½ Lyons Res.- OR 3-5322
Houston, Texas

- Texas State Senator

- Her first reaction was: Why not a state organization under SRC? or a separate organization for Texas alone? She felt that there is more than enough for such an agency to do in Texas alone. She finally said that she would be concerned to have sufficiant staff to do the job, and would favor reducing the scope of the effort rather than covering the whole region superficially.

- She said, earnestly, that there is a "void" which such an agency could fill. "There just is no source of accurate, reliable information as to what goes on and what the situation is in Texas."

- She seemed to feel that it would be no great problem to secure inter-group cooperation. She spoke of excellent relationships she has with M-A leaders, such as Senator Joe Bernal of San Antonio.

Judge Woodrow Seals
Federal Building
Houston, Texas
Res. - 1510 Lehman - OE 2-2993

- A native Mississippian -- and looks it. From appearance one would not expect him to be, as he is, an avidly liberal Texas politician. He struck me as shrewd and potentially a great help in the proposed council.

- He stressed and re-stressed the difficulty of getting anything significant started in Texas which the Johnson-Connelly machine might perceive as a threat. Said it is important to use care in selecting prople to start the agency, and in seeking funds. "A non-Texas can hardly understand the extent to which they will try to control, buy off, or cut down everyting in Texas."

- He thought the proposed agency an excellent idea. He said SRC has a reputation for integrity among Texas liberals ("I don't know -- maybe it's exaggerated..."). If the SRC is somehow associated with the first meetings, the thing would get a good response, he said. He thinks there are some wealthy liberals who would contribute, and said they are weary of contributing to liberal political causes, only to have them undercut by the Johnson-Connally crowd. He promised to send me a list of such people and suggested that they be invited to participate from the beginning.

- This man is something of a "character," but I think he is on the level and should be included in the planning.

Mr. George Lloyd - Office CA 1-4965
Room 4103 Res. NA 1-3095
Humble Oil Building
Houston, Texas

- National Public Relations man for Humble Oil. Board member, Houston Council on Human Relations. Managed to $5000 annual contribution to HCHR from Humble.

- He side-stepped the question of desirability of proposed agency. Talked, instead, of the "human resources" center funded in five or six universities by the Department of Labor. Said these included a "Brooking's Institute-type, "one-week human relations course for middle-eschelon management people, and said this kind of thing is sorely needed. He also spoke enthusiastically of the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana.

- He asked about funding and sais he would be pessimistic about getting either individuals or cooporations to back the proposed agency. "It is like pulling eye-teeth to get them to support educational or cultural efforts in their own communities. This would be even more difficult."

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
Rice University
Houston, Texas

--An anthropologist who is now completing some research on Mexican-American's. Member of HCHR Board.

- She thought there would be a useful role for the proposed agency, but emphasized that she would have it do only the sort of research and dissemination of information that SRC originally did -- before it got into the "special projects." She specifically disagreed with Witherspoon's idea of promoting multi-ethnic, local human relations groups. "It seems important to us Anglos to work in integrated groups, but maybe it is of value only to us. To organize on that principle is to put imphasis artificially in the wrong place." She said we should assist existing groups, or such as may arise spontaneously, and leave coalition to come about naturally, if at all.

- Thus she would see field activities of the agency as little more than a referral service -- an adjunct to the basic research and information service -- not providing consultation on housing problems, for example, but telling local groups who does.

Dr. Stewart Wilber, President
Mr. John Murray, Executive Director
Houston Council on Human Relations
3505 South Main
Houston, Texas

- Both indicated approval of the idea of a Southwestern regional agency. Murray said he would have opposed formation of a Texas state council, "after seeing something of the problems of state councils in other states."

- Wilber is interested and said he would like to visit Dr. Witherspoon in Austin (his son is at U. of T.). However, Dr. Wilber has a multitude of interests; he might not be a consistent supporter of this effort.

- Murray wondered about the advisability of starting an entirely new organization. He thought it might be easier to get foundation backing if the new agency were a subsidiary of SRC. "on the contrary," said I.

Frances (Mrs. George) Farenthold
804 - 600 Building
Corpus Christi, Texas
Office - (512) 884-5112
Res. - (512) 883-9145

- Mrs. Farenthold is on the city human relations commission.

- She talked mostly about the situation in Corpus Christi. The main points: the Negroes are leaderless; the Mexican-American's are splintered and tend not to cooperate -- even with each other, let alone Negroes and Anglos. She said she would be interested to see what sort of cooperation we would get from Mexican-American's. She said this, however, in the context of a discussion of the local-council-formation part of the idea.

- She felt a research service would be valuable, if it could be keyed to the local level. "It is so hard for volunteers to get the facts they need to work with." (The Corpus human relations commission has no staff. Members must donate, through their own offices, even clerical services.)

- She raised the question whether the agency would duplicate in any way the work of the Texas Citizens' Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Suggested I talk to Mrs. Edward H. Harte, a member of that group, and wife of the publisher of Corpus papers.

James de Anda
516 Wilson Building
Corpus Christi, Texas
Office (512) 884-4961
Res. (512) WY 1-4218

- Mr. De Andra is an affable attorney. He is reputed to "speak for" Dr. Hector Garcia. Certainly he speaks well of Dr. Garcia.

- He talked about thepproblems of employment upgrading, and housing, saying these were the greatest ones now. He said there is no question that discrimination against Mexican-American's in job advancement is a problem in Texas. He personally has advised some young M-A's to go elsewhere -- and has seen them move up in the same company in a different part of the country.

- De Anda talked about the leadership problem. Negroes cannot avoid being Negroes, he said, but M-A's can be assimilated easily. So Negroes who make good are more likely to remain concerned about the problems of their group. He said he had little regard for the teaching profession because of this. Among M-A doctors, only Dr. Garcia has remained concerned, he said. Lawyers are the exceptions: a lot of M-A lawyers are still leaders.

Dr. H. J. Williams
1319 Sam Rankin
Corpus Christi, Texas
Office TU 2-4101
Res. - TU 3-3450

- I never got to see Dr. Williams. When I called him at his home Wednesday night, he seemed reluctant to see me. He wanted to know whay my schedule was, explaining that he took Thursday afternoon off. When I said I already had two appointments for Thursday morning, he wanted to know who I was seeing. He approved my talking to Frances Farenthold, but complained that James de Anda had nothing to do with formation of the Corpus Christi Human Relations Committee! He finally agreed to let me come to his office at 11:30. As it turned out, I was detained and did not get there. I have written to apologize, but the fact is that I think it would have been a waste of time anyway.

- Mrs. Farenthold told me that Williams has "dropped out of sight" since the human relations committee was organized. "I haven't seen him in two or three years," she said.

Dr. Hector P. Garcia
1315 Bright Avenue
Corpus Christi, Texas
Office - TU 3-3982

- National leader, American G. I. Forum; former Ambassador to the U. N.

- An impressive figure, with a permanent frown, he seems to be a man of strong character, will, and convictions. His well-appointed office, located in a low-income Latin section of Corpus Christi, had several large signs proclaiming -- in red fluorescent paint: "NO SMOKING."

- Dr. Garcia says he would favor a council of the Southwest or anything else that would foster "understanding and acceptance of difference." He complained at some length against attempts to make cultural assimilation a prerequisite of acceptance of Mexican-American's. "We are not going to change," he said. "Why should we? Why should we have to become somebody else?"

- He volunteered that "we" (meaning, I suppose, either the Forum or himself) could not contribute financially. When I speculated about the possibility of support from Anglo liberals, he smiled vaguely and said, "All Texas 'liberals' are liberal only in talk. Political liberals, I mean. The exception -- and this may surprise you -- is Lyndon Johnson. From our point of view, he turned out to be a true liberal."

- Dr. Garcia said he would help. He definitely plans to attend at least one day of the March 7-9 conference in Austin. He said he had promised Dr. Witherspoon, and he interrupted our conversation to have his secretary write the dates in his calendar.

Mrs. Edward H. Harte
222 Ohio
Corpus Christi, Texas
TU 3-7815

- I called Mrs. Harte, a member of the Citizens' Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, at the suggestion of Frances Farenthold. She was not feeling well, and could not see me, but was willing to talk to me on the telephone.

- She knew something about the SRC. Said she gets materials from us as a member of the Advisory Committee. She mentioned the welfare report particularly--and praised,it.

- She kept professing ignorance about the whole thing and trying to tell me somebody else I should talk to. The conversation was not very productive.

- I asked if she would be willing to attend a meeting in March to talk about forming a council of the Southwest. She replied, in her usual bright tone, that she was over-committed, so she would just say no, even though it was more than two months away.

The Reverend W. H. Colson
4301 Ocean Drive
Corpus Christi, Texas
UL 3-2555

- Dr. Colson is District Superintendent for the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board in the Corpus Christi area. As such, he is pastor pastorum in that section and his office buys land for new churches, plans them, and organizes them. His is the only such district in the denomination which includes Negro pastors and churches.

- Colson is Chairman of the Corpus Christi Human Relations Council (official committee) and has done an excellent job, according to Frances Farenthold. He is also on the President's Inter-agency Committee on Mexican-American's Affairs (Vincent F. Ximenes, Commissioner) and was present at the celebrated El Paso hearings, October 26-28. Further, he has lived in New Mexico and other places in Texas, and he has colleagues all over the Southwest.

- He is very much in favor of a coordinated, inter-ethnic approach to community problems. So much is going on, he said, and one group does not know what another is doing He had some doubts about a regional agency, on grounds that situations and attitudes vary so greatly, even within Texas, to say nothing of California.

- He offered to help in any way he can, and I think he meant it. He would be a valuable man in organizing an agency, I think.

Franklin S. Spears
National Bank of Commerce Building
San Antonio, Texas
Office CA 5-6534
Res. - DI 2-0225

- Spears is a former state senator and unsuccessful candidate for Attorney General of Texas. He is a handsome, energetic young man. He spent more than two hours with me over lunch, tirelessly talking Texas politics with a natural politician's verve. He is, I would say, uncommonly intelligent and well-informed, and his talk was sprinkled with allusions to political economic, and social concepts which do not yet have much currency outside intellectual circles.

- He alluded, for example, to "four different ecologies" within the state of Texas--by way of making the point that an agency such as the one proposed would be justified to serve Texas alone.

- He agreed with Maury Maverick that organization of local human relations councils was not as vital now and in the Southwest as it perhaps was in the South, because there is not the vacuum that existed in the South. Minority groups, that is to say, have their own voice.

- A reliable source of objection, non-partisan information is needed very much, he said. He pointed out that there are three research outfits in Texas: (1) The Texas Research League, which is financed by business and industry and slanted to favor special interests. (2) The Texas Legislative Council, a creature of the legislature which often "farms out" its work to the Research League. (3) The Bureau of Public Affairs, U. of T., which is "conservative."

- He mentioned a Kennedy-style "brain-trust" which he had organized in connection with his political activities. A couple of college professors who might tie in with research activities, he said, are Ron Platt of LaMar Tech in Beaumont and Luther Haggard of the U. of T. at Arlington. Both are political scientists.

- He said one problem might be to avoid getting identifield with liberal politics in Texas, since the natural backers of the agency would be liberal Democrats.

- Spears, like Judge Seals, thought it likely that financial backing could be found from some Texas liberals. He named three, and assured me that donations from them would not compromise a council:

(1) J. R. Parten, Bank of the Southwest, Houston. He is currently contributing heavily to the Center for Study of Democratic Institutions.

(2) Stanley Marcus, Dallas. He is interested in human relations as such. Stays "on good terms" with Dallas' ruling "Committee of 100," but does not think like most of them.

(3) Ray Nasher, Dallas. His thing is the United Nations.

- Spears concluded by saying that he thinks something like a Council of the Southwest is urgently needed and that he will be ready to help, if called upon.

Maury Maverick, Jr. - Office CA 6-6191
302 Calvert Building Res. - TA 4-0655
535 South Main
San Antonio, Texas

- Maverick is a cooperating attorney of ACLU, and claims he is about to starve to death because of it. "The conservative hate me for defending atheists and draft card burners - and the liberals hate me for defending General Walker."

- His partner, Herschel Bernard, sat in on part of our conversation. Maverick thought it important to establish communication with Mexican-American radicals and said Bernard was familiar with those in San Antonio.

- Both said research and provision of information not only to the public, government agencies, and the national press, but also to Negro and Mexican-American action groups would be a great service. Maverick doubts that formation of local human relations groups is either necessary or really feasible. He suggested concentration or research and information, at least to start with.

- He walked several blocks with me to introduce me to Commissioner Albert Pena at the Bexar County Court House.

- He thought it very important that we be in touch with one Fred Schmidt at UCLA. He is a former San Antonion who is now doing some research about Indians in the Southwest. Maverick kept saying that we certainly ought to get in touch with him.

Albert Pena
Bexar County Commission
San Antonio, Texas

- Maverick described Pena as a "Martin Luther King of Mexican-American's -- an old-school radical."

- I talked to Pena only briefly, as he had people waiting to see him. He said that one weakness of all the many Mexican-American groups is that they have not had professional staff or the backing of solid research.

Andrew L. Jefferson - CA 5-5511 - Ext. 231
Assistant U. S. Sttorney Res. - CA 3-5064
343 Federal Building
San Antonio, Texas

- Mr. Jefferson talked mostly about the situation in San Antonio. He said San Antonio's progress in race relations put it, in the SW, in about the same position as Atlanta has relative to the SE. He spoke with some pride of the city's Community Relations Commission, saying that they were getting tough with the City Public Service Board over discrimination against M-A's. (Later, Franklin Spears--without knowing that Jefferson had told me this--took an exactly opposite view.)

- Mr. Jefferson said that things were going so well in San Antonio that the NAACP chapter had little to do. According to him, the previous director of the Community Relations Commission resigned because "he didn't have enough to do to keep him busy."

- He mentioned that there are "committees of nine," composed of three Latins, three Negroes, and three Anglos, meeting in different sections of the city. Mostly discussion and social groups, I gather. There is a citywide meeting once each year.

- He said he enjoyed his group, but did get tired of talking about the race problems.

THE DEPARTMENT OF FIELD ACTIVITIES

Among the efforts of the Director of Field Activities during the first half of the year, three quiet developments strike him as being both new and possibly of worth.

One is the opportunity to work with developing councils on human relations in two cities in Texas, Austin and Dallas, in addition to the existing council in Houston. In Austin, a new group called "The Citywide Committee for Human Rights," under the leadership of Dr. Joseph Witherspoon of the University of Texas School of Law, asked for assistance; tentative plans have been made for very modest staffing, to facilitate some remarkable volunteer endeavors already begun, and for co-sponsorship, with the University of Texas and the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO), of a statewide conference for members of the legal profession and other leaders. In Dallas, through the good offices of Mr. Baxton Bryant, Director of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, a metropolitan area council has been organized and has tentative plans for staffing. Our hope is to make of the Texas situation an experiment with metropolitan councils on human relations instead of, but possibly leading up to, a state council structure.

Second is the culmination of a process of thinking and discussion, which has been going on for more than a year, in a position paper on future roles and relationships of the SRC and human relations councils and an essay on "The Role of Human Relations Councils in the South." The former will be used as a starting point for discussion by various groups concerned--the state council staffs and chairmen, the SRC staff and Executive Committee--and the latter is tentatively scheduled for publication in NEW SOUTH.

Particular importance is attached to the position paper on the relationship between SRC and the state councils, and to the process of thinking of which it is a part. Anticipating expiration of the current, expanded grant-in-aid program at the end of 1968, and in the light of indications from more than one foundation that grants for general operations will be curtailed, the paper explores ways of providing continuing support and liaison toward and among the state councils while, at the same time, strengthening their autonomy and encouraging growth. The paper also suggests ways of bringing our administrative policy into better alignment with the independent structure of the state councils.

Third is development of a format, mailing list, and regular schedule for our "Field Activities Newsletter." The newsletter now goes once a month to 600-700 people, including all SRC and human relations council staff members, all SRC and council board members, local council leaders, some foundation executives, and some executives of allied agencies. From a number of letters and inquiries about items included in the newsletter, it appears that this means of keeping "the family" informed about matters of common interest and concern is effective and appreciated.

State council concerns continue to occupy much time and attention. This included attendance and various presentations at annual meetings of the Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Louisiana Councils. Meetings of the boards of the South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama, North Carolina, and Tennessee Councils were attented. In addition, the Field Director participated in a Florida Council workshop and spoke at open meetings of the Baton Rouge and Houston Councils. He

arranged meetings of the executive directors of the state councils in February and again in April. The February meeting was held in Washington in connection with a conference on discrimination in textbooks which was sponsored by the National Education Association. (Meeting in Washington gave the directors opportunity to consult with government officials, and they asked that we meet there at least once each year.) There was the grant-in-aid program to administer, of course, including receipt and response to quarterly program reports, monthly membership and financial statements, and annual audits. Among other services to the state councils, the Field Director has assisted the South Carolina and Virginia Councils in their searches for new executive directors, aided the Alabama Council with its staffing--including employment of an executive director and an assistant--and assisted the Arkansas and Mississippi Councils to prepare proposals for a couple of special projects. He took a week-long tour through eastern North Carolina to gain a sense of the potential for human relations councils in several communities.

The Field Department is involved in certain continuing services of the SRC. These include serving as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, which held meetings in January and April. Conferences with foreign visitors have more or less devolved upon the Field Director since the departure of Margaret Long. (One week in June, we had the Chief Counsel from the Ghanian Attorney General's office; the liberal editor of the New London, South Africa, paper; and a delegation from Niger, including the First and Second Vice Presidents. There was also a delegation of Girl Scouts.) We find ourselves serving more and more as a clearing house for people seeking

employees and potential employers in the intergroup relations field; we are now planning a more regular procedure for this opportunity of service.

Finally, and as usual, there were a number of incidental and occasional services. These included speeches at an Episcopal Provincial meeting, an Emory student group, and at a meeting of the Austin group mentioned above; participation in a family planning conference in New York, sponsored by the Randolph Institute; serving on the advisory committee of the Southern Rural Research Project; supervision of our two Kalamazoo College "Career Service" interns during their three months in the SRC office; and a planning meeting with persons from a number of agencies in Baker County, Georgia.

Copy file one in each Projects file

S T A F F R E P O R T S

Field Activities (E. Stanfield, Director). -- During this quarter the field director has attended at least one function of each of the ten state councils on human relations. This travel helped to acquaint him with the several organizations.

Inauguration of the expanded grant-in-aid program made possible by our $300,000 grant from the Ford Foundation was one of the significant tasks of the quarter. General conditions for recipients, prepared by the field director, stress growth and self-sustenance by the state councils.

Another major concern of the field director has been to establish a staffed operation in Louisiana. To this end the New Orleans Community Relations Council has affiliated with the state council and a decision has been made to locate the LCHR office in Baton Rouge. A search for a director has started.

An "Experience Report" requested by the U. S. Conference of Mayors was assigned to the field director. It is a study of positive actions by municipal officials to improve human relations. The report is near completion.

The field department has cooperated with the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and private agencies in planning ten state-wide conferences on school desegregation. The first was held in Louisiana on March 26 with 750 participants. Others will be on successive Saturdays in April and May. S.R.C. secured a grant of $8,000 to obtain resource persons and provide travel expenses for participants in these conferences.

Other activities include the usual duties connected with SRC's functioning as the secretariat of the Southern Inter-agency Conference, attendance at a regional consultation of the National Social Welfare Assembly in New Orleans, speeches at two local councils, "trouble shooting" trips, and efforts to help the North Carolina and Alabama Councils find directors.

Woman's Work (Mrs. M.E. Tilly, Director). -- These ninety days have been busy days, teaching and speaking to local groups, attending the Governor's Legislative Forums on Tuesdays during the session of the Legislature, serving on the boards of United Church Women of Georgia, and the Bethlehem Community Center (a Negro institution in a poverty section of Atlanta.)

Prepared and directed our city's annual Brotherhood Day program held at the Catholic Cathedral of Christ the King.

Staff Reports - 2.

Early in January was called to Washington to meet with the National Woman's Committee which really developed into a four-way trip -- spent some time with the board meeting of Americans for Democratic Action, had a conference with the national leaders of the League of Women Voters and the Council of Catholic Women, and secured the promise that both would send someone to the conference on what was happening in Southern courts.

In February, attended the board meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union in New York, and while there contacted and secured support for the conference on Southern Courts from the United Church Women of the National Council of Churches and the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

At the last executive meeting, you gave sanction to a conference on the Southern Courts that would involve bringing together leaders of national women's organizations.

This came to be here in Atlanta on March 24 and 25 -- and the national leaders came, at their own expense. (See attached list.)

At the first session, facts were presented to them by fourt able lawyers: Mr. Charles Morgan of ACLU, Judge Dorothy Kenyon of New York -- who had been with Mr. Morgan in courts in Alabama -- Mr. Horace Ward, an attorney from Atlanta, and Judge Osgood Williams of Fulton County Superior Court.

After that the meeting was completely in the hands of our national women. Out of their concern they asked that state workshops be held in eleven Southern states.

Research and Information (Pat Watters, Director of Information and Sam Adams, Director of Research). --

(1) Voter Book - Most of Pat Watters' time has been spent in the major part of researching and the writing in collaboration with Reese Cleghorn of the Atlanta Journal of the book on current political effects and the long-range implications of the entrance of Negro voters in full into the South's democracy. This is the book which SRC contracted with Harcourt, Brace and World to produce. It had originally been scheduled for publication in October, 1966. A recent decision has been to postpone this until February or March, 1967, in order to include a final chapter on the outcome of the fall elections this year. While not a history of VEP as such, the book draws heavily on the first VEP research, as well as other research materials of SRC. (A table of contents is attached.)

(2) New South - The first issue of New South in its new quarterly format was issued, and the second is in the works. Its contents will include an extensive study of current Negro movement strategy, including political strategy, by August Meier; a study of Negro family structure in Birmingham by Dr. Beryle McCloskey of Miles College; an article on intermarriage by Charlayne Stovall; Attorney General Katzenbach's speech; a study of white volunteers in SCOPE last summer, and other material. Some 3,400 of the first issue were sent out as samples, and subsequently a larger mailing was made of an advertising brochure.

(3) Other publications have included a warning on the pitfalls of co-ops and credit unions by Al Ulmer, addressing himself to grass roots leaders looking for cure-alls; "Neighborhood Stabilizations: A Program," by Moreland Smith, setting out how community organization can save a neighborhood from block-busting and develop racial balance; another study by Mr. Ulmer, a pioneering how-to-approach on the all-important subject of community organization in southern Negro slums, based on his experience in Vine City. A press release was issued urging compliance with new school desegregation guidelines.

Bob Anderson processed the above reports editorially. He also contributed to the editing of the first new New South and development of the second, as did Margaret Long.

Margaret Long has written an article to appear in a spring issue of Progressive. She has also spent considerable time with Josephine Rider, an author from San Francisco, who is under contract to do a book on Negro women. She is working with Ray G. Mack and other sociologists on an HEW-sponsored study of school desegregation and is doing a chapter of a book for that project on Atlanta school desegregation and its effect on education. She is working with Mrs. Adolphine Terry of Little Rock on a book length manuscript which Mrs. Terry hopes to have published.

We saw 29 visitors during the quarter, including 23 European teachers and three Ivory Coast leaders who were with us for four days.

Sam Adams has completed an extensive study of Atlanta housing for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. We may publish a portion of this study.

Considerable time has been spent on a study of recent intimidation and violence in the region. This information coupled with our expression of concern over the growing likelihood of explosions within urban slums and rural areas will be published in May in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee.

Urban Planning Project (Moreland Smith, Director). -- During the first quarter of 1966 Moreland G. Smith, was engaged in a number of consultative trips. He travelled to Washington, D. C., in February to talk with members of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This exchange of views was preliminary to talks with Secretary Weaver, scheduled for April. Two trips were made to Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, during this quarter, the first at the invitation of the Executive director of the Urban Renewal Agency and the second at the request of Ft. Lauderdale NAACP officers. He was asked in both cases for his analysis of urban renewal plans presently under study by that city. The Urban Renewal Agency initiated these talks with the hope of using the Southern Regional Council as liaison between the city government and the local Negro community. Mr. Smith consulted with the Mayor and other city officials in Charlotte, North Carolina, about plans for the development of that city. While the response by the Mayor and City Manager was guarded, they seemed to see some benefit in an assessment of their plans by an impartial third party.

The Urban Planning Project has been involved with a pilot study for the National Committee Against Distrimination in Housing. Mr. Samuel Adams, Director of Research, compiled statistics and composed the report on availability of housing in Atlanta.

The first UPP "how-to-do-it" pamphlet on "neighborhood stabilization" has been written and distributed. Supplies are already exhausted, and it is being revised according to criticism received and additional information. The Urban Planning Project has received a number of inquiries about specific problems relating to housing in the South.

A particularly exciting and unexpected aspect of the UPP has been the response of young planners and architects around the country. Mr. Smith is engaged in a continuing dialogue with a number of young men about the problems and basic philosophy in urban planning. Such interest could be the basis for a summer project utilizing these young men and their training either for survey and analysis of housing in particular cities or for creating bold and innovative schemes for establishing equal opportunity in housing in the South.

Voter Education Project (Vernon Jordan, Director). --

(1) Budget - VEP has to date $225,000 of its anticipated, needed $350,000 annual budget.

(2) Grants - Seventy-four proposals for grants have been received from 10 states and amount to $765,000 in funds requested. The Project began funding programs March 2. There are presently 20 programs operative in 7 states, representing $26,400 in committed funds. Two are for voter education. The balance are for voter registration, on which emphasis will continue through the summer primaries.

(3) Program - A press release on February 18 made VEP official, and we received good press coverage. The VEP Advisory Committee had met in Atlanta December 30, 1965. A Committee suggestion -- that guidelines for developing VEP programs be circulated throughout the South -- was implemented in February with the distribution of 1,500 copies, along with a calendar of southern election dates. Preparation of statistical tables for the 11 states showing by county the Negro vote, 1962, 1964, and 1966, and the current white vote, is nearly completed. While the Katzenbach luncheon on February 28 was an SRC program item, the Council drew heavily on VEP associations and effort for persons who comprised the attendance of 275. Future plans requiring immediate work call for a leadership training seminar for Mississippi grass-roots leaders, instruction in poll-watching procedure for persons in Alabama counties having critical elections May 3, cooperation with the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council summer internship program, and publication of a registration campaign handbook.

(4) Personnel - The Project Director has spoken at meetings in Mobile, Jacksonville, Little Rock, Jackson, Macon, and Atlanta. As a member of the planning Council for the White Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," he has been attending weekly sessions in Washington. On a recent trip to Mississippi he assisted leaders in six counties prepare voter programs. The Project Research Director has participated in conferences in North and South Carolina and the Administrative Assistant has reviewed a program in Augusta, Georgia. The Project is now staffed except for a field director.

Attached are a list of agencies for which grants have been approved and a financial accounting through March 31, 1966.

Labor Program (Emory Via, Director). -- The labor program has shown steady growth during the first quarter. The efforts of the director have been split between program development and promotion, execution, and research.

As a part of program development, the director attended meetings of university and union labor educators in Detroit the last of March.

Two research related projects are underway. One is an attempt to develop a pamphlet on hidden unemployment and underemployment. Materials have been collected and negotiations started with a research writer. The labor program is also participating in a national study of apprenticeship programs as they relate to minority groups. Our responsibility is limited to the Atlanta metropolitan area.

The program assisted in making arrangements for a conference and installation of the new EEOC regional director. An interesting attempt by the regional staff of the U. S. Labor Department to expand its effectiveness in reaching disadvantaged persons, led to a cooperative effort with the Council and other agencies. We made a significant contribution to the planning, promotion and execution of the conference on March 23, with assistance from other members of the SRC staff.

The labor program has worked cooperatively with the Southern office of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department. On several occasions we have successfully involved union leaders in programs sponsored by SRC and other agencies.

The director of the labor program has participated in a staff training program for the southeastern representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in a regional meeting of the American Federation of Teachers, and in a month-long Southern Union Staff Training Institute.

The Southern Staff Institute was sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education. Emory Via served as director of the Institute held from January 9 through February 4 at the University of Georgia. The Institute was attended by twenty-one, full-time union leaders from twelve states and fourteen international unions. It, of course, is rare to get working adults together for a full month of concentrated study. It seems to have been a most successful undertaking. One interesting by-product of the Institute was the bringing of Roy Wilkins to the campus to speak to an audience of students, faculty, and

a few townspeople. It was the first time that a major, national civil rights personality had addressed a public meeting on the campus.

In recent weeks the labor program director has been serving on the Economic Security task force convened to assist in planning the White House civil rights conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

Community Organization Project (Al Ulmer, Director). -- During this three month period the original goal, that of surveying self-help and community organization efforts across the South, has been at least partially accomplished. I have visited groups concerned with everything from cleaning up a block to marketing okra cooperatively, to operating a credit union, to self-help housing. From this survey and from prior experience with cooperative projects came the special report, "Cooperatives, Credit Unions and Poor People," published in March. Earlier, another special report, "A City Slum - Poor People and Problems," based on my experience of working in a slum community in Atlanta over the past year and a half was published.

I am continuing to work with groups in Atlanta interested in building community organizations centered around local self-interest problems such as inadequate housing, lack of recreational facilities, etc. At present, I am attempting to interest church groups and civic organizations in the possibility of their financing community people to do full-time organizational work in low income communities. Also, I hope by being more aware of the problems of low-income people that these same organizations will eventually come to exert a different type of pressure on landlords and city officials to bring about needed change.

I have worked with one group in Alabama in making application to OEO for a self-help housing grant and am presently working with Penn Community Center doing the preliminary work for a Title III-b (self-help housing_ proposal which will involve approximately twenty families. The Project has provided a technical consultant to a group in Wilcox County, Alabama to work on a feasibility study for a proposed cooperative there. A second consultant, again in Alabama, has worked with three community groups interested in credit unions, explaining problems, procedures, and readying the groups for state credit union league charters.

Finding skilled consultants available to groups for the extended periods of time needed is a difficult task. Gradually, I am finding more qualified people to call upon, but I expect this aspect of the program to continue to present problems simply because the people having the skills required are usually not available.

MJ- file

January 20, 1965

FIELD REPORT - Franklinton Center

Community Org Pj.

Franklinton Center is in Bricks Community, North Carolina, on Highway 301 between Enfield and Rocky Mount. The Center was established in 1895 and has a history similar to that of Penn Community Center. The United Church of Christ provides a major part of the financial support for the center. Rev. Mr. Judson King is the director.

Franklinton serves Bricks and several other communities over an 11 county region by distributing information concerning civil rights; Social Security & Medicare; Educational Scholarships; the War on Poverty, etc. Seminars are held at the center dealing with topics ranging from the education of local clergyment to better farming techniques for the farmers of the area.

The following is a summary of a program Franklinton Center has worked on over the past five or six years.

Originally the Center occupied approximately 1100 acres, the land having been deeded to the United Church of Christ by a nice old yankee lady of considerable means and a charitable soul for use as a school for Freedmen. When the state school system took over the education of the Negroes in the area the school became Franklinton Center -- 1100 acres worth.

Five or six years ago Rev. King, distressed over the plight of sharecroppers, invited several families (ten or eleven, I believe) to live on farms created on Franklinton Center land. The idea being that the men would farm the Center's land without the age-old sharecropper's worry of always being a planter but never being around come fall to be a reaper.

New farming techniques were taught the men, fertilizer and seed were bought cooperatively and the farmer kept the profits made from the land he cropped. He was encouraged to put his savings in a Credit Union run by Franklinton Center.

After a period of five years the Center sold six of the families the farms they had been working over the last four years.

This past year the six farmers formed a cooperative and mechanized their peanut production. One of the farmers told me not only did he make $1800 more from his peanut crop this past year but by mechanizing his 88 acre farm through the coop that he now had enough extra time to complete a course in iron work. Upon completion of his course he plans to work in Rocky Mount during the week and farm on the weekends.

Rev. King helped this same farmer secure an FHA $7000 home loan and the family recently moved into a fine two-bedroom house. Much of the work on the house was done by the farmer. The contractor paid him for his assistance.

~~Contrast this story~~.

PA - thought you'd like to see this

February 25, 1966

MJ - file

TO: Al Ulmer, Director, Community Organization Planning, ~~Southern Regional Council~~

FROM: R. W. Anderson, Consultant for Wilcox County, Alabama

Subject: Cooperative Housing, Farming and Economic Interprise

I hold that the Wilcox County cooperative endeavor is a project of great need, value and importance to a segment of citizens because of their impoverishment, it is most worthy of public assistance and aid from lending agencies equipped to take care of their extraordinary needs.

Personal visits were made to communities including Coy, Gees Bend, Pine Hill, Pine Apple and Snow Hill where interest in the project was keen and the chance to participate and benefit was unobstructed except in isolated cases.

Local leadership observed from independent and semi-independent farmers was meaningful and most desired. Once they become sold on a proposition of reform, their word to the less fortunates is more positively heard than if advocated by person of non-farm status. This type of community participation was encouraged.

The thirty-acre layout, bought and reserved for home building (50 to 100 single family units), was observed. The same is idealy located, on # 13 highway, about 12 miles southwest of Camden. The land is level and contains some useful timber and pulp wood. The underground water level is of such that would afford an ample capacity of water. Small acreage of adjoining land is also available for use in housing or commercial needs.

I saw some of the land intended to to be put to the growing of (1) cucumbers, (2) okra, and (3) peas. The 450 acres negotiated for has been promised in "good faith", but has not been reduced to legal attachment. The local county agent, in the company of an Assistant Director of Extension Service from Auburn, took one sample of soil from one of the plots to demonstrate the method of sampling soil. The assumption is that the actual testing is to be the responsibility of the parties concerned.

Night meetings were conducted in the communities of Gees Bend and Coy. Coy is in the center of the proposed housing facility. Other communities, mentioned previously, were visited by day where individual and small group conferences were held. From the mass meetings, small conferences, and individual approaches, we were able to get the facts, determine the needs and evaluate the end results growing out of and in connection with their work experiences. There emerged a few "long tales of woe" among a wholesale account of wanting and despair. A more depressing situation has developed out of and in connection with their roles in the recent civil rights

movement, among some and the refusal of others to air negative views on the subject. Punitive measures have weakened the already corrupt status quo. This has come in the form of violence, the threat of violence, evictions, refusal of production loans, foreclosures, refusal of public assistance and the dismissal and insecurity of jobs. In the facr of all the foregoing, I have been most impressed with the determination registered by the leadership--and the people alike, to press forward to a successful conclusion. High tension is present throughout the county, but is held in abeyance for fear of Federal intervention and potential retaliation at the polls.

It may be noteworthy to mention that a few families, originally evicted, have been restored on a restricted basis. They have been relegated to the minimum cotton allotment--the excess acreage being assigned to the Soil Bank.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The priority be given to the over-all copperative housing and farming program.

2. That a competant person be assigned to devote full-time and emphasis to the undertaking unitil good organization is certain.

3. The 100 families be drawn from the potential applicants we have signed up (on improvised forms).

4. The qualifications for and dedication to the project as relating to outside ventures be spelled out.

5. That legal arrangement be made, by contract, for the 450 acres already selected and ~~the 150 acres~~ that an additional 150 acres be considered by the project.

6. That a closer contact with local, state and Federal agencies be encouraged to determine job descriptions and to ascertain the extent of assistance they are disposed to give.

7. That ample time be given to begin actual operation of the project in order that it be formally initiated with solid footing. Anything less than good physical foundation and program guidance give rise to faulty participation. Time is also a matter of concern in that the season is so far spent as to question the feasibility of attempting a crop for this crop year. Concentrating on buildings, roadways, waterlines, beautification projects, and moving will consume enough time during the ensueing fiscal year to keep the applicants busy.

8. The cucumber crop ripens into a very delicate undertaking at the time of harvesting, grading, packing, and marketing. Therefore, another look into the proposed cucumber acreage allotment should find a place in planning..... keeping in mind that the crop requires the maximum of participation for the minimum of acreage.

Send copy of check $150.00 to JW Anderson

File — The Community Organization Project (AV - Dis.)

Report covering January 1 - March 31, 1966

During this three month period the original goal, that of surveying self-help and community organization efforts across the South, has been at least partially accomplished. I have visited groups concerned with everything from cleaning up a block to marketing okra cooperatively, to operating a credit union, to self-help housing. From this survey and from prior experience with cooperative projects came the special report, "Cooperatives, Credit Unions and Poor People," published in March. Earlier, another special report, "A City Slum - Poor People and Problems" based on my experience of working in a slum community in Atlanta over the past year and a half was published.

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I have worked with one group in Alabama in making application to OEO for a self-help housing grant and am presently working with Penn Community Center doing the preliminary work for a Title III-b (self-help housing) proposal which will involve approximately twenty families. The Project has provided a technical consultant to a group in Wilcox County, Alabama to work on a feasibility study for a proposed cooperative there. A second consultant, again in Alabama, has worked with three community groups interested in credit unions, explaining problems, procedures, and readying the groups for state credit union league charters.

Finding skilled consultants available to groups for the extended periods of time needed is a difficult task. Gradually, I am finding more qualified people to call upon, but I expect this aspect of the program to continue to present problems, simply because the people having the skills required are usually not available.

SUMMARY of the Cooperative Training

Planning Conference

Mt. Beulah Conference Center, Edwards, Mississippi

June 9, 10, 11, 1966

Over the past few years Negro farmers of marginal means have been steadily organizing co-ops all across the Black Belt as an answer to their more pressing economic needs. Interested observers see a great deal of merit in such ventures, yet feel that under present conditions expectations may be disappointing.

There is reason both for enthusiam and for caution. The positive side can be summarized as follows:

1. Co-ops are an excellent organizing tool. They give people the opportunity to work as a group on common interest problems.

2. Co-ops offer people the chance to participate in fairly good-sized businesses.

3. Co-ops, with their one man - one vote provision, offer members an excellent opportunity to "participate" in a democratic organization.

4. Co-ops, because of their belief in continued education and study groups, can be used to expand their members' ability to plan ahead, to think "big," etc. -- using direct self interest issues as motivation.

On the negative side there remains the fact that unless Negro organizations can have the technical and educational assistance available to other similiar white co-ops, they aren't going to be a success and could even result in financial ruin for those involved. There are several reasons why the necessary mechanical assistance is not available.

Foremost among the reasons is the failure of the Cooperative Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture to assist low income groups, particularly those made up of Negroes. Another major factor is that no organized cooperative association working in co-op education and training exists in the South. Finally, the majority of established co-ops in the region have been rigidly segregated for years and are not showing any inclination now to change their policies.

The purpose of the Mt. Beulah Conference was to bring together members of low-income co-ops lacking the experience to make their organizations effective and men skilled in co-op management.

The following is a summary of the thoughts, ideas and plans formulated at the meeting.

The Needs and Problems

Mr. Joseph Marlboro, president of the Grand Marie Vegetable Co-op, a newly formed marketing cooperative with 200 members, set the tone for the discussion of the needs of members of his group. Mr. Marlboro said, "A bunch of small farmers -- we'd been raising sweet potatoes but we wasn't doing much good. When ya borrow money and get nothing off your crop you're in trouble. So we formed this co-op to get rid of the middle-man."

During the discussion of how the Vegetable Co-op came into being and what were the problems facing it several interesting points were made:

1. Until the co-op was organized there were no Negro sweet potato inspectors. During a meeting of the co-op someone mentioned this. The co-op sent a letter of protest to the Agriculture Department. There are now Negro inspectors.

2. Many members of the co-op have become interested in continuing their education in order to be able to carry out their duties as co-op officers better. A four-month training program for the members was recently funded by OEO.

   "Not long enough. We need more" said one member.

3. The members of the co-op felt there was a need for a training program which would include Farm Management, Credit Management, Training for Board of Directors (Mr. Marlboro stressed this point saying, "We learned that sweet potatoes and fertilizer was competitive as hell! We might be fraternal inside the co-op but <u>outside</u> it isn't."), and Co-op Management.

4. The group could forsee several problems in their future.

   A. There is a need to continue their education program, as their OEO grant stops in four months.

B. Perhaps there will be a competing co-op made up of whites. (The Grand Marie Co-op members are Negro.)

The members thought that this would often be a problem for co-ops made up of Negro members.

C. The problem of obtaining credit was often mentioned. Several members had had problems with FHA over individual loans in the past and they were skeptical of the chances their $170,000 application had of being granted.

"We expect 'em to continue stalling us until the crop's almost ready to bring in -- then they'll give us the money. Hope it ain't too late" explained one member.

D. The lack of cooperation these farmers have experienced over the past years from federal agricultural officials was mentioned many times. One man said he thought that the co-op with its many members could get services individuals could not expect to get. He answered the question "Why doesn't the county agent help you?" with "The county agent came Tuesday. First time I ever saw him. I suppose the co-op might of brought him. It (the co-op) asked him to come."

Father McKnight and Dr. T. T. Williams of Southern Consumers Co-op, Lafayette, Louisiana, continued the discussion of needs and problems. "The biggest problem is that of overpromising," said Dr. Williams. "Of saying a co-op can accomplish things maybe it can't. Co-ops are really instruments to help overcome the problems, not ends in themselves."

Dr. Williams went on to say that he thought there was still some fear among low-income people toward co-ops. The reasons for this were:

1. Past failures of co-ops.

2. Intimidation from "big" men.

Dr. Williams said there was a need to take an inventory of what expertize is already available.

Problems he mentioned were:

1. How do you keep people together after you get them together?

2. Often people don't require people to put enough money in a co-op to make them feel ownership.

3. The failure thus far to use existing co-ops -- especially in skills assistances, and capital.

Mr. Howard Bailey, a member of the Mid-Mississippi Oil Co-op (Holmes County), initiated discussion on the merits of creating competing co-ops instead of joining the existing segregated ones. Bailey said he thought it would be impossible to integrate the existing co-ops in Holmes County and still maintain any "cooperative" spirit among the members. Besides, he agreed, why not get used to running "our own" and then maybe later on, after experience in co-ops has been gained, "merge the co-ops." Several people stated they thought efforts to integrate existing co-ops should be made before new (and competing) organizations were organized.

Both James Mays and Dr. Williams agreed with Mr. Bailey as to the merit of members learning how to operate a co-op through actual experience in management.

Mr. Mays, who has worked with several groups in Mississippi helping them to organize co-ops,said he thought there was a great need for a co-op training program in Mississippi. He said he thought such a program should:

-- "be around the specific problems immediately facing the group, and

-- work to adapt the present co-op materials to fit the vocabulary to the persons."

He warned a training program should not do anything for people that they can do themselves. Mr. Mays made this remark with specific reference to surveys and feasibility studies, which he said should be done by the people and not for them.

The most important thing about an educational program Mr Mays said was that "the members should run the program themselves," that "the members should control the co-op," and "that the co-op should run the educational program." He said that he understood, of course, the great need for various types of technical assistance in such a program and that that is what he hoped a training program would provide.

Lastly, Mr. Mays said he thought the training program should include "think big" training. He said, "there needs to be someone around a co-op -- around anything, I guess -- that has an open mind, that can think different, you know, that can think big -- that can know that you need to grow."

Summary of Needs

The following were listed by the participants of the planning meeting as needs a co-op training program should meet:

-- Leadership Training
- A) organizing committee
- B) board of directors
- C) committee workers
- D) manager.

-- Technical Training
- A) for secretary, treasurer, manager, supervisory committee, education committee.
- B) in production co-ops - craftsmen and farmers, use of materials and equipment.
- C) in marketing, modern business methods.
- D) in methods of financing.
- E) in finding proper sources of supply.

-- Membership Understanding
- A) principles, methods, benefits, objectives, ends and means of co-ops.
- B) how to finance and control.

-- Public and/or Potential Member Relations
- A) explain needs and possibilities of co-ops without too far-reaching promises.
- B) inform "general public" and "power structure" or "community" about co-ops.

Questions Raised and Statements Made Concerning Training Program's Ability to Fit the "Needs" of the People.

-- Should training be in or away from individual communities, or include both?

-- Can existing local resources be used? e.g:
- A) county agent
- B) colleges and universities
- C) existing co-ops.

-- There is a great need to adapt materials and methods to fit the needs of low-income groups.

-- Materials should be created out of actual experiences. e.g:
- A) visual aids
- B) cartoons
- C) picture stories
- D) graphics
- E) dialetic and idom writing.

-- Learning by doing is valid education.

Other needs expressed

-- Financing -- concern in how to cut down the "red tape" of agencies that are supposed to help co-ops.

-- Full-time "live" organizational and technical help is needed in the beginning stages of a co-op.

-- Concern on how to keep people together once a co-op is formed.

-- The need of requiring substantial investment to give participants a genuine sense of ownership.

-- What kind of co-op should be first in a community? e.g.
A) credit union
B) buying club?
C) marketing?

-- Need for open-minded creative persons with imagination to help co-op members to consider new ideas and to think big.

The Possibilities

In the first part of the meeting the members and organizers of existing co-ops in the South told of the needs of these co-ops.

The second half of the meeting was used to discuss the possibilities open to a training program that would fit these needs.

Mr. Merlin Miller, International Cooperative Training School, asked the group to use their imaginations in discussing the possibilities for a training program so as to find the program that "will really fit the needs."

Miller asked:

> "What would we want if we had an organization devoted to co-op education and training?

In order to be able to consider this question better the training program was divided into several parts:

1) The education of members during the formative states of an organization.
2) Additional training--Board of Directors, Committees, etc.
3) Management Training.
4) Continuing education (for all the above).

The Education of Members in the Formative Stages

-- How will this be done?
-- Who will do it?
-- Where will it be done?
-- Should we train people to train people?
-- How about a Co-op College?

With these questions to prod the group's imagination the discussion began:

Father McKnight -- The sweet potato co-op used volunteers.

-- It is better to use paid workers as educational teachers.
-- These teachers should be people from the low-income community trained as "co-op generalists."
-- Low-income people could be trained as "generalists" either at local colleges or perhaps a central center. It would be better to take people out of their present community for this training.
-- The training of the membership and potential membership would then be done by these "generalists" who are not only knowledgeable of "the peoples" problems but have experienced them themselves.

Dr. T. T. Williams --

-- How would these low-income people be selected?
-- Would they return to work in their own community area?

The group discussed Williams' questions at some length. The question of selection was felt to be one of mechanics and that it could be discussed at a later time. General agreement seemed evident among the group that the "generalist" would probably be more effective outside of his home county but still within an area close enough to it to have similar problems. (Politics, past reputations, and the possibility of the "generalist" becoming "the leader" rather than remaining "the organizer" and "the advisor" were reasons given by the group.)

As the various ideas for a training program were discussed by the group it was decided that some type of framework for them was needed. The following structure was tentatively decided upon to serve as this framework:

-- Initially five states (probably South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana) with plans later on to expand.

-- Rural southerners would be trained to work as "co-op generalists" in these five states -- suggested twenty generalists per state.

-- Mobile units would service the more technical needs of groups. These units would contain education and training materials and be operated by two-man teams. There would be two mobiles to a state.

-- A central office would provide coordination and would also offer courses in co-op training and education, possibly several weeks in length.

-- The project would be considered a demonstration project -- experimentation with various components might be concentrated in specific states. e.g. -- self-help housing in one state, credit unions and buying clubs in another, etc.

-- The project would be for a four or five year period.

-- Hopefully, one end result of the project would be a federation of the various low-income co-ops.

Summary of Discussion of Training Program Possibilities

Objectives:

-- create community-wide awareness of the potential of co-ops to assist low income families; and provide education and technical assistance in the development of such co-ops of all types, including credit unions

-- assist in the training and education of members, board of directors, managers of these co-ops in order to foster the economic stability and growth of the individual members and the group collectively

-- assist in the formation of federation(s) of co-ops with a membership fee base to continue this educational program and provide business advisory services to member co-ops on a self-supporting basis

-- community co-op advisers (100 over-all, 20 per state), one in each county or parish, to fulfill our stated objectives

-- ten traveling co-op technical specialists in five mobile vans making periodic visits to assist local community co-op advisers with visual aids, specialized seminars and education, more advanced training in the use of new techniques

-- necessary central staff to service traveling and local resident field personnel and to provide necessary central training institutes.

Suggested administration and timetable:

-- Al Ulmer was requested to ask Southern Regional Council if they would solicit the funds and direct the administration of the program.

-- The Cooperative League of the USA, Credit Union National Association, National Sharecroppers Fund, Mid-South Co-op, etc., Southern Consumers' Cooperatives and other interested organizations will be invited to endorse and support the proposals.

-- It was also suggested that an advisory assembly be created of representatives of new and newly forming co-ops and the co-sponsoring co-ops and agencies to approve the program and policies of the Southern Regional Council in connection with this proposal.

-- Initially concentrated in the five states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

-- Assistance should be first directed at those already existing co-ops, co-ops in process of formation, and areas where groups have made requests for help of co-sponsoring organizations.

Future Plans -- Co-op Training Project

-- A continuing committee to work on a formal proposal will meet in early July.

The following men volunteered for this committee:

John Zippert	T. T. Williams
Lewis Black	Father McKnight
Art Emery	Jesse Morris
James Mays	Mike Kenny
Merlin Miller	James Johnson
Al Ulmer	Howard Bailey
Nathan Payne	Joseph L. Marlboro
Co-op League (Representative)	Legal Adviser (Marion Wright to be asked)

Following the writing of a proposal another general meeting will be held in order to allow discussion of the proposal.

PARTICIPANTS IN CO-OP TRAINING PLANNING MEETING

JUNE 9-11, 1966

Mt. Beulah Conference Center
Edwards, Mississippi

Mr. Art Emery
Route 1, Box 53
Sommerville, Tennessee

Mr. Lewis Black
20 Washington Street
Greensboro, Alabama

Mr. James Mays
2242-B Whitsfield Mill Rd.
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. John Zippert
Congress on Racial Equality
1520 N. Market Street
Opelousas, Louisiana

Mr. Jesse Morris
Liberty Outlet House
P. O. Box 3193
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Mike Kenney
Route 2, Box 187
Tchula, Mississippi

Mr. Merlin Miller
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Madison, Wisconsin 53704

Mr. B. F. (Chuck) Ihlenfeldt
Cooperative League of the USA
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Mr. Joe Lemmer
59 East Van Buren St., Room 400
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The Rev. Albert J. McKnight
Southern Consumers Cooperative
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Lafayette, Louisiana 70504

Miss Una Mae Hargrave
Southern Consumers Cooperative
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Lafayette, Louisiana 70504

Miss Eleanor Eaton
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Mr. Carl Hutchinson
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Worthington, Ohio

Mr. Richard Anderson
Bolton, Mississippi

Mr. Joseph L. Marlboro
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Church Point, Louisiana

Mr. Vernon White
Route 2, Box 344
Opelousas, Louisiana

Mr. Calvin Citizen
Route 1, Box 460
Church Point, Louisiana

Mr. Clifford Frilot, Jr.
Route 2, Box 284E
Opelousas, Louisiana

Mr. Herbert Richard
Route 1, Box 278
Opelousas, Louisiana

Mr. James Johnson
Box 268
Whiteville, Tennessee

Mr. Jerry L. Mathews
Route 1
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Mr. Mike Kenny
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Washington, D. C.

Mr. Allen Dulaney
Edwards, Mississippi

Mr. Richard Wenner
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1200 Nineteenth St., N. W.
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Mr. Howard Bailey
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Mr. Patrick Sylvester
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Dr. T. T. Williams
Agricultural Economist and
Director of Research
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Mr. Joseph Butler
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Edwards, Mississippi

Mr. W. D. Bradley
Route 2, Box 199
Edwards, Mississippi

Mr. Peter Mickelsen
Office of Economic Opportunity
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1200 Nineteenth St., N. W.
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Mr. Al Winham
Delta Ministry
P. O. Box 139
Mt. Beulah Conference Center
Edwards, Mississippi

Mrs. Clara Walker
Route , Box 31-I
Marion Junction, Alabama

file: Sec project: "Community Organization"

(2)

The COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

a national federation of cooperatives

50th Anniversary (25th Biennial) Congress,
St. Paul, Minnesota, October 12-14, 1966
THEME: "Beginning the Second Half-Century"

Jerry Voorhis, president and executive director
Chicago, Illinois

June 13, 1966

PA

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

Your conference at Edwards will, I am sure, mark a significant milestone in the history of the South and the history of the Cooperative Movement. All of us from the Cooperative League very much enjoyed and appreciated the opportunity to participate. Your planning, leading and directing this conference was superb and outstanding.

We, of course, are very hopeful that the Southern Regional Council leaders will agree to having the council be the applicant agency for foundation funds. The Cooperative League will give full support to such an application and will be glad to serve in an advisory capacity along with other cooperative organizations. I will be seeing Bob Dolan from CUNA and will attempt to get them to join in this program with the League. CUNA refers this type of activity to its State leagues. We may be able to get CUNA to join in this, because it is a five State program and credit union specialists will be provided on the core staff.

We will look forward to receiving the summary of the conference and to hearing from you regarding the Council's position on sponsorship.

On Saturday we had an excellent meeting with Jesse Morris. He is deeply interested in the co-op education and training program. They certainly are getting no help from the government. I will personally call on the EDA folks who, I know, can help them. The proposal which they have for EDA is too modest and minute.

Incidentally, Al, the conference gave the impression that we are primarily concerned about rural areas. I may be wrong on this. The program certainly should take in the city areas also. The Lynwood Park area in Atlanta, for example, needs attention. So do all cities in the five State area.

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

GENERAL OFFICES: 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605 312-922-0667

Harold Hamil, chairman of the board • Bowman Doss, vice president-vice chairman

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1012 14th Street Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20005 202-628-8765

Thanks for everything, Al. It was a great week!

Sincerely,

THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE of the USA

Chuck

BFI:LL

B. F. Ihlenfeldt, Administrator
Economic Opportunity Program

cc: Mr. Stanley Dreyer

File
See Projects
Community Org.

July 8, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Al Ulmer

FROM: Paul Anthony

Could I please have a summary report (no more than four to six pages unless you feel ambitious) on the work of your Project for the first six months of this year? This will be submitted to Ford and other donors and probably to the Council membership. I would think that a combination of the quarterly reports you have done and perhaps some shortening would be sufficient.

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.[illegible] 30303
[illegible]2-8764
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 26, 1966

TO: Cooperative Training Planning Conference Participants
The Advisory Committee, Southern Regional Council

FROM: Al Ulmer

Enclosed is a copy of the draft of the proposal for the Cooperative Action Program.

I would appreciate your comments.

file - Community Organization
Al Ulmer

A Proposal for

A COOPERATIVE ACTION PROGRAM

for Southern Low-Income Groups

Although the United States is by far the most highly developed nation in the world some regions are undeveloped relative to others. This is true in the degree of industrialization, per capita income and wealth, and general levels of education and health and housing. At least one region in the United States is underdeveloped in all these areas -- The South.

Statistically speaking the South is not a pretty place. Forty-four per cent of the poverty in the United States is found in the South. Close to five families out of every ten are poor. Twenty-nine of the thirty poorest congressional districts are in the South. Per capita income in this region is 600 dollars lower than the national average. Thirty-five per cent of the housing is classed as dilapidated. An appalling proportion of people in the rural South have so little formal education that they may be presumed to be functionally illiterate. Forty-six per cent of southern rural whites and 82% of southern rural Negroes aged 25 or over have completed fewer than eight years of formal schooling.

Poverty in the South is unique in several ways. Forty-one per cent of its population is classified as rural -- the largest rural population of any region in the United States. Almost one of every two poor persons in the South is Negro. Put another way, nine million of 11,600,000 southern Negroes are living in poverty, a

percentage reaching close to 80%, nearly double that of southern whites. A previously "disguised unemployment" in low-income agriculture is coming out into the open as farm mechanization makes cotton choppers obsolete. This also affects the migration rate from the rural farming areas to the cities of the North and, more and more, to the cities of the South. This migration has been, in the past, largely a migration of unemployment as under-educated men moved out of areas where opportunities are least to areas that seemed to hold out somewhat less hopelessness. The fact that riots have become commonplace in our northern cities is evidence that opportunities were not plentiful there either.

Although the following proposal does not concern itself with the entire South but only with the five states that make up the heart of the Black Belt, the problems of the South as a region are in many ways magnified and accented in these five states.

In her paper, "Human Inequalities and Southern Underdevelopment," Mary Jean Bowman said that "the key to development is man, provided that this statement is interpreted broadly enough. And that certainly this is true of <u>economic</u> as well as <u>political</u> development among southern states of the United States." This concern with the development of man is further emphasized by Danhof in an essay citing study of undeveloped countries which concludes that the major problems of undeveloped countries are <u>not</u> economic but the political structure, the education process, and the underlying value system. Dunhof says, "Throughout it has remained true that the economy of the South has evolved as the capabilities of its

citizens to respond to their environment has been enhanced. That experience suggests that persistent adherence to the fundamental task of upgrading human capabilities is the region's best guarantee of continued growth."

The problem then, oversimplified, is one of under-education and racial discrimination. This proposal outlines a program that hopefully will help the South, or at least part of it, catch up in the crucial job of developing its human resources.

It is based upon the needs of low-income southerners, as voiced at a Cooperative Training Planning Conference at Mt. Beulah Conference Center, Edwards, Mississippi, June 9-11, 1966. The conference was attended by delegates from a representative group of low-income cooperatives already started or in the formative state, in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee. The Planning Conference had as technical advisors a small group of cooperative educational experts selected by the Cooperative League of the USA. These men brought to the conference the experience gained in uninterrupted service in cooperative education and training from the depression days to the present. And finally this draft of the proposal was formulated and refined by a committee chosen by the Mt. Beulah Conference. This drafting committee met in Atlanta, Georgia, July 22-23, 1966.

I. The Situation of Low-Income Southerners Considering Cooperative Action Today

Over the past few years low-income southerners have been steadily organizing co-ops all across the Black Belt in an attempt

to overcome the economic dependence that has kept them at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. These co-ops are generally acts of hope and vision rather than well-planned economic moves. There is generally no pre-planning, no survey taken before setting up the co-ops, and because of the racial segregation in the South, there is almost no technical expertise available to low-income groups which are interested in organizing co-ops. Many of these "co-ops" are floundering and some have failed.

Yet there is reason for enthusiasm as well as caution. The positive side can be summarized as follows:

1. Co-ops are an excellent organizing tool. They give people the opportunity to work as a <u>group</u> on common interest problems.
2. Co-ops offer people the chance to participate in fairly good-sized businesses.
3. Co-ops, with their one man - one vote provision, offer members an excellent opportunity to "participate" in a democratic organization.
4. Co-ops, growing out of education and study groups, can help expand their members' ability to plan ahead, to think "big," etc. -- using direct self interest issues as motivation.

In many respects the situation of the under-privileged in the Deep South, both rural and urban, is like that of the millions of unemployed throughout the USA in the Great Depression of the thirties. Out of those dark days hundreds of cooperatives were born --

self-help cooperatives, buying clubs, farmers' marketing and supply cooperatives. And many of the farmer cooperatives assisted by the then newly-created Farm Credit Administration and the Farm Security Administration, are today large, successful businesses, and their once poverty-striken members are now prosperous farmers. Some of the buying clubs, especially those with substantial intellectual or labor leadership, have become superbly successful super-market with a large, prosperous membership.

But the situation of the low-income groups of the Deep South today differs in several important respects from the situation of those who in the depression organized successful cooperatives:

1. A majority of the South's low-income population are economically illiterate. They have never had a fair opportunity to sell their labor or their crops, or buy their supplies in a genuinely free market. They are constantly in debt on usurious terms. They have never had a chance to become business men, individually or collectively.
2. They lack local trained leadership, although within their groups there are potential leaders who could, given the proper information and training, direct and manage cooperatives successfully.
3. Many of the low-income are convinced the local power structure is opposed to any improvement in their lot, and that even the local representatives of Federal agencies will not give them help to which they are legally entitled.

4. The enormous technological advances of the past thirty years have greatly increased the capital required and the technical and managerial competence needed for successful cooperative businesses.

The low-income members of the Mt. Beulah Conference were quite clear about some of the problems facing their cooperatives:

1. Business problems of a new cooperative.

   "A bunch of small farmers -- we'd been raising sweet potatoes but but we wann't doing much good. When ya borrow money and get nothing off your crop you're in trouble. So we formed this co-op to get rid of the middle-man...."

   "We learned that sweet potatoes and fertilizer was competitive as hell! We might be fraternal inside the co-op but <u>outside</u> it isn't."

   President of a new vegetable cooperative.

2. Failure of federal and state agencies to give assistance to low-income Negro farmers. (Note that in the examples cited, the cooperative became a means by which the members received assistance they couldn't get individually.)

   "The county agent came Tuesday. First time I ever saw him. I suppose the co-op might of brought him. It (the co-op) asked him to come."

   A member of the vegetable co-op.

Until the co-op was organized there were no Negro sweet potato inspectors. During a meeting of the co-op someone mentioned this. The co-op sent a letter of protest to the Agriculture Department. There are now Negro inspectors.

Based on individual difficulties in obtaining FHA loans in the past, the members of this co-operative were skeptical of the chances their $170,000 application had of being granted. "We expect 'em to continue stalling us until the crop's almost ready to bring in -- then they'll give us the money. Hope it ain't too late" explained one member.

3. The difficulty, or impossibility, of joining existing, segregated cooperatives, or even obtaining services from them. Those present agreed that in their areas, established co-ops in the region have been rigidly segregated for years and are not showing any inclination now to change their policies.

Members of two farmers oil cooperatives, recently, organized reported that it has been impossible to join existing, segregated cooperatives. The manager of one of the new cooperatives said he thought it would be impossible to integrate the

existing co-ops in his county and still maintain any "cooperative" spirit among the members. Besides, he agreed, why not get used to running "our own" and then maybe later on, after experience in co-ops has been gained, "merge the co-ops."

There were some who favored attempts to integrate low-income Negroes into existing segregated white cooperatives, instead of setting up competing cooperatives; but none of these had personally participated in successful integrated cooperatives where low-income Negroes were a majority or a large minority of the population.

Members of the Mt. Beulah Conference who were not themselves low-income but who had helped organize cooperatives pointed out still other hazards to be avoided and difficulties to be overcome:

1. "Overpromising"

   The biggest problem is that of <u>overpromising</u>, of saying a co-op can accomplish things maybe it can't. <u>Co-ops are really instruments to help overcome the problems, not ends in themselves</u>.

2. Absence of the feeling of ownership. "Members not required to put enough money into a co-op to make them feel ownership."

3. The difficulties in securing credit. It is extremely difficult for groups of small Negro farmers or for groups of non-farmers to secure

credit to form co-ops. One specific complaint in that the Farmers Home Administration interest rates are too high. It was asked why FHA can not lend money with a service charge as the U. S. government does with its overseas loans.

4. Fear of joining or forming co-ops; fears based on:
   - "experience of past failures"
   - "danger of losing one's small resources in a risk venture"
   - the general frontier nature of the rural South -- violence, intimidation, and economic coercion in response to threats to the present entrenched system.
5. Illiteracy and semi-literacy "hold back the formation of co-ops and keep them from operating properly because people do not know how to learn how to organize and run co-ops."
6. The difficulty of getting the poor to work together. "They can unite as a minority against an external group, but they have little experience in working together for common group gains."

In other times and other places successful cooperative organization campaigns have been centered on securing an informed, loyal membership who would furnish enough risk capital to start a cooperative enterprise and a steady patronage to keep it going. Institutes and conferences for directors and training courses for

managers and other employees usually came later as the business met the problems of competition, and the growing pains of expansion. But under the circumstances of the low-income Southerners today all campaigns must be launched in the initial stages, almost simultaneously. Morever all these educational and organizational efforts must be specially designed to meet the special difficulties and the serious handicaps listed in the foregoing section of this proposal.

II. Distinctive Educational Techniques to Meet Special Needs

This proposal is a blueprint for the full participation of low-income people in the action programs for their own advancement. It is more. This proposal itself is the product of such participation. One of the participants in the Mt. Beulah Conference commented:

> "The purpose of this Conference was to bring together those in the South who need technical assistance in the area of co-ops and credit unions and those who have the technical expertise which will allow them to render technical assistance to those who need it. In this sense the Conference was an unqualified success. In the two years I spent in the South, such interchanges were rare -- in fact, this is the first meeting of the kind that I know of ... It is significant that an action proposal was developed and that the mechanism was set up to continue work on the problem."

The same communication and exchange of ideas characterized the meeting of the committee which drafted the details of this proposal. Out of all these deliberations there came a number of clear-cut concepts of the kind of education and action program needed to meet the special situation of low-income Southerners.

1. Study-action groups meeting regularly for some time before any cooperative action is undertaken. All of the prospective members must know exactly what they are joining and why. It may be a long time after the study group forms before they are ready to form the co-op. They must learn that the cooperative is not the solution to all their problems, but instead, a tool by which they can help themselves. They must learn how the co-operatives which they are studying operate as businesses, and that they must be run on sound business principles.
2. Full-time cooperative organizers to set up and work with the study-action groups on a long-term basis. Volunteers are very necessary in the formation of any co-op, but they just do not have enough time to see the job through to a successful conclusion. The community organizer comes in for some time just to talk with people and find out what the needs are and how they are seen by the local people. These organizers need a knowledge of government programs, co-ops, credit, credit unions, Department of Agriculture agencies and programs, etc. The outsider plants the idea or helps nurture it. Local volunteers eventually set up the organization, get the charter, and set up the business.

3. An education program geared to each local situation. The education of the members must go one step at a time as the situation unfolds in their communities. The training must be around the problems as they arise, and not general theoretical training that one expects from a training institute.

4. A self-help education program. One of the major goals of the study-action group program should be to use the organizing of a co-op to show people that they can do things on their own -- to help them develop self-confidence. Nothing should be done for people that they can do for themselves, not even surveys and feasibility studies. Even the study program will be self-help, the members of the group determining what information they need next, and asking the cooperative educator to get the information only if they can't get it themselves.

5. An education program with a goal of continuing involvement and ownership. One of the goals of the group study and action should be the involvement of members in owning something, not just getting economic advantage without identifying one's self as owner of the co-op. Education must be designed to bring about continued active participation in the activities of the co-op, rather than just join and get the economic benefits.

Education must be geared toward getting people to stay together once they have formed the co-op. They must see they are making a contribution to a goal they are working for, that their vital interests are at stake.

6. Simple training materials in southern vernacular. Special training materials will be developed which are geared to the Southern rural experience. These materials will come out of organizing situations. Local idioms and speech rhythms will be used in the materials (for example, "weed killer" instead of "herbicide"). Heavy emphasis will be placed on the development of new audio-visual materials because there is no tradition of reading to learn specific information and because the reading skills of most of those who will use these services is very limited. Movies, film strips, picture stories, cartoons, charts, etc., will be developed out of actual experience. Written materials will be prepared to supplement the audio-visual presentations so that when people leave a meeting or training session they will be able to take with them reminders of the lesson they just had. Written materials will also be prepared as texts for the organizers and teachers.

7. Mobile units fully equipped with training materials. Mobile units (say in station wagons), operated by

two-man teams, serving the general co-op organizers in the field and making the rounds in a given area giving week long institutes in the communities, training all the members in such things as management, principles of co-ops, duties of Boards of Directors, etc., in evening courses. Special intensive training could be given during the day to the full-time workers of the co-ops.

8. Leadership training geared to the total membership training. Leadership training for board and committee members, taking place at the same time as membership education, will help the "trained leadership" to be accepted by the whole membership. It will also provide a pool of informed members available for future service in these elected offices. When leadership training institutes are provided away from the local community they should be open for non-official members as well, for the same reasons as having local training sessions open to all members.

9. A permanent system of local study-action groups. The study groups through which a cooperative is formed should then continue as an integral part of the co-op. They will be the central vehicle by which the membership learns about the co-op, the forces operating in the community, and how to control the co-op. They will also become the channel through which new ideas and the possibilities of

new cooperative enterprise will be explored by the membership.

10. A permanent federation of cooperatives and study-action groups. As soon as enough low-income co-operatives are in operation, a federation of these cooperatives and of the study-action groups of their members should be organized by the cooperative members themselves, to assist in and eventually take over the direction of the on-going cooperative study and action program.

11. A regional cooperative training institute, probably located centrally in Alabama or Mississippi, which would initially be geared to serve five Deep South states (South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi) with plans to expand through the South. This Institute would:

    a. Recruit whites and Negroes from rural southern communities and train them as general community co-op organizers in the pre-organizing (i.e., organization of study groups, exploring possibilities, needs, and resources, etc.) and the organizing (i.e., developing the survey, getting the charter, etc.) of a co-op, and in servicing a co-op once it has been set up.

    b. Train local co-op members and leaders at the center, as the cooperatives increased.

c. Service mobile units which would in turn service the general organizer in the communities and the existing co-ops.

d. Train co-op specialists at an advanced level.

e. Provide needed research facilities and staff.

f. Develop the necessary educational materials for use both in the Institute and in the field.

All these distinctive educational techniques are based on the central premise that the participation of the low-income people -- the people for whom and by whom these proposals are made -- is essential to the successful establishment of cooperatives for low-income Southerners.

III. Economic Goals

It is impossible to set precise goals -- so many credit unions, so many consumer (home supply) cooperatives, so many farmers marketing cooperatives, so many petroleum, so many farm supply co-operatives, so many mutual housing and health projects -- to be achieved in this five-year period. To set such numerical goals would be to prejudge the needs and desires of the members; it would be a denial of the basic premise of these proposals, namely, that the people themselves shall make the choice of the kind of cooperative activity they will undertake. However, it is not too much to imagine the following developments:

A. The organization of various types of informal cooperatives by most of the study-action groups formed through this program. These service centers may undertake such varied group actions as:

1. buying clubs for the purchase of staple household commodities at wholesale prices;

2. discount agreements with local merchants for purchase of appliances, clothing, and other goods by group members at listed lower cash prices;

3. rent or purchase of trucks for transportation and marketing of members' produce;

4. joint ownership of farm machinery too expensive for individual ownership.

B. Some of these informal cooperative services might expand into full-fledged consumer cooperatives. Obtaining their supplies at reasonable cost will be essential for their survival. Some items may be obtainable from existing farm supply regionals. If so, the local consumer cooperative should use their services whenever it may be to their advantage. But since no consumer cooperative wholesales now exist in the South, the local consumer cooperatives will need to organize for their survival a consumer cooperative wholesale with service branches in several trading centers If this is done, it would seem to require that this cooperative wholesale have expert guidance based upon the experience of the cooperative wholesales in other regions. Such a wholesale might be organized on a fee-for-service basis, and the service might include educational as well as business advisory services essential to the continued success of any consumer (home supply) cooperative.

C. The organization of one or more credit unions in each of the "pockets of poverty" recognized by OEO and organized for Community Action Programs in these five states. Many of these credit unions, under the plans worked out jointly by CUNA and OEO, might be staffed in their initial stages by OEO financed employees. All of them would, as a matter of course, join their respective State Credit Union Leagues, pay dues to the Leagues and CUNA, and receive full CUNA and League services. They would eventually be self-sustaining and full partners in the overall credit union movement.

D. Petroleum cooperatives and farm supply cooperatives, particularly those handling both petroleum and fertilizer, would be a development in many rural areas of the South. In some places such cooperatives will already be established and ready to include new members. Where it is feasible to organize new cooperatives they may find their economic source of supplies in existing farm supply wholesales; in others they may need to organize their own wholesale. Such a wholesale should offer full educational and business services and should contract for supplies with farm supply regionals in neighboring states.

E. Farm marketing cooperatives of specialized products may or may not be able to establish connections with existing cooperatives marketing and processing the same products. Wherever possible this should be done. Where low-income farmers find it necessary to organize a new marketing cooperative, it is quite probable that such cooperatives may also handle farm supplies and join with a federation of farm supply cooperatives.

F. Farm machinery cooperatives, incorporated for joint ownership and operation of farm machinery and equipment too expensive for individual farmers.

G. Industrial or handicraft cooperatives have already sprung up, especially in some parts of Mississippi. The future of this type of cooperative will depend on many factors, not the least of which will be the extent to which technical questions of design can be met. A strong central organization is indispensable for product development, quality control, and successful marketing.

H. Self-help housing cooperatives for the joint purchase of land and construction of homes, or for the joint purchase of materials for building or repair of homes by the owners. These cooperatives may sharply cut the cash cost of home building by using the labor of the members. These cooperatives will use all the financial and other assistance available under the federal housing and economic opportunity laws.

I. Cooperative health plans, providing prepayment of medical care, either through ownership and operation of clinics or hospitals, or through insurance for payment of medical bills.

J. A central educational federation should emerge as the best way to carry on a self-sustaining educational, training, and business advisory service for the local cooperative aided by the Project in the initial stage.

(The Southern Consumers Cooperative Association has initiated such a program by creating the non-profit Southern Consumers Educational Foundation to which each member must pay membership fee before he can begin to accumulate share capital and voting rights in the cooperative itself.)

The development of a central educational federation could be stimulated, from the first, by offering each study-action group organized the following educational services:

1. a monthly newsletter to each member of the group
2. continuation of the educational services of the field staff of the Project
3. an annual state-wide conference for study-action and cooperative group members
4. promotion of legislation favorable to the economic and social interests of low-income groups.

Cooperatives created by the study-action groups will be asked to contribute to the support of these services. Basis for such support could be an annual subscription fee of perhaps one dollar, for each individual member of the cooperative. Payment of these subscriptio

fees would become a part of the operating expenses of the cooperative. The one-dollar subscription fee would become a one-dollar annual membership fee in the federation when it is organized. The Project should continue to support these educational services if necessary after the federation takes them over.

It seems premature at this stage to predict either the form or the extent of the central cooperative educational and financial service organizations which may be set up by the cooperatives organized under this Project. But it is not too soon to recognize that the solution of this problem may be the ultimate test of the success of this Project and of the cooperatives it helps bring into being.

IV. A Practical Educational Program to Promote Cooperative Development

From the point of view of its low-income members, organizing a cooperative is not an end in itself. The cooperative rather is a tool to raise the economic status of its members. It should also develop a sense of community cooperation at all levels, and provide group and individual security for its members. It follows that the most appropriate education program is one which not only promotes group economic organization but also promotes individual participation in democratic decision making, experiences which lead to a new sense of confidence, and a sense of accomplishment which becomes the basis for further development.

The purpose of the proposed educational program is to produce members who understand and accept the responsibilities that go with cooperative membership and leaders who can wisely guide their groups in the search for sound cooperative businesses, and who can efficiently direct and manage those businesses when established. Such members and such leaders are not to be thought of as a means to a goal. In a truer sense, they themselves are the goal. It is as true today as it was in the depression when Harvey Hall made the slogan of the Indiana farmers' cooperatives: "The best co-op product is a cooperator".

The educational program which follows is designed to meet these basic problems:

1. to discover and develop informed and loyal members among ill-informed, low-income groups;
2. to enable potential leaders to assume and fulfill their proper leadership roles as organizers, capable candidates for elective cooperative office, committee men, managers, employees -- without whose understanding of cooperatives and dedication to cooperation as a way of business, cooperative success will be impossible.

A. <u>Local Study and Action Groups</u>

These local groups will be formed before any formal cooperative organization will be undertaken. This type of organization follows the pattern of the world-famous Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia.

It has been the basis of successful cooperative organization in Puerto Rico. It is in use in the most promising low-income cooperative development in the southern states today, the Southern Consumers Cooperative Association of Louisiana. There the local groups are known as "chapters" or "action groups". Other names may be chosen as local groups decide.

The purposes of the study-action groups organized under this Project will be:

1. to determine for themselves their own most urgent needs and to determine which of these needs could be met by joining an existing cooperative and which could be met only by organizing a new cooperative;
2. to study the essentials for success of the cooperative enterprise under consideration, particularly in terms of available business volume, capital required, and necessary member loyalty;
3. to acquire a mastery of the cooperative principles and practices essential to the success of the enterprise;
4. to acquire capital for the cooperative planned by regular weekly or monthly savings deposited with the action group during (and after) its period of initial studies;
5. to visit as a group or as delegates from the group successful cooperatives already started elsewhere;

6. to stimulate the imagination of the group's members, to plan ahead, to go on from one success to another and another;
7. to develop in the group's members as a by-product of a successful cooperative business action a firm and soundly based self-confidence in their ability to handle their own economic affairs, as a group and individually.

B. Training the Local Group Leadership

From the very first meetings of the field worker with the group, attempts will be made to recognize the leaders in the group. In the earliest stages, some will become discussion leaders; in later stages there will be the elected organization committee; still later the board of directors, and such continuing committees as the education committee and the supervisory committee. All these, in their turn, will need training in the special techniques required for successful leadership in the positions they hold. The Project, therefore, must provide:

1. Local leadership training courses, for organization committee members, for boards of directors, for other committee members and voluntary workers, whose greater understanding of cooperative problems and principles is essential for the success of the group enterprise. These local leadership training courses will be held in local communities or in districts embracing several local groups, whenever the appropriate stage is reached

and when requested by the local leaders. Instruction will be provided by:

- the state "roving staff" with its mobile unit
- cooperative leaders "called in" by the state director

All such courses will be open to all interested members, the intention being to prevent from the beginning any gap in confidence between the group and its leaders.

2. Technical training for individual lay cooperative officers -- president (as presiding officer), secretary, treasurer, supervisory committee, education committee. Specific training dealing with the problems of those non-paid, voluntary and elective officers. This technical training will take three forms:

   a. "coaching" by the area cooperative counsellor;

   b. group courses -- training to be given by the state staff "roving counsellors," with their mobile unit, the auditor-analyst on the state staff, and/or other cooperative technicians called in;

   c. on the job "internship", a few days at a time, with existing cooperatives, which agree to provide this experience. This is an important part of the technique employed especially effectively in credit union development.

Particularly since most of these elected or

volunteer officers will be low-income persons who can ill afford or cannot afford at all the time, travel and expense involved in such technical training courses, they should be reimbursed by the Project for all these costs.

C. Selection and Training of Managers for New Cooperatives

1. Selection of potential managers for training will be based upon the following principles:

   a. It is anticipated that managers as well as the rest of the employed staff of cooperatives and credit unions assisted in this program will come largely from within the groups themselves. The development of business leadership from within the low-income groups themselves is one of the major objectives of the program.

   b. During the period while study-action groups are developing plans for cooperative action a pool of potential managers will be selected and trained, sufficient to staff new cooperatives when they are ready to go into operation.

   c. Talented men and women within study-action groups may be recommended for management training by the local groups, by the cooperative counsellors, or by responsible local people outside the low-income group.

   d. These men and women, sent for training, may be employed at the conclusion of their training by their own group, or by some other group, depending on local circumstances.

2. Training potential managers must be thorough and must embrace both theory and practice:

   a. A course in management, probably one month in length, at the southern cooperative training institute proposed by this project as a part of this project. This course will be repeated as many times each year as management trainees are available. Trainees will receive salaries and have all expenses paid. Planning the academic course in management should be done in consultation with the best cooperative management training personnel in the nation.

   b. "On-the-job training," field experience for each management trainee, in a cooperative where he can obtain the maximum amount of experience relevant to the management job to which he expects to return. For this field on-the-job training the travel expenses and salary of the trainee will be borne entirely by the Project. This on-the-job field training will be planned and directed by the southern cooperative institute, in collaboration with the cooperatives and cooperative educational institutions which have such training programs now in operation.

V. Staff and Administration for the Project including the Institute:

A. Staff

1. Central administrative and institute staff

The following highly trained specialists will be needed:

- a Director, the administrative head of the entire project; a man with administrative experience, experience in working with low-income southerners, and, if possible, some cooperative experience
- an Assistant Director, who may also be in charge of the Institute, including both its teaching and its research functions
- a "roving" Field Supervisor, available for promotional and planning assistance anywhere in the region, on call
- a Study-Action Group Director, to provide guidance and discussion material to the field force and to the study-action groups
- a Cooperative Specialist, with organizational experience in several types of cooperatives, who would work closely with the Cooperative League and with regional cooperatives.
- a Credit Union Specialist, working closely with CUNA International
- an Editor for the Study-Group newsletter
- a Legal Counsel, versed in cooperative law
- an audio-visual expert, to assist in preparing materials -- charts, movies, simple literature <u>in the vernacular</u>
- a Comptroller, to handle all accounts
- three Research Assistants and Instructors at the Institute

In addition there will be needed at the Institute headquarters:

- secretarial and office personnel
- buildings and grounds maintenance staff

2. A state office for each of the five states, with:

- a State Director
- a Cooperative Specialist, to provide expertise to the field force
- a Credit Union Specialist
- an Auditor-Analyst, to offer needed business services (audits, analysis of financial statements, and business advice)
- two "roving counsellors", equipped with a well-equipped mobile audio-visual unit, to provide additional education group study going
    a. in the early stages, to get an educational group study going
    b. for supporting and more advanced training conferences (week long "institutes") as the local program proceeds
    c. for district or regional training conferences of leadership personnel of cooperative groups in the process or organizing or in the early stages of business operations
- a lawyer or lawyers, on retainer fees, to assist in drafting legal papers for new cooperatives
- necessary secretarial office personnel

3. A field staff of well-trained community development

organizers, specialists in group study and action, "generalists" in the field of cooperatives rather than specialists in any one kind of cooperative. Each will be assigned to a specific area (county or parish). It is estimated that this will require approximately twenty trained field staff personnel in each state covered, a stock of literature and other teaching aids. This staff will:

a. seek out all low-income cooperatives and credit unions in operation or in process of organization and all groups inquiring about cooperatives and/or credit unions, in order to offer them the services of the cooperative action program

b. provide educational guidance and materials to enable study and action groups to determine how their needs can be met by cooperative action and to understand fully what cooperative action will require of its members

c. provide organization guidance and assistance, personally and on the spot, to action groups at every step in the critical process of organizing a successful cooperative business.

B. Selection and Training of the Staff of the Project

1. Selection

a. selection of the central administrative and institute staff will be made on the basis first of their professional competence in their respective fields, and second their experience if any in working with low-income southerners.

b. selection of the state staff will be made with a high priority on successful experience with low-

income southerners

c. selection of the field force. The primary requisites for service as a cooperative counsellor on the field force will be experience with the problems of low-income southerners. As many as possible of the field force will be chosen from the area. Salaries are suggested at the level of well-paid public school teachers. It is the aim to enlist competent persons, willing and able to enter a career with a five year future with the project and the possibility of eventual employment at good salaries by the cooperatives they help found. They need not be versed in cooperatives when selected.

2. Training

a. An orientation workshop of one or two weeks duration for central and state office staff. This should be held as soon as the Director, his Assistant, State Directors and their principal staff specialists have been chosen. This workshop should be held in the South, on the grounds of the Institute if possible. Participants in addition to the staff of the project will be a number of outside "experts", i.e., sociologists trained in the dynamics of group action, economists specializing in cooperative credit and business, and cooperative educators with experience both in the USA and in developing economies abroad. Representatives of regional cooperatives willing and able to accept low-income members will be invited and urged to participate in

the initial workshop, as well as subsequent refresher courses.

b. Intensive training courses for the field force will be given as the field staff is recruited. Each course will be six weeks in length, will be held at a central location in the South when about twenty staff members have been employed. Each course will include field observation trips to cooperative enterprises in successful operation. These intensive training courses will be set up at the Southern Cooperative Institute if possible.

C. A Central Advisory Board will be set up to make recommendations with regard to policy, and to make recommendations for and to approve the principal staff appointments. The membership and responsibilities of this Board will pass through three stages as the project progresses.

1. In the initial stage, the Committee chosen at the Mt. Beulah Conference will act as a temporary or acting Advisory Board. This committee includes in its membership representatives of the four co-sponsoring organizations:

- The Cooperative League of the USA which has staff available to assist in planning high level seminars, workshops and training courses; and cooperative educational materials available for reproduction in simple, vernacular language
- CUNA International which will make available to the project directly and through the State Credit

Union Leagues all plans and materials developed by the CUNA Anti-Poverty Program.

- Southern Consumers Cooperative Association which offers its projects as pilot plants for observation and study in the development of this Southern Regional Council five-state program.
- National Sharecroppers Fund which offers its long experience in seeking constructive programs for and with southern low-income groups.

2. When a sufficient number of low-income cooperatives have been organized in any state, they will be invited to send delegates to become members of a State Advisory Board, with two functions;
   a. to advise the state staff of the project on the progress of the project in their state
   b. to choose two of their own number to become members of the Central Advisory Board

   When such delegates have been appointed to the Central Advisory Board from three or more states, these delegates may replace present members of the Advisory Board from those states, except those serving as representatives of the four co-sponsoring organizations.
3. When the project is completed the elected members of the Advisory Board will become the Board of Directors for the Southern Cooperative Institute which will carry on many of the functions of the project, but supported by the cooperatives themselves.

Membership on the Advisory Board shall not entail financial responsibility for any part of this project, the Southern Regional Council retaining full control of the funds, and assuming full responsibility to the donors for the proper disbursement of the funds.

D. The Southern Cooperative Institute

The upper level teaching and training functions will be carried on in a central educational institution to be called "The Southern Cooperative Institute." In its initial stages, its staff will be a part of the project as a whole. Eventually it will take over and continue those functions when the project ends. At that stage, it may become an arm of a southern cooperative educational federation.

In the initial stages the Institute will have the following functions:

1. to provide the teaching staff for high-level seminars and training courses, partly from the regular administrative staff of the project, partly from experts secured for short-time ad hoc assignments.
2. to provide the research and information staff serving the mobile units and the local field staff.
3. to serve as the center for the production of literature, audio-visual materials, the newsletter and all other communication media materials required -- all in simple, locally usable vernacular.

4. to house the central administrative staff, and serve as an "own" focal point for the entire project and all low-income people involved in all forms of cooperative action.

In the final stages of the project, the Institute will provide the center around which the cooperative activity began by the low-income participants in the project will continue on its own.

E. Relationship with Government Agencies

It is the intention to make the maximum use possible of services available from state and federal agencies. Specifically, the following agencies will be involved in specific projects whenever it is to the advantage of the study-action groups and the cooperatives they propose to set up:

- The Office of Economic Opportunity
- The Farmers Home Administration
- The Agricultural Extension Service and the Universities of the respective states.

VI. Timetable

First year

(Getting started in five states. A budget year; actual time from first receipt of funds, probably 15 months.)

(two months)

Selection of central staff and state directors

Orientation Seminar (two weeks)

Establishment of central office

(three months)

Employment state staffs -- in all five states

Establishment of state offices

Employment of field workers ("cooperative counsellors")

(100 in all, for all five states)

Secure ten mobile field units

(ten months)

Five intensive training courses for field workers

(one month for each group of twenty, the first twenty hired, regardless of state in which they will work)

Hopefully, about eight months of regular field work

Average length of service for first group of field workers first year

Hopefully, first regular manager training courses

<u>Second year</u> (project in full operation)

Complete staff of field workers if any vacancies, or if any replacements needed

Eight one-week refresher courses; six for field workers who have had one year of service, two for new field workers

Manager training courses continued

<u>Third Year</u> (continue with full staff, 100 field workers)

Ten one-week small group refresher courses for field workers and staff, or five small and one for entire staff together

Concentrate efforts on development of service and educational federations of cooperatives, for continuation of the project functions after

completion of the project.

Fourth year (begin consolidation and phasing into permanent structure)

Two auditor-analysts, self-supporting (that is, employed by a cooperative federation or non-profit organization serving the newly-created cooperatives of low-income membership)

Reduce staff of field workers as cooperative federations undertake their own field work; hopefully, a 20% transfer of field staff from the Project to self-supporting cooperative service organizations during the year

Continue refresher courses and workshops

Fifth year (phasing into permanent structure)

Three remaining auditor-analysts, and as much as possible of central and state staffs transfer to self-supporting cooperative service organizations; remainder released, as their projects phase out

Sixth year (completion of project)

Retain skeleton central staff and a limited number of field representatives, if there are

1. any incomplete local projects
2. any incomplete projects for the creation of self-supporting cooperative service organizations
3. any unexpended funds

Continue the Southern Cooperative Institute as a viable educational institution, with its own sources of support.

See Community Org. Project

MJ - file

M E M O

October 21, 1966

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Al Ulmer

Re: The Friendship Baptist Church Project

In response to your October 17th memo in which you reported having received reports indicating the possibility that Mr. Willie Williams, an employee of Friendship Baptist Church, was engaging in political activity, I attempted to find out information about the situation. The following is a summary of this effort:

I talked further with Mrs. Helen Howard concerning her conversation with you last October 17th. My main interest throughout this conversation and the many others I subsequently held, was to find out whether or not Mr. Williams had taken part in any political activity.

Mrs. Howard and Mrs. Pearl Robinson (ex-president of the Vine City Council) told me of a plan Mr. Willie Williams had divulged to Mrs. Robinson. It was to suggest to the Vine City Council at its next meeting (Wednesday, October 19th) that the Council endorse a write-in campaign for Stokely Carmichael for Governor. (This did not take place.) The plan went further, Mrs. Robinson said, and presumed that Hector Black would oppose such a move and that Mr. Williams could and woulf then move to throw Black out of the Council.

The rift between Black and Wille Williams happened over a statement issued by Mr. Williams concerning a visit to the mayor's office October 11th.

On that day Mr. Williams and five members of the Council met to discuss going to visit the mayor to protest alleged mistreatment of SNCC workers jailed in city jail on a draft protest. Mr. Williams told me he thought he had been used by SNCC on this issue and that SNCC had also written the statement about what happened at City Hall. He feels this was a mistake also.

The trouble was over who had the right to speak for the Council. Mr. Williams said he had called a meeting and had a quorum (Vine City Council says 5 members attending a called meeting constitutes a quorum) and therefore had a right to issue the statement.

Black saw the statement and called the news media and asked them to hold it until another meeting could be called to approve it. Mr. Williams saw this as a move by Black to dictate what should or shouldn't be said. Black claimed that a meeting hadn't been called and that Williams had just asked five people he knew would go along to come to the meeting.

Out of this arguement came the rumor of what Williams was going to do to get Black out of the Council--the Carmichael write-in plan.

Mr. Williams denies that he ever suggested such a plan. He says he was mad at Black about the "censoring" but that the fact that Black is white (no pun intended) didn't made one "damm bit of difference to him."

Williams says the only time he mentioned Carmichael was at a meeting of the Council when a question of the governor's race came up and he said he'd just as soon write-in for Stokely Carmichal for governor as vote for Mattox or Calloway.

From what I can determine Mr. Williams has not participated in any political activity. He is very much aware of his position on this question as it came up during the campaign of Mrs. Howard. Mr. Williams was, by his own admission, used to an extent by SNCC workers concerning the October 11th statement. (This statement never was released.)

In my opinion there is no necessity to withhold funds from the Friendship Baptist Church at this time.

This misunderstanding has brought about the realization on my part, however, of the necessity of a meeting of the involved parties (The Rev. Sam Williams, the Rev. Allison Williams, Hector Black, myself, Mrs. Howard, Mrs. Robinson, etc.) to discuss the role of the project in Vine City and to discuss also whether the work of Mr. Williams should be continued.

This meeting is tentatively set for Monday, October 24, 3:00 P.M.

See - Sr. Projects "Community Org."

PA file

WEDNESDAY, November 9, 1966

Report # 1

Resource Committee for the Vine City Project
of Friendship Baptist Church
and Trinity Presbyterian Church

Attending: Mr. Willie Williams
Mr. Al Ulmer
Mr. Reese Cleghorn

Mr. Williams gave a brief report of his activities during the past month.

An effort to get sidewalks for Magnolia Street appears to have succeeded.

Mr. Williams has worked with a group of Vine City people in protesting the quality and prices of food in the local grocery stores.

Results of negotiations with the owner of one store (Hy's Grocery) has led to a drop in prices of most meat: For example, hamburger (49¢ to 39¢); porkchops (79¢ to 69¢). The price of white potatoes (8¢ to 5¢ per lb.) and in general most prices of goods came down. The quality of the food has improved also, according to Mr. Williams.

The question of "who" inspects meat in small groceries and "how often" was raised.

Mr. Williams was called to testify in court in the Shaeffer case, a case brought by the city of Atlanta against Joe Shaeffer for failure to maintain 27 pieces of property in accordance with the city housing code. An interesting part of the testimony happened when Shaeffer's attorney accused Mr. Williams of conspiring against Shaeffer when Williams participated in an action that resulted in furniture from one of Shaeffer's slum houses being piled up around Shaeffer's "town" house.

Mr. Williams answered this charge by saying, "The group just decided that we'd do this to the next landlord that evicted somebody from a slum house and Shaeffer owns so many of 'em, he just came up "first."

Mr. Williams said he thought inspections were being made more frequently and that these inspections were resulting in more warning placards than was the case several months ago.

It was decided to try and have the "resource committee" meetings every other Wednesday's at 4:30 P.M., at the home of Mr. Williams.

The next meeting is scheduled for November 23.

THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

The Community Project is made up of four parts.

1. Survey of Present self-help activities in the South. - A survey is being made of community efforts such as credit unions, co-operatives of various types, block organizations, etc. A preliminary report has been completed which briefly describes these programs and attempts to emphasize areas needing research and assistance. Over the first year the director of the project will visit as many self-help programs as is possible. By spending several days in each location it is hoped information will be gained concerning identification of persons with specific organizational skills, ideas applicable to other locations, and various causes of successes and failures.

2. Consultants to Community Organizations - A small amount of money will be used to provide communities with skilled consultants. Hopefully, the consultants in some instances will be persons from low-income communities who have gained technical skills through first-hand experiences in initiating and operating organizations in their communities. In this way specialists with knowledge of conditions in low-income communities, as well as possessing needed technical skills, will be available. For a period of several weeks the project would pay the salary and the expenses of such a person to work in a new community.

3. Employment of Local People to Work as Full-time Community Organizers - It is hoped money will be available to pay the salaries, or part of the salaries, for qualified people from within a community to do full-time organizational work.

4. Publications - Simply written "How We Did It" pamphlets will be written. These will describe how a project, such as a housing cooperative or a block organization, was begun; the problems it solved and failed to solve; and how such a project might be done in another part of the South.

COOPERATIVE ACTION PROGRAM FOR SOUTHERN LOW-INCOME GROUPS

Budget Estimates

I. Central Office and Institute	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	Fifth Year	Totals
Staff:						
Director	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	75,000
Assistant Director	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	60,000
"Roving" Field Supervisor	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	60,000
Study-Action Group Director	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	60,000
Cooperative Specialist	10,800	10,800	10,800	10,800	10,800	54,000
Credit Union Specialist	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	--	38,000
Comptroller	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	9,600	48,000
Editor	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	--	36,000
Audio-Visual Expert	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	--	36,000
Librarian	8,400	8,400	8,400	8,400	8,400	42,000
Research and Information Assistants (3)	21,600	21,600	21,600	21,600	21,600	108,000
Secretaries and Clerk-Typists (6)	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	20,000	140,000
Fringe Benefits (11.2%)	17,800	17,800	17,800	17,800	13,600	84,800
Fund for Legal Aid	9,000	9,000	9,000	9,000	4,500	40,500
Subsidy to Group-Study Paper	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	5,000	45,000
Consultants	7,500	7,500	7,500	7,500	--	30,000
Office Expense Stationery, Postage, Phone, Insurance, Rent, Miscellaneous, Contingency	8,800	8,800	8,800	8,800	6,000	41,200
Institute Maintenace Building and Grounds	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	60,000
Staff Travel	16,000	16,000	16,000	16,000	14,000	78,000
Total, Central Office and Institute	240,100	240,100	240,100	240,100	176,300	1,136,900
II. State Offices and Field Force						
State Directors @ 9,600	48,000	48,000	48,000	48,000	48,000	240,000
Auditor-Analysts @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	27,000	9,000	171,000
Cooperative Specialists @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	225,000

II. State Offices and Field Force (cont'd.)

Credit Union Specialists @ 9,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	45,000	--	180,000
Roving Counsellors @ 7,200	72,000	72,000	72,000	72,000	28,800	316,800
Secretaries and Clerk-Typists (15)	75,000	75,000	75,000	75,000	60,000	360,000
Field Staff (20 per state @ 6,000)	600,000	600,000	600,000	540,000	300,000	2,640,000
Fringe Benefits (11.2%)	104,200	104,200	104,200	95,460	55,000	463,000
Movies and literature	45,000	35,000	25,000	20,000	10,000	135,000
Travel, State and Field Force	250,000	250,000	250,000	218,000	136,000	1,104,000
Office Expense and Contingency	30,000	30,000	30,000	25,000	15,000	130,000
Fund for Legal Aid	45,000	45,000	45,000	30,000	15,000	180,000
Total, State Offices and Field Force	1,404,200	1,394,200	1,384,200	1,240,460	721,800	6,144,800

III. Training Programs

Orientation Seminar	10,000	--	--	--	--	10,000
Field Force Training	80,000	--	--	10,000	--	90,000
Refresher Courses	--	10,000	15,000	12,000	6,000	43,000
Technical Training	10,000	15,000	20,000	20,000	10,000	75,000
Management Training	60,000	100,000	120,000	100,000	50,000	430,000
Total Training	1,804,300	1,759,300	1,779,300	1,622,500	964,300	7,929,700

IV. Overhead @ 10% of salaries

BUDGET ESTIMATES - CAPITAL EXPENDITURES

Institute "Campus" - Building and Grounds	250,000
Library	10,000
Classroom and Teaching Equipment	20,000
Mobile Units - station wagons and equipment	60,000
Office Equipment - Central and States	15,000
Total Capital Expenditures	355,000

MT-file

FIELD REPORT

Boca Raton, Florida is a small town. Its 16,000 people are largely representative of the upper-middle-class. A majority are retired.

Boca is growing rapidly having gained 10,000 new citizens in the past 5 years. The Chamber of Commerce brochure depicts the city as a paradise. On the front page of the pamphlet comparisons of Boca Raton are made with Delray Beach, and Boyton Beach, two cities to the North. One comparison catches the eye. Delray Beach % Non-white 35%, Boynton Beach % Non-white 24%, Boca Raton % Non-white 5%. "Live in Beautiful Boca Raton."

Approximately 650 Negroes live in Boca Raton. They live in a small 3 by 6 block warped rectangle known locally as Pearl City.

A railroad lies South, a service station complex East, new Route 1 to the North, and a recently constructed 7 foot high cement block wall restrains the view to the West.

The wall was built to separate Pearl City from a new condominium apartment building or vice versa.

Pearl City is not a slum as Vine City or Lightening in Atlanta is a slum. Only a few of the houses are truly delapidated. The streets are rough-paved and lack curbings but are paved. A small teen-age center boasts a juke box within its 24' by 24' frame.

The Pearl City Civic League, under the leadership of Mr. George Spain, has been successful in dealing with the city government. The paving of the streets, street lights, the teen-age center, a voter registration drive to which the city lent its support, -- all are the work of the League.

Mr. Spain, with outside help from Mr. Nathan Popkin, an instructor at Marymount College and Mr. John Best, a professor at Atlantic University, has prepared an application for Community Action Program from OEO. The proposal is for a multi-service center.

Activities ranging from a day-care center to adult education are planned.

I met with Mr. Spain and Mr. Popkin to discuss several problems that have entered into the proposal process.

The CAP "unbrella" agency for Palm Beach County has been relatively inactive. Mr. Spain says that there has been almost no activity from the OEO office since an ex-vocational education instructor was hired as director. The Chairman of the Board of Directors is an assistant school superintendent. The big question is whether to apply through this county program or to go straight to the Regional OEO with the request.

The proposal is for $300,000. The Civic League wants to be the administrator of these funds. The proposal, the writing of which SRC has given $150 to cover expenses of paper, information gathering, etc., will be ready January 10.

The plan of action decided upon is to submit the proposal to County OEO as a single-action education application. If they refuse to follow up on the application a similar proposal will be submitted to the Regional OEO office here in Atlanta.

A major stumbling block according to the Regional OEO office will be the fact that Palm Beach County is allocated only $750,000 for CAP. Whether a small group of 650 people can get almost half of it and control the half themselves is doubtful.

I have some skepticism about the proposal, also. Pearl City definitely needs access to a Community Center with all the programs Spain's proposal requests, but Boca Raton recently built a Recreation-Education Center about 2 miles from Pearl City. Its cost was over a million dollars. The question in my mind is whether Pearl City needs a center of its own or needs to demand the right to share in the already existing facilities.

Al Ulmer
January 20, 1966

MT - file NV project

Paul - here is a list of ideas that hopefully would give increased independence to families living in slum areas. A brief capsulized description follows each idea. Perhaps one of these could be expanded into a project and funds could be requested from the Georgia foundation you spoke of a week or so ago.

1. Quilt making - women could use discontinued cloth samples; stuffing could be purchased wholesale. Two women have made quilts before and could serve as teachers and pattern designers. Problems of quality control and probable market sales could be overcome if sewing machines could be obtained and several samples quilts distributed. Financing required : price of two sewing machines, money for advertising, and distribution, electricity.

2. Rugs - rug samples are inexpensive and readily available. Backs could be ironed or sewn on and small multi-colored rugs the finished product. Financing - initial grant to buy materials.

3. Felt designs - Felt designs can be sewn onto plain materials, dressing up ordinary dresses and curtains considerably. Money for materials.

4. Furniture - initially, used furniture can be obtained and refinished. As profits build up, machine tools might be possible and simple furniture made. A man with experience is necessary and money to buy the first lot of furniture.

5. Candles - candles can be made easily with parafin and coloring dye. Forms can be made from almost anything. Christmas candles might be the first effort. Quality control would be essential. Money for initia purchases of materials.

6. Small printing operation - a hand press, mimeograph machine, typewriter, small selection of type, and you have a business. I think you could make a go just on name cards for businessmen.

7. Sewing co-operative - contracts to sew small simple things at first, shirts, dresses, aprons. Sewing machines are needed, cloth, quality control, some instruction at the beginning, and lastly, a market.

8. Vegetables - Contact made now with small Negro farmers to sell their surplus vegetables in Vine City type areas. Both the farmer part and the retail part would be co-operative in nature. Money for transportation and for initial buying. This also could be done buying the vegetables from the Farmers Market and then peddling them in the neighborhood.

9. Many of the above products could be sold in a neighborhood store, offering credit with no carrying charges. Cooperative stores especially those handling produce of any kind are high risk ventures.

10. Toy making - with small tools and patience toys could be made. Noveltie from scrap materials of the arts and crafts type would be possilbe. We could package children's arts and crafts kits furnishing the raw materials and instructions of a how-to-do-it nature,

11. Cleaning service - instead of day domestic work, perhaps several women could be gotten together and a cleaning service started. Three or four women would then simply contract the cleaning of a house, a church, a hall, or an office. Transprotation would be necessary and a few materials to begin.

12. Hand Laundried Shirt Service - Four women could wash, dry, and iron shirts by hand. A machine washer and dryer could be bought. Shirts 30 or 40 cents apiece, done the way you like them. Buttons replaced free, small tears repaired no charge. Ironing four or five shirts an hour, a woman could make 1.50 per hour. Financing of 300 dollars would cover the initials/ cost.

13. Book re-binding - glue, a press, page replacer, and a business.

14. House repair team - tools, transportation, materials. A group of three or four men could paint, re-foundation, fix floors, Experience in cost estimating and basic carpentry skills would be required for at least two of the men.

15. Buying in Bulk - groups of people banding together to buy their necessities together in bulk lots. Such a goup could also give credit.

file Community Org.

30

The Community Organization Project is primarily concerned with the efforts of people, rural and urban, in organizing themselves in self-help programs, to learn from these efforts, to determine the extent to which such efforts can attract the support and assistance of public and private agencies, and to encourage that support. On a limited basis, the project itself offers staff, consultative and financial assistance to such efforts.

The observations have, to date, led to two publications both prepared by the project director and both aimed for the rather large group of persons and agencies interested in helping the poor. These publications, both issued as SRC Special Reports, are "A City Slum- Poor People and Problems" and "Cooperatives, Credit Unions and Poor People."

Through the project we have been able to support the program of the Rural Advancement Project in two additional states. This is a joint effort on the part of the National Sharecroppers Fund and the Southern Regional Council by which funds and technical assistance are provided the state councils on human relations to enable them to employ a full time person to work in rural areas. Earlier we were able to support this effort in South Carolina and Georgia. Now we are able to

do so in Florida and Alabama also. All four state councils have acquired staff and are conducting programs similar to those reflected in the remainder of this report. They are, in addition, developing a number of programs reflecting the needs and interests of the four state organizations.

Much of the concern of this project has been in attracting the interest of other agencies and/or in encouraging cooperative efforts. For instance, The Project helped set up a self-help housing conference in Lake Worth, Florida, tri sponsored by SRC, the Florida Migrant Mission, and the American Friends Service Committee. We acted as convener for a planning conference to discuss cooperative training and education. Major participants were the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Southern Consumers Cooperative. SRC is co-sponsor with the Encampment for Citizenship of an Encampment program at Barbournville, Kentucky. We have assisted in planning the curriculum, recruiting students and the project director ~~will spend~~ has spent one week with the group this summer.

Perhaps most important, the project has devoted substantial time in working with the staff of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., to determine the opportunities which may exist for that ~~important~~ organization to be of help in this region. It is premature to report on the results but at this

point we are encouraged by the interest shown and excited by the possibilitie of the involvement of that important agency.

The project director has consulted with officials of the Peace Coprs on Southern based training programs and has been involved in training sessions with Vista volunteers. Work has beendone with oyster fishermen at Daufauski Island, S.C., and the project bore the cost of travel expenses of representatives from that community for a trip to Washington to determine if the Economic Development Administration could provide a much needed boat for the community. In cooperation with Penn Community Center we have worked in Britchardsville, S,C., on a self-help housing program. Assisted has been given the Vine City (Atlanta) Candle Cooperative in an application for a $1,000 loan from the United Presbeterian Church, USA.

Other technical assistance offered by the project director and/or other consultanta include:

1. Wilcox County, Ala. - Assistance to persons interested in establishing a credit union, a housing project and a 600 acre cooperative farming experiment.

2. Nottaway, Amelia and Prince Edwards Counties, Va. - Participation in an opientation program for students who will work during the summer in

these counties. Ulmer will spend a 10 day period during mid-summer working with this group.

3. Pearl City, Fla. - Assistance to members of the Pearl City Civic League in preparing a community action proposal for OEO for recreation centers and civic education programs. A project grant of $150 was also made to help defray the costs of surveys needed for the proposal.

4. Selma, (Ala.) Inter-regigious Project - A consultant was provided to spend the summer with the Freedom Quilting Cooperative in Dallas and Wilcox counties. Miss Lois Deslonde is attempting to improve the quality of the quilts, diversify the products of the co-op and conducting classes in cop-ep education. A project grant of #300 has been made, and an additional grant of the same amount is likely. This cooperative involved more than 125 persons.

5. (Poor-People's Corporation,) (Jakcosn, Miss.) For a three month period two consultants are being provided for the areas of cooperative education and managerial skills.

6. Sumpter, Marengo and Wilcox Counties, Ala. - A consultant has been provided to work with groups in these counties interested in organizing credit unions.

7. Lee County, S.C. - Ulmer is working with a group in this county

interested in establishing a credit union and a buying club.

Several work-scolarships have been awarded to students working during the summer under the auspicies of local organizations. These scholarship, in the amount of $150 have been awarded to:

(1) Miss Linda Baughn, a student from Fisk University to work in a project in the Nashville slum area under the direction of the Tennessee and Nashville Councils on Human Relations.

(2) Miss Carol Edwards to work in Amelia County Virginia in a program to establish a local newspaper which will attempt to train people to write and publich their own newspaper after the end of the summer through the Virginia Student's for Civil Rights Committee.

(3) Miss Linda Maury to work with the East Alabama Council on Human Relations on a program concerned with Negro students who will enter the formerly white schools in September.

(4) Mr. John Reiman, a Morehouse College Student,to work in Negro and white slums in Atlanta to determine if slum dwellers will respond to local self-interest issues and if so, what issues.

(5) Miss Jerrilyn McGee, a student from Clark College is working in a slum areaof Atlanta with 20 children ranging from age 5 60 15. Purposes are to prepare a report on the life of a child in a clum, to interest parents

in seeking a nursery and day-care facilities for their children.

The project has hoped to determine ways to involve churches in an interest in and programs with the poor. Thus far the results are encouraging. A large Negro church in Atlanta, Friendship Baptist, has developed a staffed program of work in several of the slum areas near the church. Work has ranged from attempting to get better recreational facilities and programs for the areas to a successful campaign to have local merchants stop the sale of glue to children. Recently a large white church, Trinity Presbyterian, has become interested, has contributed 1,300 to the Project and is working closely with Friendship Baptist in expanding the program.

We are convinced the project is showing that the poor want to help themselves & can do so given proper guidance & technical assistance & adequate resources.

A. V.

Pj Dir.

MT - file

THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

The project has three basic parts:

1. To survey self-help efforts in the South. Programs ranging from credit unions to block organizing to self-help housing are included.

2. To supply consultants to local groups upon request. It is hoped that technical assistance can be provided to low-income groups for extended periods of time (up to three or four weeks) especially in making application for federal programs and in the organizational stages of programs.

3. To experiment with the hiring of people from low-income communities to do organizational work in their communities around local self-interest issues. An effort here is being made to involve church and civic groups, both financially and people-wise, in the problems of slum communities.

Memo to: Paul Anthony

Re: The Community Organization Project Report as of June 23, 1966

Consultants:

1. Wilcox County, Alabaama - Both Al Ulmer and R.W. Anderson (a consultant) have worked with persons interested in setting up a credit union, a self-help housing project, and 600 acre cooperative farming experiment.

2. Nottaway, Amelia and Prince Edward Counties, Virginia - Al Ulmer participated in an orientation program for approx. 20 students who will work for a summer in these counties. Seven or eight of the students will work to start study groups learning about credit unions and cooperatives. Ulmer will spend a 10 day period during mid-summer working with the groups.

3. Pearl City, Florida - Ulmer assisted members of the Pearl City Civic League in writing a community action OEO proposal for recreation centers and civic education programs. A grant of 150 dollars was also made to help defray the costs of surveys and technical skills needed in the writing of the proposal.

4. Selma Inter-religious Project - a consultant was found to spend the entire summer with the Freedom Quilting Cooperative in Dallas and Wilcox counties. Miss Lois Deslonde is helping improve the quality of the quilts and diversifying the products of the co-op as well as teaching cooperative education to the members. A grant of $ 300 has been made with another grant of $300 likely in the future. The co-op involves over 125 persons.

5. Poor People's Corp., Jackson, Mississippi - Two persons are now working as consultants with the individual cooperatives affiliated with PPC. Miss Emma Jones is working with members on understanding the responsibilites of belonging to a co-op, and Mr. Bob Rubin is serving as a temporary manager with each of the 14 individual co-ops for one week at a time. This is the second month of their consultant work in what is envisioned as a three month project. The cost thus far is $320.

6. Cooperative League of the USA - Al Ulmer acted as a consultant to three members of the League during a tour of southern cooperatives. ~~whose members were primarily poor.~~

Comm. Organization Report June 23, 1966

Consultants cont.

7. Sumter County, Marengo County, Wilcox County, and Greene County , Alabama - Mrs. Mildred Black has worked with groups in each of the above named counties helping them to organize credit unions. ~~The cost this far has been $92.96.~~

8. Lee County, S.C. - Al Ulmer is working with a group in Lee County helping to establish both a credit union and a buying club. The latter is being organized to take advantage of the fact that some 1000 persons receive food stamps in this county , over 80% of whom are Negro, yet all buy their food at two grocery stores, both white owned.

Employment of low-income persons

1. Vine City (a slum of Atlanta, Ga.) - The community organization project is cooperating with the Friendship Baptist Church, Rev. Samuel Williams, Pastor, who employ Mr. William Williams to work as a community organizer in the Vine City, Markham Street, and Lightening areas of Atlanta. The Project pays half of Mr. Williams salary to the Friendship Church in the amount of $30 / week. The Church pays Mr. Williams. Al Ulmer assists Mr. Williams by supplying research and information upon request and by acting as a consultant to groups Mr. Williams works with. Mr. Williams receives other assistance from Rev. Williams and from the Vine City Council, a local organization active in trying to solve local problems. Mr. Williams was the main organizer of the Magnolia St. play-in which was responsible for the sudden growth in the number of playgrounds in Vine City (from 0 to 2) and which probably influenced the development of play facilities all over Atlanta's slum areas. Other activities of Mr. Williams have included: Housing protests, voter registration, and the curtailment of glue selling by local stores in Vine City. He has been involved also in gaining petitions from people from Lightening to protest the lack of filter equipment on the incenerator there.

2. Trinity Presbyterian Church - Trintiy has agreed to give and has in fact given SRC 1300 dollars for the employment of a person to do community organization work in the Vine City Area. This person has not been found yet, but I'm trying.

Community Organization Project June 23, 1966

Summer Volunteers

1. Nashville Project - the Community organization project has awarded one honorarium of 150 dollars to a student from Fisk University -, Miss Linda Baughn, to work in a community organization project in a Nashville Slum area. This project was selected because it is attempting to organize a "high class" poverty area in an attempt to keep it from becoming a ~~slum~~ real slum.

2. Virginia Amelia County - A 150 dollar honorarium to Miss Carol Edwards to work in Amelia county trying to establish a local newspaper which the people themselves will write. The idea is to see if someone can start a newspaper, train people to write and publish it, leave it, and have it still go on. This grant ~~has gone through~~ was made to the Virginia Student's for Civil Rights Committee.

3. East Alabama Council on Human Relations - A 150 dollar honorarium to Miss Linda Maury to work with the Council primarily in school desegregation and tutoring those students who will enter the white school in the fall.

4. Atlanta, Ga. - Two honorariums - to Mr. John Reiman and to Miss Jerrilyn McGee. Mr. Reiman, a student at Morehouse College, is working with young men in Vine City trying to get a recreation center for that area. He is splitting his time up about evenly working the other half in Cabbage Town, a white slum area in Atlanta, trying to see if poor white people will organize around local self-interest issues in a southern city, and if so, which issues. Miss McGee , a student from Clark College is working in Lightening with 20 children ranging in age from 5 to 15 years. She has two purposes for doing this. One, is to write up a story for Pat Watters similar to an earlier article she did concerning ~~the life~~ a day in the life of a child from a slum. The other purpose is to get to know the parents of the children she is working with, hoping to move them to act as a group to demand nursery and day care facilities for their children.

Community organization Project June 23, 1966

Meetings

1. The community Organization Project helped set up a self-help housing conference in Lake Worth, Florida which the SRC was a tri-sponsor of along with The Florida Migrant Mission, and the American Friends Service Committee.
2. SRC (the com.org.Project) acted as convener for a planning conference to discuss cooperative trining and education, especially the possiblity of establishing such a program in the South. The Coop League of USA, National Sharecroppers, and Sothern ConsumersCo-op,OEO, etc. were involved in this.
3. I am invovled with the Encampment for Citizenship at the Barbourville, Ky. program having helped plan (to a very small extent) and recruit persons for the program. I have committed myself to spend one week with the encampent this summer.

Publications

1. "A City Slum - Poor People and Problems"
2. " Cooperatives, Credit Unions, and Poor People"

Miscellaneous-

1. Consultant to Vista two weekend meetings Rural and Urban organizing.
2. Work with Daufauski Island representatives trying to get a boat for a stranded island off the coast of S.C. Payment of travel to Washington ,D.C. 148 dollars. Saw Economic Development Administration people - chance for a boat
3. Work with Pritchardsville in setting up Self-help housing study group along with Penn Community Center.
4. Vine City Candle Cooperative - applied for 1000 dollar loan/grant from United Presby Church through Oscar Mc Cloud. Put wife to work to make it a success.

Project Ideas

Secure funds to place ~~one~~ two college seniors or graduate students with each local council for the summer to do "legwork" on a project of the local council's own devising.

Funds to hire man to set up summer-in-industry program, for Alabama Negro college professors. (See clipping from W.S.J. on similar Urban League program - WSJ 5/19/65 - EMPLOYMENT)

CONSUMER EDUCATION PROJECT

PURPOSES: (1) To inform the Alabama public, particularly the poor, of those practices frequently used to increase costs to the consumer or to diminish the value he gets for his money. Particular emphasis will be placed upon undesirable practices in consumer credit, such as the "revolving" charge account and "bank rate" loans which are not simple interest loans. (2) To provide a dynamic illustration of a common-interest problem for many white persons and Negroes which they can best overcome by working together. (3) To provide an experimental project for guidance of efforts in other states and cities.

IDEAS:

Enlist the aid of labor (Barney Weeks). (Political activity.)

Buy newspaper, radio ads? (Investigate cost.)

Employ college students next summer to canvass low-income neighborhoods and talk to residents personally about consumer credit practices.

Organize protest meetings to send resolutions to the management of prominent retail merchandisers, such as Sears, Wards, Pizitz, etc.

Employ project director to conduct surveys of consumer credit practices in Alabama and to approach merchandizing managers personally.

Have a kick-off conference at which Esther Peterson and others from the White House consumer education program could speak and be available for consultation.

Enlist women's groups, church groups.

Make final report of experience, techniques, results available in handbook form.

Use existing local councils for core organizations and volunteer workers.

EXPENSE NOTES

Office rent, two years	$ 2,400.00
Project Director, two years	18,000.00
Secretaries (1 full-time, plus occasional)	10,800.00
Travel for Director	4,800.00
Postage, mailing costs	5,000.00
Office Equipment	3,500.00
Radio, newspaper advertising	10,000.00
Literature, printing	10,000.00
Conference costs (two conferences)	2,000.00
Payroll taxes, fringe benefits	2,000.00
*Summer employees (students, one summer)	6,000.00
	$ 74,500.00

Add transportation, living expenses for summer students — $1500

Add Accounting costs — $500

*will be trained, used to train student volunteers in many locations.

E. Simon
Atlanta Life

MEMBER COMPANY ROSTER 1962 - 63

NATIONAL INSURANCE ASSOCIATION

Miami — March

NATIONAL INSURANCE ASSOCIATION
INCORPORATED

NATIONAL OFFICE: 2400 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois
842-6424 Area Code 312
Charles A. Davis, Executive Director

Organized in 1921 by a group of nine men as the NATIONAL NEGRO INSURANCE ASSOCIATION, with C. C. Spaulding (now deceased) as president. At a subsequent meeting the same year, sixty representatives of thirteen companies formed a permanent association.

Through a majority vote at the annual convention in 1954, the name was changed to the NATIONAL INSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the NATIONAL INSURANCE ASSOCIATION is to raise standards and practices among the participating members, to contribute to the total health and insurance education of the nation, and to build confidence in insurance companies owned and controlled by Negroes.

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New Orleans 13, La.	Agency Director	William DeMar, Jr.
	Actuary	E. F. Holtzman
P. O. Box 52092	Public Rel. Director	L. A. G. Blanchet (*)
D-3		

FIRESIDE MUTUAL	President/Agency	
INSURANCE COMPANY	Director	A. P. Bentley (*)
1183 E. Long St.	Secretary	R. W. Findley
Columbus 3, Ohio	Treasurer	M. B. Hill
P. O. Box 14585		
Mt. Vernon Sta.		
F-2		

GERTRUDE GEDDES WILLIS	President	Mrs. Gertrude G. Willis
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY	Secretary	Lloyd A. Talbert (*)
2128 Jackson Ave.	Treasurer	Maude V. Misshore (Mrs.)
New Orleans 13, La.	Agency Director	Harold S. Rouzan
	Actuary	A. J. Blaine DeJoie, Jr.
G-6		

GOLDEN CIRCLE LIFE	President	C. A. Rawls
INSURANCE COMPANY	Secretary/Treasurer	
39 Jackson Ave.	Agency Director	J. Z. Rawls (*)
Brownsville, Tenn.	Actuary (Consultant)	L. R. Taylor
	Public Rel. Director	W. D. Rawls
P. O. Box 293		
G-5		

GOLDEN STATE MUTUAL	President	Norman O. Houston (*)
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY	Secretary/V. P.	N. B. Houston, FLMI
1999 W. Adams Blvd.	Treasurer	Helen E. Batiste
Los Angeles 54, Calif.	Agency Officer/V. P.	A. J. Williams
	Actuary/V. P.	Ivan J. Houston, FLMI
P. O. Box 2332	Underwriting Officer	Isaiah S. Blocker, Jr.
Terminal Annex	Public Rel. Director	William E. Pajaud
G-3		

GOOD CITIZENS LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 1809 Dryades St. New Orleans 13, La. P. O. Box 50428 G-4	President Secretary Treasurer Agency Director Public Rel. Director	Clifton H. Denson Jesse W. Cook Pauline Johnson (Mrs.) John M. Simon C. Strode Cook (Mrs.)
GREAT LAKES MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 8401 Woodward Detroit 2, Mich. G-1	President/Public Rel. Director Treasurer Secretary Actuary	Louis C. Blount (*) Harrison E. Baker Agnes F. Bristol William Conley
GREAT LIBERTY LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 2527 Ross Ave. Dallas 1, Tex. G-7	President Secretary Treasurer Agency Director Actuary Public Rel. Director	George L. Allen S. E. Lassiter (*) Ira A. Moore A. L. Gordon Mary Fisher Tony Davis
GUARANTY LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 460 W. Broad St. Savannah, Ga. P. O. Box 2247 G-2	President Secretary/Treasurer Agency Director	H. B. Herndon B. C. Ford Vernon C. Howard (*)
KEYSTONE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 1503 St. Bernard Ave. New Orleans 50, La. P. O. Box 51748 K-1	President Secretary Treasurer Agency Director Actuary Public Rel. Director	Dr. Ulric W. Pryce E. H. Stanley (*) Dr. A. J. Young L. M. Greenhouse J. R. Martin Marcus Neustadter

LIGHTHOUSE LIFE	President/Gen'l Mgr.	Bunyan Jacobs (*)
INSURANCE COMPANY, INC.	Secretary	A. M. Mims (Mrs.)
1544 Milam St.	Treasurer	C. W. Edwards
Shreveport, La.	Asst. Agency Directors	N. E. Covington
		Clemmie Love
L-3	Actuary	T. L. Brosig
	Public Rel. Director	Delores J. B. Walker (Mrs.)

LINCOLN INDUSTRIAL	President/Treasurer	L. W. Stallworth, Jr.(*)
INSURANCE COMPANY	Secretary	Willie J. C. Pogue(Mrs.)
1801 Ave. C, Ensley	Agency Director	Curtis E. Stallworth
Birmingham 9, Ala.		
L-2		

MAJESTIC LIFE	President	James V. Haydel
INSURANCE COMPANY	Secretary	Alvin J. Aubry
1833 Dryades St.	Treasurer	S. N. Goods
New Orleans 13, La.	Agency Director/V. P.	J. P. Thomas (*)
	Actuary	J. A. Blaine DeJoie
M-2		

MAMMOTH LIFE	President	J. E. Hankins
INSURANCE COMPANY	Secretary (*)	Hilda H. Butler (Mrs.)
608 W. Walnut St.	Treasurer	L. T. Duncan
Louisville 3, Ky.	Agency Director	E. E. Fort
	Actuary	L. R. Taylor
P. O. Box 2099		
M-1		

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NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL	President	Asa T. Spaulding
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY	Secretary	J. W. Goodloe
114 W. Parrish St.	Treasurer	V. G. Turner (Mrs.)
Durham, N. C.	Agency Director	W. A. Clement, CLU (*)
	Actuary	N. H. Bennett, Jr.
P. O. Box 201	Public Rel. Director	Alma H. Wade (Mrs.)
N-1		

PEOPLES INSURANCE COMPANY, INC. 550 St. Michael St. Mobile 10, Ala. P. O. Box 1104 P-5	President Secretary Treasurer	L. A. Hall, Sr. G. H. Powe (Mrs.) L. A. Hall, Jr.
PEOPLE'S LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF LOUISIANA 901-7 N. Claiborne Ave. New Orleans 16, La. P-3	President Secretary/Gen'l Counsel Treasurer/Public Rel. Director Agency Director/V. P. Actuary (*)	H. J. Christophe Benjamin J. Johnson D. A. Shackelford (Mrs.) Octave Lilly, Jr. J. A. Blaine DeJoie, Jr.
PILGRIM HEALTH & LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 1143 Gwinnett St. Augusta, Ga. P. O. Box 904 P-1	President Secretary/V. P. Treasurer Agency Director Actuary	W. S. Hornsby, Jr. A. M. Carter H. B. Hornsby (Mrs.) C. O. Hollis, CLU (*) H. R. Scott
PROGRESSIVE INDUSTRIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 1106 N. Claiborne Ave. New Orleans 12, La. P-10	President Secretary/Agency Director Treasurer Actuary	Clennon L. Dennis (*) Theodore Minor Porter Butler W. E. Groves
PROTECTIVE INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE COMPANY OF ALABAMA, Inc. 237 Graymont Ave., N. Birmingham 4, Ala. P. O. Box 528 P-6	President Secretary Treasurer Agency Director	V. L. Harris M. H. Davis (Mrs.) (*) B. H. Sterling (Mrs.) H. D. Coke

PROVIDENT HOME	President	Joseph A. Faison
INDUSTRIAL MUTUAL	Secretary/V. P.	Lucinda B. Mackrey (*)
LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY	Treasurer	Donald Thompson
731 S. Broad St.	Agency Director/Public Rel. Director	Bryant H. Williams
Philadelphia 47, Pa.	Actuary	L. M. Webster
P-2		

PURPLE SHIELD LIFE	President	H. J. Sheeler
INSURANCE COMPANY	Secretary	R. J. Fenlon
407 S. 13th St.	Treasurer	Charles R. Evans
Baton Rouge, La.	Agency Director	R. B. Sims (*)
P. O. Box 386		
P-11		

RICHMOND BENEFICIAL	President	~~J. E. Harris~~ H. H. Southall
INSURANCE COMPANY	Secretary	C. Bernard Gilpin, Sr.
700-02 N. Second St.	Treasurer	J. H. Shelton
Richmond 19, Va.	Agency Director	J. B. Williams
P. O. Box 1400		
R-1		

SECURITY LIFE	President	W. H. Williams
INSURANCE COMPANY	Secretary	L. B. Fraser
1328 Lynch St.	Treasurer	Dr. A. H. McCoy
Jackson, Miss.	Agency Director	J. W. Jones (*)
	Public Rel. Director	E. L. Lipscomb
P. O. Box 1549		
S-9		

SOUTHERN AID LIFE	President	J. E. Hall, Jr.
INSURANCE COMPANY, INC.	Secretary-Manager/Public Rel. Director	H. H. Southall
214 E. Clay St.	Asst. Secretary Mgr./ Agency Director	S. H. Bell (*)
Richmond 19, Va.	Treasurer	Charles N. Jackson
S-1	Actuary	W. R. Allen

SOUTHERN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 1841 Pennsylvania Ave. Baltimore 17, Md.	President	Dr. Wm. LeRoy Berry
	Secretary/Agency Director)	Milton E. Branch, Jr.(*)
	Public Rel. Director)	
	Treasurer	Owen Wilson
S-3		

STANDARD LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF LOUISIANA 1530 N. Claiborne Ave. New Orleans 16, La.	President	Dr. C. S. Haydel
	Secretary	Mrs. G. S. Raymond (*)
	Treasurer	Mrs. L. G. Sindos
	Agency Director	E. W. Sims (*)
S-5		

SUPREME INDUSTRIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 1433 N. Claiborne Ave. New Orleans 16, La.	President	Lucien V. Alexis, Sr.
	Secretary	Gustave C. Chapital, Jr.
	Treasurer	Antonia M. Bossier
	Agency Director	Harold J. Gumbel
S-6		

SUPREME LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF AMERICA 3501 South Parkway Chicago 53, Ill.	President	Earl B. Dickerson
	Secretary	Lloyd G. Wheeler (*)
	Treasurer	James H. Jones
	Agency Director/V. P.	John F. Morning
	Actuary	James O. Webb, Jr.
S-2	Public Rel. Director	Edward S. Gillespie

UNION MUTUAL LIFE HEALTH & ACCIDENT INSURANCE COMPANY 20th and Master Sts. Philadelphia 21, Pa.	President	Rev. M. T. Somerville
	Secretary	Mary L. Oakley (*)
	Treasurer	C. J. Davis
	Agency Director	Henry Wilkerson
	Actuary	L. M. Webster
	Public Rel. Director	Edgar C. Schell
U-6		

UNION PROTECTIVE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 368 Beale St. Memphis 3, Tenn. P. O. Box 851 U-4	President Secretary Treasurer Agency Director Actuary	Lewis H. Twigg T. H. Hayes, Jr. (*) Onzie O. Horne O. T. Turner Harold J. Whalum
UNITED MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 310 Lenox Ave. New York 27, N. Y. U-3	President Secretary/Treasurer Agency Director Actuary Public Rel. Director	Charles Buchanan Winston D. Grace Edward W. Bailey (*) James A. King Daniel Collins
UNITY BURIAL & LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 506 St. Michael St. Mobile 10, Ala. U-7	President Secretary/Agency Director Treasurer Public Rel. Director	A. L. Herman D. L. Moore (*) C. W. Allen R. E. Howard
UNITY MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 4500 S. Michigan Ave. Chicago 53, Ill. U-5	President/Board Chairman Secretary/Adm. V. P. Treasurer/Public Rel. Director Agency Director/V. P.	A. W. Williams Lillian W. Ward (Mrs.) Ruth P. Williams (Mrs.) E. J. Halfacre
UNIVERSAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 480 Linden Ave. Memphis 1, Tenn. P. O. Box 241 U-2	President Secretary/1st V. P. Controller Agency Director/2nd V. P. Actuary Public Rel. Director	A. Maceo Walker B. G. Olive, Jr. H. B. Chandler H. A. Gilliam, Sr. (*) R. L. Wynn, Jr. Frances M. Hassell (Mrs.)

VICTORY MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 5601 S. State St. Chicago 21, Ill. V-1	President Secretary Treasurer Agency Director Actuary Public Rel. Director	Bindley C. Cyrus Marcus A. Mahone J. B. Martin George W. Jones (*) Nathan A. Moscovitch Richard L. Jones
VIRGINIA MUTUAL BENEFIT LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 214 E. Clay St. Richmond 19, Virginia V-2	President/Treasurer Secretary/Agency Director	B. T. Bradshaw, Sr. C. L. Townes, Sr.
WINSTON MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY 1100 E. 11th St. Winston-Salem, N. C. P. O. Box 998 W-1	President Secretary Treasurer Actuary (Consultant)	Edward E. Hill Clarence L. Hill (*) Nellie M. Bausman Noah H. Bennett, Jr.
WRIGHT MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY 2995 E. Grand Blvd. Detroit 2, Mich. W-2	President Secretary/Treasurer Agency Director Public Rel. Director	Wardell C. Croft (*) Dr. Estemore A. Wolfe Cleon M. Murphy Julia Bradby (Mrs.)

(*) Denotes company contact person

Alphabet-Number below company address denotes

Member Company code number

A S S O C I A T I O N S

CHICAGO INSURANCE ASSOCIATION

DETROIT COUNCIL OF INSURANCE EXECUTIVES

INSURANCE MANAGERS COUNCIL OF CLEVELAND

LEXINGTON UNDERWRITERS ASSOCIATION

NEW ORLEANS INSURANCE EXECUTIVES COUNCIL

SOUTH CAROLINA INSURANCE ASSOCIATION

September 1, 1964

Mr. John Wheeler
Predident
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Dear John:

Enclosed is a draft of your letter to Negro banking and insurance institutions. Please make any changes you deem necessary.

Among the businesses that we have in mind are, Atlanta Life Insurance Co.; North Carolina Mutual Insurance Co.; Universal Life Insurance Co.; Pilgrim Life and Health Insurance Co.; Afro-American Insurance Co.; Citizens Trust Co.; Tri-State Bank; Carver Savings Bank; Union Protector Insurance Co.; American National Bank; Mutual Federal Savings and Loan, Memphis and Atlanta; and of course, the Mechanics and Farmers Bank. If you have additional suggestions, we would appreciate them very much.

I am interested in your reaction to the National Democratic Convention -- more especially the activities of the Freedom Democratic Party.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

D R A F T

Dear_____:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

You and I, as businessmen, are acutely aware that the economic growth and advancement of Negro businesses have been, and are, hampered by discriminatory practices in government and industry. We also know that among the basic causes of racial discord is the wide disparity of income and opportunity between Negroes and whites. Further, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the civil rights movement in the South will increasingly focus its attention on economic problems.

Research in the area of southern economics and race relations by economists has been far too little. More research in this area is sorely needed for the benefit of the entire southern community.

The Southern Regional Council has taken steps to meet this need by adding to its staff a full-time economist. To the best of our knowledge, no private civil rights or race relations agency in the entire country has the services of a staff economist. The Council has acquired the services of Dr. Lloyd J. Elliott, a former professor from William and Mary College, who holds the Ph.D. degree from the University of Texas, to direct a program of economic studies.

The research will involve the following:

1) studies of the impact of the policies of state and federal government and private industry as they affect the banking and insurance market of Negro business institutions;

2) studies of the programs of state operated employment security agencies to assure fair and equal employment to all;

3) development of economic data and interpretation for Negro groups and for businesses with southern interest;

4) providing counselling for bi-racial and Negro groups in the formulation of economic positions;

5) providing informed advice and criticism through publications and consultation on the effectiveness of federal agency programs related to economic issues;

6) carrying on research that relates the issues of regional economic development and racial relations.

Unquestionably, research study in the above areas will be of immeasurable benefit to you as a business institution. But further, this kind of research will serve the broad purpose of informing the South, and undoubtedly other sections of the country as well, about southern economic problems.

The Southern Regional Council takes on this project fully aware that financial support from other sources will be needed. But realizing the importance of such study, it has forged ahead with expectations that such support will be forthcoming. The project is planned for a minimum of two years, at a cost of approximately 25,000 per year. May I, therefore, ask you to share a small part of our responsibility of filling the gap in this critical area of research by making a generous contribution toward the budget of the Economic Counselling and Study Project?

Negro business institutions, particularly, have an important stake in the total development of the South; we are an integral part of southern life and progress and, therefore, need to participate more fully and equally in its economic prosperity. I hope you will join the Southern Regional Council and my firm in support of this new venture.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

JOHN H. WHEELER
PRESIDENT

September 4, 1964

Dear Vernon:

I think that the attached letter is an excellent one and as soon as the originals and copies are produced, please send them for my signature.

Do you think that they should be mailed from Atlanta or Durham? I prefer Atlanta but have no strong feelings about the matter.

If possible, it may be helpful if you can ascertain the name of the proper official to whom each letter should be addressed.

Thanks,

John

John

JHW/p

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File
Bodies
Faith Wheeler
Make folder
Econ Study
Econ Counseling
Study
project
cross ref. this ltr
+ other to file for
funds

September 8, 1964

Mr. A.T. Spaulding, President
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

You and I, as businessmen, are acutely aware that the economic growth and advancement of Negro businesses have been, and are, hampered by discriminatory practices in government and industry. We also know that among the basic causes of racial discord is the wide disparity of income and opportunity between Negroes and whites. Further, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the civil rights movement in the South will increasingly focus its attention on economic problems.

Research in the area of southern economics and race relations by economists has been far too little. More research in this area is sorely needed for the benefit of the entire southern community.

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The research will involve the following:

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4) providing counselling for bi-racial and Negro groups in the formulation of economic positions;

5) providing informed advice and criticism through publications and consultation on the effectiveness of federal agency programs related to economic issues;

6) carrying on research that relates the issues of regional economic development and racial relations.

Unquestionably, research study in the above areas will be of immeasurable benefit to you as a business institution. Further, this kind of research will serve the broad purpose of informing the South, and undoubtedly other sections of the country as well, about southern economic problems.

The Southern Regional Council takes on this project fully aware that financial support from other sources will be needed. But realizing the importance of such study, it has forged ahead with expectations that such support will be forthcoming. The project is planned for a minimum of two years, at a cost of approximately $25,000 per year. May I, therefore, ask you to share a small part of our responsibility of filling the gap in this critical area of research by making a generous contribution toward the budget of the Economic Counselling and Study Project?

Negro business institutions, particularly, have an important stake in the total development of the South; we are an integral part of southern life and progress and, therefore, need to participate more fully and equally in its economic prosperity. I hope you will join the Southern Regional Council and my firm in support of this new venture.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

JHW:slw

Same letter sent to the following:

Mr. Maceo Walker, President
Universal Life Insurance Company - Memphis

Mr. L. D. Milton - Citizens Trust
Atlanta, Ga.

Tri-State Bank - Memphis
Mr. Jesse H. Turner, Exec. Vice Pres. and Mr. Maceo Walker

Carver Savings Bank - L. D. Perry Pres. Savannah, Ga.

Industrial Bank of Washington, D. C.
B. Doyle Mitchell, Pres.

First State Bank
M. C. Martin, President, Danville, Va.

Mutual Savings and Loan Ass'n- Durham, N. C.
J. S. Stewart, Pres.

September 10, 1964

Mr. J. S. Stewart
President
Mutual Savings and Loan Association
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Stewart:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

You and I, as businessmen, are acutely aware that the economic growth and advancement of Negro businesses have been, and are, hampered by discriminatory practices in government and industry. We also know that among the basic causes of racial discord is the wide disparity of income and opportunity between Negroes and whites. Further, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the civil rights movement in the South will increasingly focus its attention on economic problems.

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Negro business institutions, particularly, have an important stake in the total development of the South; we are an integral part of southern life and progress and, therefore, need to participate more fully and equally in its economic prosperity. I hope you will join the Southern Regional Council and my firm in support of this new venture.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

JHW:nm

September 10, 1964

Mr. E. L. Simon
Atlanta Life Insurance Company
148 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Simon:

Just a note to express my sincere thanks for your cooperation and assistance in my obtaining the names and addresses of Negro insurance companies in the country.

If I can be of assistance to you at any time, please let me know.

Thank you kindly.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

September 10, 1964

Mr. L. D. Perry
President
Carver Savings Bank
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Perry:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

You and I, as businessmen, are acutely aware that the economic growth and advancement of Negro businesses have been, and are, hampered by discriminatory practices in government and industry. We also know that among the basic causes of racial discord is the wide disparity of income and opportunity between Negroes and whites. Further, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the civil rights movement in the South will increasingly focus its attention on economic problems.

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Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW:nm

September 10, 1964

Mr. B. Doyle Mitchell
President
The Industrial Bank of Washington
9th & "N" Streets
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

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Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

JHW:nm

September 10, 1964

Mr. Jesse H. Turner
Executive Vice-President
Tri-State Bank
386 Beale Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Turner:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

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4) providing counselling for bi-racial and Negro groups in the formulation of economic positions;

5) providing informed advice and criticism through publications and consultation on the effectiveness of federal agency programs related to economic issues;

6) carrying on research that relates the issues of regional economic development and racial relations.

Unquestionably, research study in the above areas will be of immeasurable benefit to you as a business institution. Further, this kind of research will serve the broad purpose of informing the South, and undoubtedly other sections of the country as well, about southern economic problems.

The Southern Regional Council takes on this project fully aware that financial support from other sources will be needed. But realizing the importance of such study, it has forged ahead with expectations that such support will be forthcoming. The project is planned for a minimum of two years, at a cost of approximately $25,000 per year. May I, therefore, ask you to share a small part of our responsibility of filling the gap in this critical area of research by making a generous contribution toward the budget of the Economic Counselling and Study Project?

Negro business institutions, particularly, have an important stake in the total development of the South; we are an integral part of southern life and progress and, therefore, need to participate more fully and equally in its economic prosperity. I hope you will join the Southern Regional Council and my firm in support of this new venture.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

JHW:nm

September 10, 1964

Mr. M. C. Martin
President
First State Bank
Danville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Martin:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

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JHW:nm

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 30, 1964

Mr. A. W. Williams
President
Unity Mutual Life Insurance Company
4500 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago 53, Illinois

Dear Mr. Williams:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

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Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler
President

JHW/mmj

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ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
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JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 30, 1964

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MECHANICS & FARMERS BANK, BOX 1932
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702

Vice President

Mr. J. E. Hall, Jr.
President
Southern Aid Life
Insurance Company, Inc.
214 E. Clay Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Hall:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

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Sincerely yours,

JHW:mp

John H. Wheeler
President

September 11, 1964

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear John:

We are enclosing herewith a portion of the fund-raising letters for the Economic Counselling and Study Project. They are all in order and need only your signature. The envelopes, addressed and stamped, are also enclosed. The next batch of these letters you should receive by the middle of next week.

I have talked with Les toddy, and he feels pretty good and sounds in good spirits.

We also received a copy of the Young-Dabbs letter to Governor Sanford. As we discussed, I am sure you will follow through.

Thanks loads.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

September 25, 1964

Mr. Louis C. Blount
President
Great Lakes Mutual Life
Insurance Company
8401 Woodward
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Mr. Blount:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

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Sincerely yours,

JHW/rh

John H. Wheeler
President

LWD ✓

✓ J. pls see me

Mechanics and Farmers Bank

Durham, North Carolina

JOHN H. WHEELER
PRESIDENT

September 28, 1964

Dear Vernon:

We are enclosing the following checks representing donations to the Economic Research Project of the Council:

Universal Life Insurance Company Memphis, Tennessee	$200.00
*North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, N. C.	250.00
Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.	100.00
Total	$550.00

3 checks
9/30/64
RHA

Please note that North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company wishes to pay the remainder of its pledge ($500.00) during its next fiscal year and that my letter of thanks indicates that any time within the first six months of 1965 will be satisfactory to the Council.

Sincerely yours,

John

John H. Wheeler

JHW/p
enclosures

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
#5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

MECHANICS AND FARMERS BANK

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

September 28, 1964

Dear Bill:

We are indeed gratified for the donation of $500.00 which North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company has agreed to make to the Southern Regional Council's economic research project. Receipt of your check for $250.00 is acknowledged with thanks to you and your associates and, in response to an inquiry made by Mr. A. T. Spaulding, we shall be happy to receive the balance of your donation at any time during the first six months of 1965.

Many of us are convinced that accurate data concerning the countless racial barriers which have been built into our economy, is practically non-existent. We are also convinced that discovery and removal of these road blocks is necessary before provision of the Poverty Bill and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 can have a full impact upon conditions of poverty and the disadvantaged.

Your generous support of this project prompts us to invite your suggestions and guidance as to the direction or format which our studies should take.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

JHW/p

Mr. W. J. Kennedy, III, Controller
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

COPY

MECHANICS AND FARMERS BANK

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

September 28, 1964

Dear Asa:

We are indeed gratified for the donation of $500.00 which North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company has agreed to make to the Southern Regional Council's economic research project. Receipt of your check for $250.00 is acknowledged with thanks to you and your associates and, in reply to your inquiry, we shall be happy to receive the balance of your donation at any time during the first six months of 1965.

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Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

JHW/p

Mr. A. T. Spaulding, President
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

COPY

MECHANICS AND FARMERS BANK

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

September 28, 1964

Dear Maceo:

We are indeed grateful for the contribution of $200.00 which Universal Life Insurance Company has made to the Southern Regional Council's economic research project.

Many of us are convinced that accurate data concerning the countless racial barriers which have been built into our economy, is practically non-existent. We are also convinced that discovery and removal of these road blocks is necessary before provision of the Poverty Bill and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 can have a full impact upon conditions of poverty and the disadvantaged.

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Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

JHW/p

PS We were happy to see you briefly in Richmond earlier this week. Sorry you could not come to Durham with Ben.

Mr. A. Maceo Walker, Sr - LHD
Board Chairman - President
Universal Life Insurance Company
480 Linden at Wellington
Memphis 1, Tennessee

COPY

September 30, 1964

Mr. H. H. Southall
President
Richmond Beneficial
Insurance Company
700-02 N. Second Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Southall:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman, intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

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Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

JHW:mp

September 30, 1964

Dr. Ulric W. Pryce
President
Keystone Life Insurance
Company
1503 St. Bernard Avenue
New Orleans 50, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Pryce:

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Sincerely yours,

JHW/rh

John H. Wheeler
President

September 30, 1964

Mr. Asa T. Spaulding, President
North Carolina Mutual Life
Insurance Company
114 W. Parrish Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spaulding:

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JHW/rh

John H. Wheeler
President

September 30, 1964

Mr. W. S. Hornsby
President
Pilgrim Health & Life
Insurance Company
1143 Gwinnett Street
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hornsby:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman, intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

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Negro business institutions, particularly, have an important stake in the total development of the South; we are an integral part of southern life and progress and, therefore, need to participate more fully and equally in its economic prosperity. I hope you will join the Southern Regional Council and my firm in support of this new venture.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

JHW:mp

September 30, 1964

Mr. J. E. Hankins, President
Mammoth Life Insurance Company
608 W. Walnut Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Hankins:

This letter is written on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. I am writing not only in my official capacity, as president of the Council, but rather as a banker and businessman intensely interested in the continued progress of the South's economy and especially in the role of Negro institutions and consumers as full participants in that economy.

You and I, as businessmen, are acutely aware that the economic growth and advancement of Negro businesses have been, and are, hampered by discriminatory practices in government and industry. We also know that among the basic causes of racial discord is the wide disparity of income and opportunity between Negroes and whites. Further, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the civil rights movement in the South will increasingly focus its attention on economic problems.

Research in the area of Southern economics and race relations by economists has been far too little. More research in this area is sorely needed for the benefit of the entire southern community.

The Southern Regional Council has taken steps to meet this need by adding to its staff a full-time economist. To the best of our knowledge, no private civil rights or race relations agency in the entire country has the services of a staff economist. The Council has acquired the services of Lloyd J. Elliott, a former professor at William and Mary College, who holds the Ph.D. degree from the University of Texas, to direct a program of economic studies.

The Research will involve the following:

1) studies of the impact of the policies of state and federal government and private industry as they affect the banking and insurance market of Negro business institutions;

2) studies of the programs of state operated employment security agencies to assure fair and equal employment to all;

3) development of economic data and interpretation for Negro groups and for businesses with southern interest;

4) providing counselling for bi-racial and Negro groups in the formulation of economic positions;

5) providing informed advice and criticism through publications and consultation on the effectiveness of federal agency programs related to economic issues;

6) carrying on research that relates the issues of regional economic development and racial relations.

Unquestionably, research study in the above areas will be of immeasurable benefit to you as a business institution. Further, this kind of research will serve the broad purpose of informing the South, and undoubtedly other sections of the country as well, about southern economic problems.

The Southern Regional Council takes on this project fully aware that financial support from other sources will be needed. But realizing the importance of such study, it has forged ahead with expectations that such support will be forthcoming. The project is planned for a minimum of two years, at a cost of approximately $25,000 per year. May I, therefore, ask you to share a small part of our responsibility of filling the gap in this critical area of research by making a generous contribution toward the budget of the Economic Counselling and Study Project?

Negro business institutions, particularly, have an important stake in the total development of the South; we are an integral part of southern life and progress and, therefore, need to participate more fully and equally in its economic prosperity. I hope you will join the Southern Regional Council and my firm in support of this new venture.

Sincerely yours,

JHW/rh

John H. Wheeler
President

MECHANICS AND FARMERS BANK
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

October 19, 1964

Dear Mr. Southall:

We are indeed grateful for the contribution of $25.00 which Southern Aid Life Insurance Company, Inc. has made to the Southern Regional Council's economic research project.

AR 10/21/64 RHA

Many of us are convinced that accurate data concerning the countless racial barriers which have been built into our economy, is practically non-existent. We are also convinced that discovery and removal of these road blocks is necessary before provision of the Poverty Bill and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 can have a full impact upon conditions of poverty and the disadvantaged.

Your general support of this project prompts us to invite your suggestions and guidance as to the direction or format which our studies should take.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Wheeler

JHW/p

Mr. H. H. Southall, President
Southern Aid Life Insurance Company, Inc.
Third and Clay Streets
Richmond, Virginia 23219

COPY

VIV

NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
Durham, North Carolina

January 1965

I am pleased to announce the following elections by the Policyholders and Board of Directors of new Directors and Officers effective January 1, 1965.

Clyde Donnell, M. D.	Chairman of the Board
William J. Kennedy, III	Assistant Financial Vice President - Controller and a Director
Charles D. Watts, M. D.	Vice President - Medical Director
Thomas W. Young	Director

A. T. Spaulding
President

MEMO

From
J. H. WHEELER
President

SUGGESTIONS:

North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
A. T. Spaulding, President Durham, N.C.

Universal Life Insurance Company Memphis, Tenn.
A. Maceo Walker, President

Citizens Trust Company Auburn Avenue N.E.
L. D. Milton, President ATLANTA, Ga.

Tri-State Bank Memphis, Tenn
Jesse H. Turner, Executive Vice President and
A. Maceo Walker, President Beale St. 386

Carver Savings Bank Savannah, Ga
L. D. Perry, ~~and~~ Pres.
~~McLaughton~~

The Industrial Bank of Washington D.C.
B. Doyle Mitchell, President 9th & U Streets

First State Bank, Danville, Va
M. C. Martin, President

Mutual Savings and Loan Ass'n - Durham, N.C.
J. S. Stewart, President

MECHANICS AND FARMERS BANK
Durham, North Carolina

DE LAND SERVICE-ALLEGAN, MICH. M-34A

File over

Hunger Hanger - Copy to Res.

MAN (cont'd)

He said that AFL-CIO unions have sponsored and operated Job Corps camps and therefore have "ample evidence" that the program is helping poor youths become "productive citizens employed at decent jobs with decent pay."

"To take away this option for a better life," he added, "would be a cruel blow directed at a group who have already known more than their share of failure and disappointment at the hands of the larger society."

Pres. Hunter P. Wharton of the Operating Engineers, which has helped provide training for equipment operators at Job Corps camps in Tennessee and Montana, wrote all members of Congress urging them to resist the proposed cut.

He attached copies of several of the many letters received by staffs at these camps from graduates of the training centers "who have gone to work to become taxpayers instead of tax eaters."

Wharton emphasized that many of the young persons who come into the Job Corps actually must be trained in reading to remove them from the "functionally illiterate" category.

"Where will they go? Our society cannot afford to carry them forever and they are not capable of caring for themselves," he said.

The Carpenters also assailed the planned cutback. Four of seven Job Corps centers in which the union is training slum youths in carpenter skills are among those slated for closing.

Charging that the cutback was "false economy," Carpenters Treas. Peter Terzick said the centers are "doing a wonderful job" in converting untrained youth into skilled craftsmen.

Among other developments in the aftermath of the Administration's action:

- The House Education & Labor Committee became a center of the fight in Congress against the cutbacks. It heard the first of what promised to be scores of witnesses opposed to the shutdown of the 59 centers.
- The committee's staff estimated that the cut in the Job Corps actually would cost $102 million—$2 million more than it is supposed to save—through losses on equipment, construction, renovation, contracts and termination of services.
- Republican and Democratic congressmen alike were angered over the lack of advance notice of centers to be closed. An aide of Rep. John P. Saylor (R-Pa.) said the oversight was typical of the Administration's "non-working relationship with the Hill."
- Youths at the Kilmer Job Corps Center, where 1,700 are being trained in job skills, conducted a peaceful march to demonstrate their opposition to the center's scheduled closing. They issued a statement asking, "If the Job Corps is closed down, where will we get our chance?"

Next Guarantee: Right to Be Fed

By DAVID HAWKINS
Editorial Staff Writer

THE RIGHT to be fed has not yet acquired any constitutional guarantees. But lawyers for the War on Poverty are heading that way by arguing that selective relief of hunger denies equal protection of the laws to the needy.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture (they're arguing in federal district court here) can't feed one family and not feed another just because Needy Family No. 2 lives in a Texas county that has no federal food distribution program. The Fourteenth Amendment won't stand for it. Everybody eats under equal protection of the laws.

It's a good starting argument. The Fourteenth Amendment lays duties and restraints on the states and their subdivisions—and on nobody else. A state can't take any action to abrogate a federal law, and neither can the counties—106 of which in this state have declined to set up federal food distribution programs.

BUT, AS THE Justice Department—now on the other side of the argument—points out, it depends on what kind of federal law you're talking about. Some laws bear in their bosoms permissive phraseology.

Such a law is the Commodity Distribution Program—which doesn't direct but only enables counties to take part in the food distribution program. The U.S. Department of Agriculture can propose, sure enough, but the county can dispose, and its word is final. The law provides for a federal government-county agreement. The law doesn't tell the county, do this: It says, do this if you've a mind to.

No civil-rights law ever takes that tack—which is pretty good evidence that the Commodity Distribution Program doesn't qualify as such and that the right to be fed doesn't as yet rank with the right to vote or the right to accommodations such as food or lodgings or the right to buy property even if the owner doesn't want to sell. But the right to be fed seems all the same on its way to becoming a substantive right—via the Fourteenth Amendment, which the poverty people have so widely chosen as a vehicle.

That amendment enshrines—if that's the word—the civil guarantees that the Reconstruction Congresses decided minorities in the conquered Southern states needed to have against state oppression.

"No state shall deny" is the key to the outlook of the framers who gave "due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws"—things that the states in question were then habitually denying—special mention.

CIVIL-RIGHTS LAWS of recent years have, in the minds of some, made good what the amendment only promised a century ago. If any civil right has been left unguarded, nobody spoke up for it—probably because people were busy thinking up new ones. And the latter habit led to a new view of the Fourteenth Amendment—the one that the poverty people are pushing today.

The Fourteenth became, in effect the inspirational fount for even newer guarantees—economic ones.

The change hasn't been all that recent. Martin Luther King, for one, helped blur the old distinctions. He saw as dismal a pattern of white oppression in hunger and joblessness as in what he had earlier denounced as civil wrongs. The country, he said, owed the minorities both bread and the ballot.

The War on Poverty grew out of the gradual identification of the two as one in political oratory.

Ruling Democrats, in short, realized that the political appeal of civil-rights laws was not only used up but dangerous to the public peace. Registering Negroes in Mississippi gave way to promissory bribes to ghetto rioters. The general evil of poverty took first rank in the new liberal demonology.

CONGRESS HAS YET to codify, the Supreme Court has yet to discover any such prescriptive right as that of being fed or of receiving free food.

But a free food program—a revision of the old share-the-cost Food Stamp program—has been put into effect. Hunger hunters, scouring the country, especially the South, for evidence of malnutrition, not unexpectedly found plenty of it. They got the ball rolling.

What's more, the U.S. Public Health Service then declared malnutrition to be a "reportable disease."

With so much going for this evolving right, it's little wonder that the poverty war lawyers have asked federal district court to order the U.S. Department of Agriculture to override all laws and political boundaries with its warrant to relieve hunger wherever it's found. It appears now that the USDA has already been doing just that—on the sly—in several of those 106 Texas counties.

The USDA has no such commission or warrant. The Commodity Distribution Program gives it no such warrant. But never mind—the Fourteenth Amendment, whose eye is on the sparrow, makes no heartless distinction between civil and economic rights. All hungry people are one in its sight.

This is as near to asserting a right to be fed as the poverty people can come at present—but they may have picked a bad law as the vehicle of the new doctrine.

The federal government is divided on the question—not just out of legal differences, either, but because the counties help pay for the food program, and if the USDA rides in and pays for a program in some of these counties out of its own pocket, the participating counties will expect to have their tabs picked up, too. The bill can run into hundreds of thousands of dollars in Texas alone.

THE JUSTICE Department dwells less on that, though, than on the fact that the CDP law is meant to uphold farm prices rather than relieve the hungry. The back door to the surplus food warehouses is opened for relief purposes only because the USDA can't otherwise get everything it amasses in the way of price-support purchases in through the front door.

The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

"To assure every American family an adequate diet"

ACTION REPORT

February 1969

John R. Kramer
Executive Director
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 293-1220

Volume I, Number 1

This is the first in a series of reports that will summarize the major public and private developments affecting hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

The Departments

New Head of CSM - Roy W. Lennartson, formerly associate administrator of the Agriculture Department's (USDA) Foreign Agricultural Service, has been named Administrator of the Consumer and Marketing Service, replacing Rodney B. Leonard. Lennartson will be directly responsible for the operation of Federal food assistance programs.

Hardin on Urban Affairs Council - On January 23rd, in his first Executive Order, President Nixon established the Council for Urban affairs to be composed of the Secretary of Agriculture, six other cabinet members, and the Vice President, with a mandate to seek constant improvement in the actual delivery of public services to citizens. Agriculture Secretary Hardin is Chairman of the Council's subcommittee on surplus food programs and nutrition.

Budget Crunch - The prospect that the Nixon Administration might seek additional appropriations for food stamps and child nutrition programs beyond the 1970 Johnson budget levels has dimmed in the face of the general mandate to all agencies to trim expenditures and the specific presidential directive to Secretary Hardin to propose cuts on the Agriculture budget sufficient to offset $168 million the President has determined to spend in order to continue making 50 percent advance payments to primarily Midwestern farmers who agree to reduce their acreage planted in feed grains. This is the first indication that the producer prospective may dominate the agricultural policy of the Nixon Administration and appears to be contrary to the President's emphasis, in a recent visit with USDA workers, upon USDA's role in eliminating malnutrition. The Section 32 $300 million annual carryover remains the best potential source for expanding food assistance.

Food Stamp Bonus - USDA announced in December an expansion of food stamp benefits for approximately 500,000 persons in four-person households with monthly net incomes of less than $70. The revised program schedule would couple a decrease in the down payment each family must make with an increase in the bonus stamps issued and would cost an estimated $14 million in fiscal 1969. While the changes would enable the poorest families--those with less than $20 a month--to buy more food ($60 worth for an outlay of $2 in the North as compared with $52 currently, $58 for $2 in the South instead of $48), the $2 minimum payment would be retained, effectively denying participation to those with no income. Most low-income families would still

Dr. Jean Mayer *Chairman*
The Rev. Ralph Abernathy
Doris Calloway
Jack Conway
Leslie W. Dunbar
Marian Wright Edelman
Jean Fairfax
Herman Gallegos
Richard Gordon
M. Alfred Haynes, M.D.
Vivian Henderson
Martin Myerson
Hon. Albert A. Pena, Jr.
Walter P. Reuther
William Sebrell, M.D.
Philip Sorensen

be forced to spend one-third or more of their income on food, an exceedingly disproportionate slice of their limited budgets, considering the normal American family's food expenditures of 17 to 18% of income. The new schedule also continues the practice of providing a smaller amount of total stamps for families in the lowest income brackets than for those in somewhat higher brackets, even though the nutritional needs of a family do not increase with income. For example, a family in the North with net income under $20 can obtain only $60 worth of stamps, whereas a family earning $70 can get $66 in stamps. Neither of these sums amounts to more than 62% of the $107 a family of four must spend monthly to secure a minimum adequate diet according to ex-Secretary Freeman.

Model Cities - USDA is planning to work with five model cities programs (Boston, Mass.; Athens, Ga.; East St. Louis, Mo.; San Antonio, Tex.; Richmond, Cal.) to develop innovative forms of food assistance, particularly in feeding children, with the use of funds available to the states for regular programs. No new money is being sought for these activities.

Areas Without Food Programs - Approximately 470 counties and independent cities still have no food program, although USDA now confronts law suits in 26 states seeking to require it to put a federal food program in effect in every county. 235 additional areas were designated for food stamps on November 18, including 94 counties that had no previous federal food aid.

School Lunch Guidelines - As of February 1, all schools and service institutions participating in the school lunch program had to announce publicly and put into effect their policies and procedures for determining the eligibility of children for free or reduced price meals as well as to operate food service programs in such a way that children receiving free or reduced price meals could not be identified. Schools which do not comply cannot continue to receive federal lunch funds after July 1, 1969, or come into the program from now on. The Committee on School Lunch Participation, Suite 2030, 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019, (212) 586-8397, is collecting school district policy statements and sponsoring nationwide monitoring of adherence to USDA regulations embodying these requirements.

Nutrition Aides - Under the nutrition aide program conducted by the USDA's Federal Extension Service with Section 32 funds, aides are being given an average of three weeks' training by professional home agents with materials developed by the Service and sent into the field supervised (one professional for every 15 aides). Approximately 4,500 aides are scheduled to be ready to work by the end of the month and will be expected to handle caseloads of between 35 and 50 families by June. Datographics, Inc. of Pittsburgh has contracted to undertake qualitative evaluation of the program in seven states, using questionnaires repeated over a period of months to determine improvement in diet attributable to the work of the aides. The program's impact will depend upon the quality of the training process and the aggressiveness of recruiters in seeking out low-income persons already part of the communities to be served to act as aides. USDA developed this project without specific Congressional authorization, which may lead to trouble on the Hill. Bureau of the Budget has reduced the proposed fiscal 1970 funding for a full year's operation to $15 million, which is only 50% greater than the 1969 level when the program will be in effect only for six months.

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"To assure every American family an adequate diet"

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Executive Director
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Freeman's Last Stand - In his final press conference after eight years as Secretary of Agriculture and in his 1968 Annual Report, Orville Freeman urged the creation of a powerful national nonprofit, independent, citizens' advisory board to organize and coordinate a high level of public support for public and private programs to end hunger and act as an informed voice of the Nation's conscience. Freeman suggested that in order to close the gap in existing food programs, Congress should, as a first step, establish national minimum eligibility standards for food stamps, provide financial assistance to state and local governments for program administration, and authorize direct federal administration where local governments will not act. Thereafter, Congress should provide the funds necessary to furnish food stamps in every county and independent city, lower purchase requirements to not more than 25 percent of the recipient's income, increase bonus levels to enable each person to purchase a fully adequate diet, and include all schools in the lunch and breakfast programs at a cost of over $1 billion annually to assure free and reduced price lunches for all needy children. Freeman also stressed increased and improved program evaluation and better nutrition education to assist low-income groups.

HEW's Annual Report - HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen, in both his Annual Report and testimony before the Select Committee, called for establishing the elimination of malnutrition as a national goal and ending the fragmentation of governmental responsibility for nutrition activities. He proposed creation of a Federal Inter-Agency Nutrition Council to outline national nutrition policy and coordinate the various departments as well as of a Human Nutrition Administration within HEW, which would distribute food stamps nationwide with eligibility based on Social Security poverty standards and operate all other food assistance and health and education programs related to nutrition.

Food and Welfare - An HEW survey of welfare mothers has revealed that nearly half of the responding mothers indicated that they would use increases in their welfare checks to purchase more food and could not at times afford milk for their children.

The Hill

McGovern Committee - The Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs for the first session of the 91st Congress consists of Senator McGovern, Dem.-So. Dak., Committee Chairman, Democrats Ellender of La., Talmadge of Ga., Yarborough of Tex., Hart of Mich., Pell of R.I., Kennedy of Mass., and Mondale of Minn.; and Republicans Javits of N.Y., Dominick of Colo., Percy of Ill., Dole of Kan., and Cook of Ky. Republicans Prouty of Vt., Boggs of Del., and Goodell of N.Y. are no longer Committee members. Committee offices are in Room 134, Senate Office Building, (202) 225-7326. Committee staff consists of William Smith, Chief Counsel-Staff Director; Bert Waters and Kenneth Schlossberg, professional staff assistants; Peter Stavrianos, researcher; and Clarence McKee, minority professional staff.

54 Senators joined in cosponsoring Senate Resolution 68 authorizing a six-month extension of the Committee's life through December 31, 1969 and Committee expenditures of $250,000 (compared with an operating budget of $25,000 through January 31). On February 6th the Senate Rules Committee agreed to the extension, but not to the funding level, cutting $100,000 from the proposed budget (Senator Thurmond, Rep.-So. Car., reportedly wanted all but $25,000 deleted). Senator McGovern will fight on the floor to restore his Committee's funds when the Senate reconvenes during the week of February 17.

Committee hearings will resume in Washington on February 18, 19, and 20, with the focus on problems of malnutrition in Beaufort and Jasper Counties in South Carolina. Senator Hollings, Dem.-So.Car., who recently toured the rural area and announced that Congress was going to have to come up with a solution to getting food to the people in the face of Federal roadblocks and red tape, will be the lead witness and will be followed by local officials and citizen groups.

McGovern Urges Emergency Food Assistance - In a speech delivered in the Senate on February 7, Senator McGovern called for Presidential and Congressional leadership to help the poor obtain food and specified eight steps that could be immediately taken without awaiting new programs or legislation. The first was "a declaration of national policy and urgency that no citizen of this nation will be permitted to go hungry or malnourished" to be supported by action by the USDA Secretary "to institute emergency food distribution programs in food stamp counties and counties without food assistance where there is a clearly recognized problem of hunger." Additional remedies for the malnutrition crisis suggested by McGovern for prompt implementation by USDA and other concerned agencies included making all 22 commodities available in every distribution locale; adding CSM pasta (a product containing a mixture of cornmeal, soybean flour, and dried milk, 3/4th of a pound of which provides all the daily individual requirements of proteins, vitamins and minerals) as the 23rd commodity for nationwide distribution; charging poor people who buy food stamps only what they normally spend for food; starting to provide free breakfasts and lunches for the needy in every rural and urban ghetto school; committing funds to complete the National Nutrition Survey in a minimum of 20 states; and agency monitoring of the food that actually gets delivered at the local level.

Biafra - 52 Senators and over 105 Representatives have introduced concurrent resolutions calling upon President Nixon to act immediately to increase significantly the amount of surplus food, relief money, non-combat aircraft, and ground vehicles sent to Biafra to reduce the tragic rate of starvation there.

Prof. Jean Mayer, Chairman of the Council, is leading a team of nutrition experts accompanying Senator Goodell, Rep.-N.Y., during the week of February 10 on a study tour of the critical problems of hunger in Biafra with a view to aiding the delivery of food supplies.

School Lunch Legislation - Congressman Perkins, Dem.-Ky., Chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, has held several days of hearings on two bills introduced by him to improve the school lunch and related child nutrition programs. Two similar bills passed the House with over two-thirds voting in favor last session. H.R. 515 would amend the present programs to require states to put up money of their own to finance an ultimate 10 percent of the non-Federal share of the programs rather than use the children's payments to meet all of their matching requirements, authorize

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appropriations one year in advance to facilitating program planning, and empower USDA and the states to use up to one percent of available funds for education and training in the nutrition field for program workers and participants and an additional one percent for special developmental projects involving new methods of food delivery. H.R. 516 would provide an additional $100 million in Section 32 monies for each of the next three years to schools in order to finance free or reduced prices for lunches or breakfasts for financially needy children, purchase or rental of food service equipment, and state administrative expenses. Under the proposed Fiscal 1970 budget, Section 32 funds would be fully spent and thus unavailable to fill H.R. 516's demands. Funding alternatives include use of the $111 million in Section 32 monies that remains unobligated in Fiscal 1969 or depletion of the $300 million reserve.

Other Food Legislation - Senator Mondale, Dem.-Minn., has introduced S.6, the Domestic Food Assistance Act of 1969, designed to overhaul completely existing food programs. The bill's novel feature, besides free food stamps for those who cannot afford them, simultaneous operation of food stamp and commodity distribution programs, and program eligibility certification by means of applicant affidavits, involves bringing commercial food and grocery enterprises as well as nonprofit and charitable agencies into the operation of food programs.

Senator Montoya, Dem.-N.Mex., has prepared S. 339, authorizing the Commodity Credit Corporation to distribute food to needy households in sufficient quantity and variety and at a sufficient number of locations so as to furnish recipients the minimum recommended daily nutritional allowances and empowering the USDA Secretary to establish food distribution outlets (under contract with competent private firms or nonprofit organizations, if that will facilitate matters) in any local area where food need exists and the local officials have failed to provide an adequate food program within 120 days of the bill's enactment.

The Courts

USDA in Contempt in California - A three-judge Federal court in the Northern District of California has continued indefinitely a temporary restraining order issued on December 30,1968, directing USDA and responsible state officials to institute a federal food program in the shortest time feasible in the 16 California counties that have no such program. Neither Secretary Hardin nor his deputies have taken any steps to comply with this order, despite their stipulation that the $300 million Section 32 carryover is available for this purpose should the Secretary choose to act, that there is substantial hunger in California, and that there will be immediate and irreparable injury to people unless food programs are put into effect. The Secretary's intransigence is tantamount to contempt of court and compares unfavorably with the attested willingness of state officials, including Max Rafferty, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and county personnel to implement the order fully, as soon as USDA acknowledges its willingness to make funds available to administer the programs.

The suit, brought by Robert Gnaizda, Deputy Director of California Rural Legal Assistance, is similar to suits brought in 25 other states under the aegis of the Columbia Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law. Lee Albert is the Center's Director and Ronald Pollack is Staff Attorney managing these cases. The suits claim that persons arbitrarily denied food benefits solely on the basis of their residence are deprived of due process and equal protection of the laws. Motions for preliminary injunction prohibiting denial of federal food benefits to needy persons are now being filed in Texas (107 counties without food programs), Missouri (52), Florida (18), South Dakota (10), and Ohio (5).

Future Actions - The Columbia Center, which is located at 401 West 117th Street, New York, New York, 10027, (212) 280-4114, is currently preparing a series of lawsuits designed to test the legality of making families pay more for food stamps than their normal outlays for food, the lack of school lunch programs in urban ghetto as opposed to suburban schools, and the failure to supply free or reduced price school lunches to needy persons under the new guidelines.

The Private World

Equipping Small Farmers to Grow Food for the Hungry - The board members of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Drs. Robert Coles and John Holloman, Jr., have written to President Nixon proposing that the Administration undertake to "equip the nation's impoverished small farmers to grow the food needed by the nation's millions of hungry people" by giving marginal farm families subsidies and technical assistance to produce nutritional food for guaranteed sale to the government which would redistribute it to the poor on the basis of need.

Special Analysis - The Food Assistance Budget

USDA's Consumer and Marketing Service budget estimates for the fiscal year from July 1, 1969 through June 30, 1970 reflect expenditures of approximately $644 million for child feeding programs (up $21 million from fiscal year 1969), $725 million for family feeding programs (an $177 million increase), $63 million in direct distribution to institutions (a decline of $1 million), and $15 million for nutrition aides and education ($5 million more) for a grand total of $1.45 billion for food assistance.

Support for these programs is expected from appropriations of $454.5 million ($114.5 million for child nutrition, $340 million for food stamps), $356 million worth of commodities donated by the Commodity Credit Corporation to needy persons ($335 million) and institutions ($21 million) pursuant to surplus removal statutory authority, and $637 million in so-called Section 32 funds, which constitute a permanent appropriation of 30% of annual customs receipts. Since overall Section 32 funds amount to $665 million in fiscal 1970, only $28 million of such funds would be transferred away from feeding Americans to administering marketing agreements or orders, encouraging the distribution of fishery products, or the like, and, for the first time in many years, no Section 32 monies would be returned to the Treasury unused in the face of substantial need. $111 million of 1969 Section 32 monies will still be wasted by this July unless USDA decides to spend them. The traditional $300 million carryover balance to cover emergencies would remain unobligated.

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The major change in child feeding involves the allocation of an additional $67 million ($44 million is now available) to enable schools to provide free and reduced price lunches for needy children under Section 11 of the National School Lunch Act. USDA believes that with this special assistance money it can help an additional 1.7 million children who cannot afford the full price of lunch, still leaving over 2 million more impoverished children hungry at lunchtime.

170,000 more children would be served school breakfast with an extra $4.5 million, while the $8 million in new funds for acquiring food preparation and service equipment would theoretically enable 500 more schools to serve lunch. A $15 million jump is scheduled for food assistance in such non-school settings as neighborhood houses and day-care centers.

The budgetary gimmick upon which nearly all of this broadened aid for school meals depends is the demise of the special milk program. USDA is not requesting Congress to spend more on feeding children. It is repeating its unsuccessful attempt of 1966 to prompt Congress to forego providing 2 half-pints of milk to school children daily by emphasizing that the $103 million thus saved would be redistributed for more school meals for the needy including milk and that $10 million would be set aside to finance milk for needy children in schools without lunch facilities. That the dairy lobby will kill this proposal again and thus dim the hopes for expanding the universe of needy children who are fed lunch appears likely. Senators McGovern, Dem.-So. Dak., and Proxmire, Dem.-Wisc., have introduced a bill to expand, not contract, the milk program (to $120 million in fiscal 1970), and McGovern will be listened to by his colleagues as the leading Senate expert on how to deal with hunger and malnutrition. Congressmen Ryan, Dem.-N.Y., and Steiger, Rep.-Wisc., have already spoken out against eliminating the milk program.

Family feeding expenditures would rise more dramatically under the proposed budget--a 32% overall increase--primarily because of an additional $60 million for food stamps, $25 million of which would go to cover the full year costs of the recently increased bonus levels, and $91 million more for commodities distribution. The new budget thus reverses the trend of phasing out commodity distribution in favor of food stamps.

The greatest percentage rise in funding is being sought for distribution of packages of specially enriched foods to expectant and new mothers with local health clinics acting as the delivery mechanism, rather than the traditional remote commodity warehouses.

Special appropriations language first employed last year would enable this package to be distributed regardless of the concurrent existence of a food stamp

program in the area, if the Secretary of Agriculture determined that certain needy children and other low-income persons were suffering from general and continued hunger through no fault of their own. While $34.5 million is budgeted for this program (only $8.8 million will be spent in 1969), there is considerable question about the Department's ability to utilize these funds effectively given the limited number of local health centers oriented toward helping the poor (only 48 OEO-financed centers are in operation).

An outline of the budget, indicating program and funding sources follows:

Project	Fiscal Year 1969	Fiscal Year 1970	Net Change
I. CHILD FEEDING PROGRAMS	623,000	644,000	+ 21,000
a) Appropriations and Section 32 Funds	333,000	342,000	+ 9,000
1. General school lunch	162,000	168,000	+ 6,000
2. Free and reduced price school lunch (Sec. 11)	43,600	111,000	+ 67,400
Regular program	10,000	90,000	+ 80,000
Special feeding appropriations	33,600	21,000	- 12,000
3. School breakfast	6,500	11,000	+ 4,500
Regular program	3,500	10,000	+ 6,500
Special feeding appropriations	3,000	1,000	- 2,000
4. Nonschool food service	5,750	20,500	+ 14,750
5. Special milk (all children)	103,000	-	-103,000
6. School milk (needy children)	-	10,000	+ 10,000
7. Non-food assistance	7,150	15,000	+ 7,850
Regular program	750	10,000	+ 9,250
Special feeding appropriations	6,400	5,000	- 1,400

The National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States

"To assure every American family an adequate diet"

John R. Kramer
Executive Director
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 293-1220

Project	Fiscal Year 1969	Fiscal Year 1970	Net Change
8. State administrative expenses	1,750	2,750	+ 1,000
Regular program	750	750	-
Special feeding appropriations	1,000	2,000	+ 1,000
9. Federal administrative expenses	3,350	3,850	+ 500
b) Commodity Donations	290,000	302,000	+ 12,000
Section 32 (and Section 6 of National School Lunch Act)	145,000	148,000	+ 3,000
Section 416 (Commodity Credit Corporation)	145,000	154,000	+ 9,000
II. FAMILY FEEDING PROGRAMS	547,700	724,500	+ 176,800
a) Appropriations and Section 32 Funds	280,900	351,000	+ 70,000
1. Food stamps	279,900	340,000	+ 60,000
2. Nutritional supplement packages	1,000	11,000	+ 10,000
b) Commodity Donations	266,800	373,500	+106,700
1. Regular distribution program	259,000	350,000	+ 91,000
Section 32	142,000	210,000	+ 68,000
Section 416	117,000	140,000	+ 23,000
2. Nutritional supplement package	7,800	23,500	+ 15,700
Section 22	7,300	32,000	+ 14,700
Section 416	500	1,500	+ 1,000

	Fiscal Year 1969	Fiscal Year 1970	Net Change
III. DIRECT DISTRIBUTION TO INSTITUTIONS	63,000	63,100	+ 100
Section 32	2,000	1,700	- 300
Section 416	43,000	40,400	- 2,600
Veterans, Armed Forces Penal Institutions	18,000	21,000	+ 3,000
IV. NUTRITION AIDES	10,000	15,000	+ 5,000

USES OF SECTION 32 RECEIPTS

Project	Fiscal Year 1969	Fiscal Year 1970	Net Change
Total Available	597,000	665,000	+ 68,000
Total Allocated for Feeding Programs	465,000	637,000	+172,000
School Lunch Assistance	114,200*	188,700	+ 10,200
School Lunch Procurement	64,300*	64,300	+ 64,300
School Lunch Donations	80,500	83,800	+ 3,300
Special Feeding Appropriations	45,000	50,000	+ 6,000
Nutritional Supplement Package	7,300	22,000	+ 14,700
Commodity Distribution	142,000	210,000	+ 68,000
Direct Distribution to Institutions	2,000	1,700	- 300
Nutrition Aides	10,000	15,000	+ 5,000
Total Unobligated and Wasted	111,000	-	-

*$178.5 million was requested from Section 32 funds for carrying out the school lunch program, but the $64.3 million for procurement of food was part of that request, not in addition thereto.

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report from washington

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Volume II, Number 1 **January 14, 1970**

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SECOND SESSION

Comment The President's State of the Union Message is due on January 22 and his budget proposals for fiscal 1971 should reach the Congress within the following two or three weeks. However, the second session of the 91st Congress will convene on January 19 and a Democratic Congress will immediately clash with a Republican Administration in what promises to be the first of a series of battles where the underlying theme will be our system of national priorities reviewed in the glare of inflation.

Good men will have fundamental differences in value scales and in the relative percentages of our resources to be allocated to defense, to space, to technical development, to international obligations and opportunities, to education, to health, to welfare, to the war on crime, to jobs, to housing and to a myriad of other concerns.

But in the upcoming debates on these vital issues, Republicans in the Administration and in the Congress and Democrats in the Congress and active on the national scene will alike be conscious of one portentous fact which will color all their conclusions: come November, the voters will register their reactions as they decide how to fill 34 vacancies in the Senate and 435 in the House.

In this election year, both parties will be determined to either mold or reflect the opinions of the electorate. To our readers this means that, if you want it so, your voice can really be heard in Washington. If you and those associated with you will let the Congress and the Administration know where you stand on the upcoming issues, it will be reflected in results. This year our political representatives really want to know what you think.

In this issue, the **Report** recaps, occasionally with editorial comment, the major decisions in our areas made during the first session of this Congress, and then mentions those still pending and due for action. In subsequent issues, we shall try to keep you advised of later developments; hopefully, in time for you to help influence the outcomes.

ACTION COMPLETED—1969

Tax Reform The Tax Reform Act of 1969, in large measure converted into tax relief legislation, has been enacted into law (Public Law 91-172). Thanks to vigorous action at both local and national levels by educators, church groups and voluntary organizations, most of the provisions of the House-passed bill which would have had calamitous effects on organizations dependent on charitable contributions were corrected in the Senate and came through the House-Senate conference intact.

While foundations have been subjected to a tax (four percent of net investment income) and inhibited from "influencing legislation" or the outcome of specific elections, they, too, come off far better than under the terms of the House bill. Hopefully, the unwarranted restrictions will be removed through later legislation considered in a less-heated atmosphere.

Of interest to voluntary agencies in the new law is its provision enabling foster parents to claim income tax exemptions for dependent foster children on the same terms as for natural or adopted children.

A ten-page layman's language analysis of the tax law as it affects philanthropic organizations has been made available to us. Upon receipt of 25¢ per copy to help defray our costs, we will gladly send your order to you.

OEO Here, too, a victory. The threat to subject the Office of Economic Opportunity to State control was turned back. The Murphy amendment making its legal services program vulnerable to gubernatorial vetoes was defeated. The agency was granted a two-year continuance. (See below—"HEW Appropriations"—for financing.)

Social Security The Congress voted and the President reluctantly approved a 15 percent increase in social security benefits. The increases were effective January 1, 1970, but actual payments of the added amounts will not be made until April because of the time required to reprogram the automated checkwriting machinery. The Mansfield amendment calling for a $100 minimum benefit passed the Senate but was lost in conference. Both matters were considered as part of the tax bill. Other suggested changes in social security will be considered along with welfare proposals in 1970. (See below—"Welfare.")

Civil Rights The Whitten amendments to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare appropriations bill, which would have negated much of HEW's potential in school desegregation efforts, were themselves nullified by a Senate amendment authorizing HEW to continue to do what it has been doing when "required by the Constitution." (For ongoing actions involving civil rights, see below—1970 "Civil Rights.")

Housing The Congress passed and the President signed into law the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969 (Public Law 91-152). Much too comprehensive and involved for detailed analysis in the **Report,** it contains a number of provisions of direct interest to many readers.

Ask your Congressman for House Reports 91-539 and 91-740 (latter is the conference report), or send $1.00 to NAHRO (National Association of Housing and Development Officials), 2600 Virginia Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20037, and ask for the January 1970 issue of The Journal of Housing, which will contain full details on both the act and the current reorganization of the Department of HUD.

Highlights include a provision requiring that there shall be the same number of equivalent new or rehabilitated housing units for every unit demolished or removed by an urban renewal project and in the same area. Moreover, no tenant in public housing shall be required to pay *more* than 25 percent of his income for rent. (It is not intended that those paying less shall have their rents increased.)

Seventy-five million dollars of authorization have been added to: 1) cover existing operating deficits of public housing authorities; 2) enable them to maintain adequate operating and maintenance services, and 3) make up the difference between cost per unit and the tenant's 25 percent of income. One very significant provision of the act is the stipulation that the Secretary of HUD may withhold these assistance payments from the public housing authorities should local welfare authorities reduce welfare payments as a result of the cutback in a tenant's rent to 25 percent of income.

Readers interested in public housing should be very much aware that Public Law 91-152 provides only a one-year authorization for most programs. This means that 1970 will be a most important legislative year in housing and urban development. The Administration will propose and the Congress will dispose of questions involving the size of future authorizations for ongoing programs.

HUD Funds Cut

The Department of Housing and Urban Development was one of the few agencies to have its appropriation for fiscal 1970 (which began July 1, 1969) cleared by the Congress before December. It was given $1,189,026,000, a reduction of 8.5 percent in the Administration's request. The largest single cut ($100 million) came in model cities grants. No funds were provided for tenant services grants in public housing, areawide development grants or for urban information and technical assistance. They had been included in the Johnson budget but did not appear in the Nixon budget request.

In a related development, HUD announced that in 1970 it will "expand and intensify" its attack on housing discrimination. The 1968 law against such discrimination provides that, as of January 1, 1970, the law will cover all but an estimated 15.6 million of the 69 million housing units in the country. Units not specifically covered by the law include two- to four-unit structures in which the owner occupies one; single-family rental units rented without the use of a broker, and single-family houses sold without the use of a broker. HUD officials believe that even these units are covered under Supreme Court decisions on the subject of discrimination.

ACTION FOR 1970

Comment on HEW Appropriations

The bill appropriating funds for the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education and Welfare and also for the Office of Economic Opportunity for fiscal 1970 (H.R. 13111) was approved by both House and Senate conferees and passed by the House. The Senate withheld action on it before adjourning, so that the President could not pocket-veto it while the Congress was in recess. The Senate leadership has made it the first order of business on January 19 and expects to pass and send it to the President promptly. The White House has made it clear that the President will veto the bill should it pass in its present form.

Thus the lines will be drawn for 1970's first major political confrontation.

There is no argument over the proposed funding of either OEO ($1.948 billion agreed on by the conferees) or the Department of Labor. The issue involves some $1.6 billion dollars for health and education which the Congress has added to the amounts requested by the President. It includes $500 million for schools in federally-impacted areas, $540 million for other educational programs and $100 million for various health programs.

In years past the Congress might well have passed such a bill and a President simply refused to expend the amounts he considered excessive. The Congress then received the kudos and the President the indignation of the interest groups whose programs were cut.

No Administration relishes being put in that position. Besides, in this instance, the Administration contends that the legislation is so drawn that the President may be forced to expend these—to him—unwanted amounts and, in his fight against inflation, to make cuts in other—to him—more important programs.

The issues involved are many and complex, as they will be repeatedly when men will be called upon not only to decide what the nation's relative priorities should be but also to make those decisions concurrently with determining what types of expenditures where made might be likely to feed an inflation capable of paralyzing even those programs given top priority.

White House View

However, when the issue is joined it will undoubtedly be on a simplistic basis The Administration says the bill is inflationary; that the sums in question are not needed nor justifiable, cannot be properly utilized, are for low priority programs. A veto, the White House maintains, will be "a challenge to Congress—to restore fiscal integrity. . . to put responsibility before expediency in meeting America's urgent needs."

Proponents of the bill contend that they have already cut more than $1.6 billion from the bill as approved by the Senate and, moreover, that the remaining $1.14 billion dollar increase over the President's request in this appropriations bill is more than offset by a cut of $5.4 billion dollars made by the Congress in other Presidential budget items. They insist that the matters covered in this bill are of the highest priority and that, if inflation is uppermost in the President's mind, he should cut back on ABM's, supersonic transports and space rather than in areas involving children, education and health.

To override a Presidential veto, a two-thirds vote in both House and Senate is required. We shall get some idea of the Senate lineup when it votes on the bill. The House vote in its favor was 261-110 (175 Democrats, 86 Republicans). To override a veto, the House leadership would not only have to hold all those "aye" votes but also garner more from amongst the "nays" or the absentees.

Members of the House and Senate are already coming under heavy pressure on this issue. It is one on which your Congressmen will really want to know whether you want a veto overridden or upheld.

CIVIL RIGHTS

I—Voting Rights By a very close vote of 208-203, the House rejected the recommendation of its Judiciary Committee on extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In doing so, it disregarded the pleas of both the committee's Democratic chairman and topranking Republican and of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. The House then passed the Administration's bill, H.R. 4249, by a vote of 234 to 179.

That bill is now pending in the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate's Committee on the Judiciary. Hearings on the bill and on counterproposals are scheduled for January 27, 28 and 29 and February 3, 4 and 5. Anyone desirous of testifying or submitting a statement should so notify Sen. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., chairman of the subcommittee, immediately.

The full committee has been instructed to report out a bill to the Senate by March 1 and, no matter what measure is reported, it is understood that there will be full Senate consideration of all major alternatives shortly thereafter.

Basic Issues

The basic issues involved can be simply stated. The bill favored by the House committee would have extended the life of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-110) without change. That act, under which hundreds of thousands of black citizens in the South have been registered to vote, applies only to six southern States and a portion of a seventh where the existence of discriminatory voting practices had been proved. An important provision of the act requires that any changes in local voting requirements would have to be approved by the Attorney General or the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia *before* they could go into effect.

The Administration bill, on the grounds that an act applicable only to part of the country is itself discriminatory, would be nationally applicable. Instead of requiring prior approval of changes in voting regulations, it would permit them to be made and would empower—but not compel—the Attorney General to bring a court suit against any which he believed would result in racial discrimination.

The Administration bill would also add two provisions not in the existing law: it would impose a nationwide ban on literacy tests for voting and provide uniform residency requirements in Presidential elections.

Sen. Philip Hart (D-Mich.) and some of his colleagues are planning to introduce a compromise bill which the Leadership Conference hopes will pass the Senate and win House approval. It will reportedly include the two Administration proposals on literacy tests and uniform residency requirements and call for a five-year extension of the existing law.

Senator Hart's supporters insist that the Nixon nationwide approach is specious and designed to cover up an attempt to render the law inoperative. They contend that since racial discrimination in voting is confined to a limited area, the law should apply only to that area and the woefully-limited number of federal enforcement officials should be concentrated there rather than spread needlessly across the nation. "One does not waste funds and personnel building a dam in Oregon to prevent floods in Mississippi," in the words of a political pundit who chooses anonymity.

Volume I, Number 1 of the **Report** advised readers as to where to send for pros and cons on the issue. Since the Senate will take up the question in March, there is time to influence the outcome.

II—Concentration Camps—USA

With virtually no public press notice, the Senate, on December 22, by voice vote, passed a bill, S. 1872, which had been introduced by Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii). This bill would repeal the Emergency Detention Act of 1950, Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (Public Law 81-831), generally known as the McCarran Act. S. 1872 is now pending in the House Committee on Internal Security. Chairman Richard Ichord (D-Mo.) has indicated he will hold hearings this year on the bill and on similar House measures—H. R. 1157, Rep. Charles Gubser (R-Calif.), and H.R 11825, Rep. Spark Matsunaga (D-Hawaii).

Currently there is no recorded opposition to the bill. It has bipartisan sponsorship and is supported by the Administration. However, the House Internal Security Committee has many other matters on its calendar; therefore, groups and individuals anxious to have this measure pass should let their views be known to the committee and to their individual representatives in the House.

Ask your Congressman for Senate Report 91-632.

Comment

Most older Americans shudder at the memory of Hitler's concentration camps. Most Americans are revolted by those laws of South Africa's apartheid government which make it possible for both individuals or masses of individuals—white or black—to be arrested, removed from their homes, interned for months, years or for life, without the semblance of a trial but simply because an official deems him or them a threat to the government: a threat not necessarily because of anything they have done but because of what they might think, might say, might do. Most Americans would proudly proclaim, "It can't happen here!"

Most Americans would be wrong! It has happened here! It can happen here! Title II of the McCarran Act specifically provides for it. President Truman vetoed that act on the grounds that it "would strike blows at our liberties."

It gives the President or his agent the power to detain persons "if there is reasonable ground to believe that such a person will engage or probably will with others engage in acts of espionage or sabotage." It details procedures for the continued detention of such persons.

In brief, it authorizes concentration camps—USA. It was passed over the President's veto. It is now the law of this land.

"We Did It in 1941 . . ."

Psychiatrists could easily explain why most Americans are really unaware of the fact that our government actually has—and in recent years—forced tens of thousands of Americans from their homes, deprived them of their property, forced them to live in barren and isolated concentration camps; and that it did all this without bringing charges, without trials and simply on the basis of ancestry. It so shocks our sense of decency that apparently most of us have blotted the memory from our minds to preserve our self-respect. Yet we did do it in 1941 and continued to do it, not for a hysterical month but for years!

Your editor is willing to apologize to any reader who thinks we're spending a disproportionate amount of space on this bill and on this issue. But we would not mean the apology. We believe this bill to be more important perhaps than any we've been concerned with.

We lived in California and saw hysterical military men, urged on by raptorial, greedy landgrabbers out to seize their neighbors' acres and businesses for the shadow of a semblance of a pittance, prevail on our government to incarcerate thousands of our fellow Americans.

We saw fellow second-generation Americans and their families ordered to leave their homes on less than a week's notice, to bring with them even less than they might have carried, to report to stage areas to be herded into buses under military guard and taken away to unknown destinations.

We had the great displeasure of visiting these young American friends—college athletes, student leaders, the best of our agriculturists and fine supporters of community efforts—as they and their friends were bedded down behind barbed wire at the Tanforan and Santa Anita race tracks, whole families of ten or 12 each in a stall built to accommodate one horse! We saw them, too, when later they were transferred to tarpaper shacks in windswept desolate areas at Tulelake and in Arizona.

In Hawaii

And we remember that while this hysterical un-Americanism was sweeping the West Coast, in Hawaii where a far greater percentage of the population was of Japanese ancestry, not only was there no hysteria, not only were there no incidents of sabotage by Japanese-Americans, but it was there that Americans of Japanese ancestry volunteered to serve and served throughout the war. They fought as the First Battalion, 442nd Regimental Combat Team, whose courage and exploits became legendary and which was one of the most decorated units in the history of military America.

Senator Inouye, who suffered many wounds and left an arm in Italy, and Representative Matsunaga, who also won the Purple Heart with Clusters—these members of Congress are sponsors of the bills of which we write.

It is not only out of our sense of shame over this blot on our country's history that we express the hope that you will urge prompt passage of S. 1872. It is also because so long as Title II of the McCarran Act remains on our statute books, not only do black Americans have to fear—as they do—the possibility of being incarcerated in American concentration camps, but so, too, do all of us who are or who may become regarded as members of an unpopular minority.

III—Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

As reported in Volume I, Number 1, S. 2453, introduced by Sen. Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) with some 30 bipartisan cosponsors, would give EEOC the right to issue "cease and desist" orders to employers it deems guilty of discriminatory and unlawful practices—a right other regulatory agencies have. S. 2806, introduced by Sen. Winston Prouty (R.-Vt.) with four Republican cosponsors and supported by the Administration, would, instead, give the commission the right to file suit in a Federal District Court against the employer.

The Labor Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has completed hearings on both bills. When the Congress reconvenes on January 19, subcommittee members will decide

which to recommend to the full committee and it, in turn, will decide what to report to the Senate. On the House side, two days of hearings have been held by the General Labor Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, and more hearings may be scheduled. The House counterpart of the cease-and-desist bill is H.R. 6228, introduced by Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.); of the Administration bill, H.R. 13517, sponsored by Rep. William Ayres (R-Ohio).

There is still time for readers to convey their sentiments to committee members, and to other Senators and Representatives.

Welfare Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) has announced that the House Ways and Means Committee will meet in executive session starting promptly after the Congress reconvenes and will consider action on pending proposals regarding both the welfare and social security systems, including Medicare and Medicaid. No further public hearings are anticipated.

Mid-March is the target date Mr. Mills has set for reporting out a bill. It is unlikely that the Senate Committee on Finance will hold hearings on these subjects until the House committee has acted, and probably until the House floor has voted.

By January 13, there had been no counterproposals to the Nixon welfare plan in either House or Senate. **Report** staff, however, had been advised that shortly after the second session begins, Sen. Fred Harris (D-Okla.) and Rep. James Corman (D-Calif.) would introduce a major welfare proposal.

Inasmuch as Senator Harris is chairman of the Democratic National Committee, his bill will undoubtedly be regarded as the Democratic riposte to the Administration measure, H. R. 14173. (See **Report**, Vol. I, No. 4, Oct. 30, 1969.) Hopefully, it will be introduced in sufficient time for the concerned public as well as both House and Senate committees to consider in depth the relative merits of new approaches as possible substitutes for the present welfare system.

Meanwhile, on January 13, HEW Secretary Robert Finch, in a speech to the National Press Club in Washington, scored Democratic members of the Congress for scuttling national debate on federal welfare reform. He said the Nixon proposal "is being threatened with death by invisibility." Mr. Finch's remarks indicate the Administration intends to go all out to make this a major issue in the coming months.

Unemployment Compensation Voluntary organizations have a direct interest in H.R. 14705, which has passed the House of Representatives and is pending in the Senate Finance Committee. One of the bill's provisions would require coverage of workers in nonprofit organizations.

Volume I, Number 3 of the **Report** sets forth the issues of concern to The National Assembly and all nonprofit groups. The bill referred to was then numbered H.R. 12625, but was superseded by H.R. 14705 as a "clean bill" reported out by Ways and Means. It retains the provisions on which Prof. Elizabeth Wickenden, technical consultant on public social policy to The Assembly, testified at last year's committee hearings.

Pro and con comments on the unemployment insurance bill should now be addressed to members of the Senate Finance Committee, or through one's own Senators to the committee members.

COMMITTEE ROSTERS

As space permits, rosters of House and Senate committees and subcommittees concerned with bills of direct interest to **Report** readers will be included. Members of the Senate Committee on Finance were published in Vol. I, No. 2, Sept. 17, 1969, p. 8. Then, as here, members are listed in order of seniority.

House Ways and Means Committee: Chairman, Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.); Democrats—Hale Boggs, La.; John Watts, Ky.; Al Ullman, Ore.; James Burke, Mass.; Martha Griffiths, Mich.; Daniel Rostenkowski, Ill.; Phil Landrum, Ga.; Charles Vanik, Ohio; Richard Fulton, Tenn.; Jacob Gilbert, N. Y.; Omar Burleson, Tex.; James Corman, Calif.; William Green, Pa.; Sam Gibbons, Fla.

Republicans—John Byrnes, Wis.; James Utt, Calif.; Jackson Betts, Ohio; Herman Schneebeli, Pa.; Harold Collier, Ill.; Joel Broyhill, Va.; Barber Conable, Jr., N.Y.; George Bush, Tex.; Rogers Morton, Md.; Charles Chamberlain, Mich.

Senate Judiciary Committee: Chairman, James Eastland (D-Miss.); Democrats—John McClellan, Ark.; Sam Ervin, Jr., N. Car.; Thomas Dodd, Conn.; Philip Hart, Mich.; Edward Kennedy, Mass.; Birch Bayh, Ind.; Quentin Burdick, N. Dak.; Joseph Tydings, Md.; Robert Byrd, W. Va.

Republicans—Roman Hruska, Nebr.; Hiram Fong, Hawaii; Hugh Scott, Pa.; Strom Thurmond, S. Car.; Marlow Cook, Ky.; Charles Mathias, Md.; Robert Griffin, Mich.

Members of the **Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights** are Senators Ervin (chairman), McClellan, Kennedy, Bayh, Byrd, Hruska, Fong and Thurmond.

House Internal Security Committee: Chairman, Richard Ichord (D-Mo.); Democrats—Claude Pepper, Fla.; Edwin Edwards, La.; Richardson Preyer, N. Car.; Louis Stokes, Ohio.

Republicans—John Ashbrook, Ohio; Richard Roudebush, Ind.; Albert Watson, S. Car.; William Scherle, Iowa.

Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee: Chairman, Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex.); Democrats—Jennings Randolph, W. Va.; Harrison Williams, Jr., N. J.; Claiborne Pell, R. I.; Edward Kennedy, Mass.; Gaylord Nelson, Wis.; Walter Mondale, Minn.; Thomas Eagleton, Mo.; Alan Cranston, Calif.; Harold Hughes, Iowa.

Republicans—Jacob Javits, N. Y.; Winston Prouty, Vt.; Peter Dominick, Colo.; George Murphy, Calif.; Richard Schweiker, Pa.; William Saxbe, Ohio; Ralph Smith, Ill.

Members of the **Subcommittee on Labor** are Senators Williams (chairman), Randolph, Pell, Nelson, Mondale, Eagleton, Cranston, Javits, Prouty, Saxbe, Schweiker and Smith.

General Subcommittee on Labor of the House Committee on Education and Labor: Chairman, John Dent (D-Pa.); Democrats—Roman Pucinski, Ill.; Augustus Hawkins, Calif.; Patsy Mink, Hawaii; Phillip Burton, Calif.; Louis Stokes, Ohio; William Clay, Mo.; Adam Clayton Powell, N. Y.

Republicans—John Erlenborn, Ill.; Alphonzo Bell, Calif.; William Scherle, Iowa; John Ashbrook, Ohio; Marvin Esch, Mich.; Earl Landgrebe, Ind.

Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Education and Welfare of the House Appropriations Committee: Chairman, Daniel Flood (D-Pa.); Democrats—William Natcher, Ky.; Neal Smith, Iowa; W. R. Hull, Jr., Mo.; Bob Casey, Tex.

Republicans—Robert Michel, Ill.; Garner Shriver, Kans.; Charlotte Reid, Ill.

Subcommittee on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and Related Agencies of the Senate Appropriations Committee: Chairman, Warren Magnuson (D-Wash.); Democrats—Richard Russell, Ga.; John Stennis, Miss.; Alan Bible, Nev.; Robert Byrd, W. Va.; Spessard Holland, Fla.

Republicans—Norris Cotton, N. H.; Clifford Case, N.J.; Hiram Fong, Hawaii; J. Caleb Boggs, Del.

The telephone number for the Congress is 202-224-3121. The postal Zip Code for the House of Representatives is 20515; for the Senate, 20510.

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The National Assembly's

report from washington

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ACTION ON WELFARE REFORM

Taking Washington's officialdom, press and pundits completely by surprise, Rep. Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.), chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, called his committee into executive session immediately after the Lincoln's Birthday recess to amend the Nixon welfare reform proposal. The revised bill with a favorable recommendation was introduced on the House floor March 5. The committee's report explaining the measure in detail will be in print on March 12 and the House is expected to debate and vote on the bill during the week of March 16 or March 23.

Heretofore, changes in welfare have been considered as part of a complex package also involving proposed revisions in social security, Medicare and Medicaid. By dealing with the welfare measure as a separate proposal, Chairman Mills is giving the House the opportunity to put its members clearly on the record as to the radical new departure in welfare advanced by the Nixon Administration as its major domestic program.

H. R. 16311: Major Changes

The new bill, H.R. 16311, sponsored by Chairman Mills and Rep. John Byrnes (Wis.), ranking Republican on the committee, closely follows H.R. 14173, the original Nixon proposal, in form and principle but incorporates some important substantive changes. The Mills-Byrnes bill was warmly welcomed by the President and can be considered the Administration-supported measure. The more important revisions are:

- In addition to the basic Federal payment ($1,600 for a family of four plus food stamps), a State would be required to provide supplementary benefits up to the level in effect in that State in January 1970 (instead of July 1969), but the payment need not exceed the poverty level.
- The original proposal that States maintain from 50 to 90 percent of former expenditure levels has been stricken from the bill. Instead, all States would receive 30 percent Federal matching for supplementary payments up to the poverty level. Federal matching would not apply to payments to the working poor.
- All unearned income (instead of the 50 percent initially proposed) would be counted.
- Armed forces families would be eligible.
- Where a State agrees to have the Federal government administer both the basic benefit and the State's supplemental benefit, the Federal government would assume all administrative costs. (This would not apply to "services" which are not included in this bill.)

- Child care projects would receive 100 percent Federal funding (instead of 90 percent).
- Employed fathers in "working poor" families would be required to register with the employment services.
- Programs for the needy aged, blind and disabled would be combined into one and the monthly minimum payment per individual set at $110 (instead of $90).

COMMENT

Legislative Situation

Most of the organizations identified with welfare programs which testified before the committee, applauded the new departure recommended by the Nixon Administration and called for its approval, although many strongly urged liberalizing amendments to: (1) raise payments to at least the poverty level; (2) relieve mothers of school-age children as well as those of pre-school children from the work-training obligation; (3) rigorously define "suitable employment," and (4) further federalize both administration and financing of the program. Opponents of the measure, led by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, tended to decry the total concept rather than specific provisions of the bill.

At this juncture, it would be a waste of time for either proponents or opponents to recommend changes in the bill to members of the House of Representatives. The measure will be debated under a "closed rule," which means that no substantive amendments may be considered. Members of the House will have to vote "yea" or "nay" on the bill as it now stands. (*Your desire for a yes or no vote, together with your reasons therefore, should be conveyed to your Congressman immediately.*)

Although opponents of the measure are promising to wage an all-out fight (which *could* conceivably be successful), the bill is expected to win approval in the House. The Ways and Means Committee vote was 21 to 3 in its favor with all Republican members voting "yes." Influential Chairman Mills will lead the floor fight for its passage and he will have full support from the committee's ranking Republican member, Representative Byrnes. Moreover, the bill as now amended seems vastly more appealing to governors of the more populous States.

Opportunity to amend specific items in the measure or to substitute the Harris-Corman bill (see below) for it will come when it reaches the Senate. Those desiring such changes should prepare to make their case to the Senate Committee on Finance, when it schedules hearings, and to their individual Senators who will have ample opportunity to propose changes in the measure.

Ask your Congressman for a copy of H.R. 16311 and the Report of the Committee on Ways and Means on H.R. 16311.

THE HARRIS-CORMAN BILLS

Generally regarded as the Democratic counterproposal to the Nixon recommendations, companion bills on welfare reform have been introduced in both houses: in the Senate, S. 3433, by Sen. Fred R. Harris (D-Okla.), with seven Democratic cosponsors; and in the House, H.R. 15878, by Rep. James C. Corman (D-Calif.), for himself and Rep. Jacob H. Gilbert (D-N. Y.).

In introducing his bill, the "National Basic Income and Incentive Act," Senator Harris explained that, "Under this program, the officially determined 'poverty level' would become the effective floor below which the income of no American family or individual would be permitted to fall. . . . It federalizes the presently outdated, unworking and inhumane welfare system, replacing it with a Federal income maintenance system. In the process it would give immediate financial relief to the States, not by a revenue-sharing plan but by letting them keep more of their own money."

Some of the highlights of the Harris-Corman bills, each representing a divergence from the Mills-Byrnes measure (H.R. 16311), are:

- During a three-year phasing-in period, States would pay 80 percent of their current expenditures the first year and 50 percent the second year; benefits would be set at 70 percent of

the poverty level during the first year and 80 percent during the second. During the third year and thereafter, the program would be fully financed and administered by the Federal government and Federal benefits would match the then-current poverty level (now $3,600 for a family of four).

- Single adults and childless couples would be included.
- While there is a work-training requirement, it would not be applicable to mothers of school-age (or pre-school) children and "suitable work" would have to pay either the Federal minimum or prevailing wage, whichever is the higher.

COMMENT At a meeting of The National Assembly's Forum on Social Issues and Policies held in New York on February 27, it was generally agreed that the provisions of the Harris-Corman bills came much closer to the principles enunciated at the Forum's meeting last October (see **Report**, Vol. I, No. 4, Oct. 30, 1969) than does H.R. 16311 and that every effort should be made to have the former adopted in the Senate.

Ask your Congressman for copies of S. 3433 or H.R. 15878. The Assembly's Washington office has on hand a supply of reprints of Senator Harris' remarks explaining his bill in detail and we will shortly have a comparative analysis by Prof. Elizabeth Wickenden of the major points in the original Nixon bill, the Mills-Byrnes bill and the Harris-Corman bills. While they last, single copies will be sent to anyone requesting them with a self-addressed, stamped envelope enclosed. For arguments against the rationale of all three proposals, write the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, 1615 H St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

SLEEPER IN THE BUDGET

Ceiling on State Welfare Service, Training, Administration Funds

An Administration proposal which, on its face, looks like another simple budget-balancing act at the expense of the welfare recipient—but which would, in reality, effect a radical and profound change in the philosophy and mechanics of Federal welfare-funding—has been discovered in the Nixon budget for the 1971 fiscal year (beginning July 1, 1970).

Understandably overlooked by the general press—probably because it was buried in routine legislative language on page 472 of the weighty Appendix to the Budget—it reads as follows: "None of the funds contained in this title may be used for payments to any State for fiscal year 1971 for services, staff training and administrative expenses . . . which, in the aggregate, exceed 110 percent of the aggregate amount estimated for these purposes for such State for fiscal year 1970, except where the [Department of Health, Education and Welfare] Secretary determines that such a limitation would impair in a significant way the effective operation of the program involved."

COMMENT

State and local welfare people and those voluntary organizations which cooperate in the management of welfare-funded service programs, or which might be expected to pick up the burden should such programs be cut back, are, of course, unhappy at the prospect of having those funds limited to a ten-percent increase over 1970 estimates. Inflation and built-in cost-of-living increases would, in many cases, mean that a ten-percent increase actually translates into program cutbacks.

Of even greater concern, however, is the fact that the imposition of this or any other ceiling on such Federal payments would reverse a long-established, valuable pattern in Federal-State relationships in this area. And there is the further fact that the Administration has proposed that it be done through language in an appropriations bill, without hearings by the House Committee on Ways and Means or the Senate Committee on Finance, both of which have jurisdiction over—and greater expertise on—social security-welfare programs.

Congress, the States and The Welfare Relationship

Traditionally, the Congress has been anxious to encourage the States to undertake and to train personnel in service programs calculated to help welfare recipients become as independent and self-sufficient as possible. It has done so by offering States matching grants of from 50 to 75 percent of the cost of such undertakings and by keeping appropriations "open-ended"—i.e., by language saying that the Congress would appropriate funds sufficient to match all warranted State outlays for these purposes rather than X number of dollars or such-and-such a percentage of past expenditures.

This new proposal in the Nixon 1971 fiscal year budget would represent the first imposition of a "ceiling" in this area, and could be the precursor of others.

State and local voluntary organizations will want to consult with their State welfare directors on two points: (1) the impact which a ten-percent limitation would have locally and (2) the long-range effect of the reversal of principle involved. To be effective, their reactions, pro or con, should be conveyed promptly to members of the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations, to the House Committee on Ways and Means and to the Senate Committee on Finance. The issue, in fact, could well come up during current deliberations of the Ways and Means Committee, which went back into executive session on March 9 to consider proposals for revisions in Medicare, Medicaid and the social security program.

HEW APPROPRIATIONS

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity finally have their appropriations for the fiscal year which ends June 30, 1970. President Nixon signed the money bill on March 6, leaving them less than four months in which to make firm funds commitments for fiscal 1970.

The total for the combined Labor-HEW funds bill (including OEO) is now $19.4 billion, only $300 million less than in the earlier money bill vetoed in an historic and dramatic event by the President on January 26 on nationwide television. The enacted measure, however, gives Mr. Nixon the specific authority he desired to withhold certain monies—two percent of the total amount.

The Senate agreed to add this provision only after being assured that these cuts would not be made by the President in two areas: (1) the Hill-Burton program for hospital and related construction and (2) the program the President had objected to most vehemently in his veto—aid through education grants to federally-impacted areas.

PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION WELFARE PROPOSAL: "A Factual Analysis of 'Family Assistance Act of 1969,'" Facts about Welfare, No. 5, is now available from the Public Welfare Reporting Center of the National Study Service, 44 East 23rd St., New York, N.Y. 10010. This is an in-depth analysis of the impact of the Nixon Administration's far-reaching proposal on States and the millions of people who will be affected. 65 mimeographed pages, with Supplement I, a brief summary of the Report of the President's Commission on Income Maintenance, released Nov. 12, 1969, and Supplement II, How Much Welfare Can We Afford? Prices, prepaid: single copy, $3; 2-10 copies, $2.50 each; 11-20 copies, $2 each; 21 or more, $1.50 each. Members and associates of The National Assembly will receive one copy from The National Assembly for Social Policy and Development, Inc.

MEDICARE AND MEDICAID: Problems, Issues and Alternatives. Report of the Staff to the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, Feb. 9, 1970. This is an 150-page report with about 130 pages of appendices. Stating that "Medicare is a good Federal program" and that "Medicaid has helped millions of poor citizens," the report is highly critical of administrative developments under each. Available free from the Finance Committee or a Senator while limited supply lasts. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, price $2.

The Report from Washington neither advocates nor opposes. It attempts to inform objectively as to legislative and administrative developments, to advise on sources of further information both pro and con, and to provide unbiased replies to inquiries so that its readers may better decide for themselves how such developments might affect areas of concern to them and how best to react thereto. Editor, William G. Reidy; Associate Editor, Jerry Askwith; Editorial Assistant, Vicki O'Brien.

Robert Anderson

Hospitals to Get Higher Payments Under Medicare

Social Security Policy Move To Cost Extra $60 Million In Fiscal '70, More Later

Payroll Tax Rate Will Go Up

By JONATHAN SPIVAK
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Under heavy pressure from hospitals, the Social Security Administration has decided to liberalize its payments to institutions participating in the medicare program.

The policy change, designed to recognize higher nursing costs for elderly patients, would increase Medicare payments to hospitals and nursing homes an estimated $60 million in the current fiscal year ending June 30. Payments currently run about $5 billion a year.

The additional cost to the Federal health insurance program for the aged would increase proportionately in future years as overall Medicare outlays kept pace with climbing hospital costs and greater utilization of the program.

It also will add to pressures on the Social Security tax rate. Agency experts estimate the revision, which is expected to be announced within a few weeks, would add only 0.04 percentage point to the combined employer-employe payroll tax needed to finance the program.

But other factors, particularly the rise in overall hospital costs, have already thrown the Medicare calculations out of kilter. According to new actuarial estimates recently presented to Congress, the combined payroll tax must be increased 0.5 percentage point, or more to keep the program in long-range balance. The combined Medicare rate currently is 1.2% and is scheduled to increase to 1.8% by 1987 under existing law.

New Regulations

The new regulations would allow hospitals and nursing homes to claim additional costs for furnishing nursing services to the aged, retroactive to last July 1. They're a direct outgrowth of cost-curtailment provisions the Nixon Administration imposed last year a few months after it took office. Those restrictions eliminated a "cost-plus" provision under which hospitals and nursing homes could get an extra

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The American Hospital Association bitterly protested the restrictions, and Health, Education and Welfare Department officials quickly agreed to a full-scale review of the Medicare reimbursement formula.

The resulting allowance for nursing services for the aged will restore about 60% of the funds that the hospitals stood to lose from elimination of the cost-plus factor. It's only a partial step, however, toward meeting the hospitals' Medicare demands. The institutions would like more liberal Medicare payments on other grounds, particularly to provide expansion capital.

The liberalized payments are based on three nursing-cost studies made by the hospitals and the AHA. These studies put the average cost of nursing services for aged patients 8.5% above that for most younger patients because of the elderly patients' slower recovery, need for more help in feeding, more sheet changes and the like.

It was assumed, however, that nursing costs for obstetric and pediatric patients would also be higher than average. Thus, the new Medicare formula will call for adjustments to eliminate these higher costs. In effect, a hospital will calculate the average cost of nursing services for all but Medicare, obstetric and pediatric patients, then apply the 8.5% only to Medicare beneficiaries.

Major Beneficiaries

Social Security experts say some hospitals could get more money under the nursing-care provision than would have been allowed by the cost-plus factor, while others could gain nothing, depending on their mix of patients. Major beneficiaries would be institutions that have substantial numbers of younger patients in addition to aged patients, where the lower nursing costs for the younger patients has been cutting into the Medicare reimbursement.

Nixon Administration officials hope the nursing-service regulations will mollify some critics on Capitol Hill, who contended the cost-plus factor was a loosely drawn giveaway to the hospitals. The Senate Finance Committee, which plays a key role in all Medicare legislation, was particularly outspoken in its opposition.

The Social Security experts insist their new approach is tightly drawn and satisfies the standards of the Medicare law, which specifies payment only of "reasonable costs."

Recognizing higher nursing costs for Medicare poses ticklish problems for Medicaid, the big Federal-state program that pays health-care costs for younger patients. If nursing costs for younger patients are below average, then perhaps Medicaid reimbursement formulas should reflect it.

But there's very little firm data on nursing costs for patients other than the aged, and calculating the Medicaid reduction would be complicated. Further, the hospitals are likely to balk at any effort to trim their revenue from other Federal health programs to compensate for increased Medicare outlays.

Yarborough may face health issue

Med-Care-Gen

• It's politically interesting that Sen. Ralph Yarborough's Senate health subcommittee will be holding hearings on a national health insurance program late this spring. This will make it difficult for his opposition for re-election to continue to ignore his advocacy of national health insurance. Presumably the standard attacks against "socialized medicine" have not yet been mounted against him by either Bentsen or Bush because they recognize that medicare and exasperations with doctors have turned public opinion around on this issue. An AP series on national health care quotes Yarborough that its enactment could come as early as 1972 or 1973. It is thus a central consideration in Yarborough's re-election, since as chairman of the health subcommittee he holds the most powerful congressional position of any present advocate of the program except Majority Whip Edward Kennedy.

• A report reaches the *Observer*, hearsay in nature but from responsible, conservative, wealthy sources, that ex-Gov. John Connally convened two fund-raising mealtime gatherings in Houston. Twenty persons attended each on successive days. Each paid the price of attending, $20,000, reportedly in cash. However, after raising $400,000 in this manner, (this report continues,) Connally and Bentsen have had difficulty raising more money in Houston. At each luncheon, one or two people stood up and told Connally that if Bentsen lost, they would back Bush.

• Bernard Rapoport, the Waco insurance executive, is doing the principal fund-raising for Senator Yarborough. He conveys distress, especially with national labor organizations. However, one gathers from the people in the Yarborough campaign that a heavy last three weeks of television programming is in the works. Benton Musselwhite believes that the Yarborough campaign will be, as to its programming, quite behind Bentsen's three weeks before the election, but that the Yarborough campaign will "peak out" better, as a technical matter, than Bentsen's.

Bentsen attack expected

• Yarborough's side is bracing for an expected last-days attack of some kind. They don't know what to expect, but they expect something. They feel the Billy Sol Estes-$50,000 charge used in the 1964 campaign is too old and won't hurt.

Political intelligence

• Around the state, Bentsen billboards are as frequent as Coke and Pepsi signs. There can not have been a heavier saturation billboard campaign than this before in Texas. Yarborough is also stating on the stump that Bentsen is spending $1.2 million for television alone.

• A political spokesman for the important Houston law firm, Fulbright, Crooker, which has many large corporate clients, told the Yarborough forces, before Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes made it clear that he would not oppose Yarborough, that they were for Yarborough. The general interpretation of this event is that the firm was concerned that if Lloyd Bentsen, Jr., won, the lawfirm of Vinson, Elkins, in which Bentsen's close friend John Connally is now a moving force, would get too much access to political influence. Vinson, Elkins also has many large corporate clients. Now, however, Fulbright, Crooker, whose clients include Bentsen interests, are standing quiet.

• Overheard at a conservative gathering by a Yarborough person: frank argument from Bentsen partisans that Bush people should support Bentsen because if Bentsen is nominated, liberals will back Bush against him.

Governor's race close

• Republicans were pleased when a poll they commissioned in March showed Gov. Preston Smith with 50% of the vote, 23% undecided, and GOP candidate Paul Eggers with 37%. They were jubilant when word leaked out of a Democratic poll showing Smith and Eggers with 38% each. Smith denied the existence of the Democratic poll.

• Voter registration hit a new high of 4,150,645 in Texas this spring. More than a million of those registered this year have never voted before. Almost half of the registered voters live in the state's eight most populus counties: Harris, Dallas, Bexar, Tarrant, Travis, Jefferson, El Paso, and Nueces.

• In 1968, a presidential year, 4,073,567 Texans registered.

• Harold K. Dudley, formerly Gov. Preston Smith's top aide, has been kicked downstairs where he will head the state's drug abuse program under the Criminal Justice Council. Although Dudley's new job originally was budgeted at $18,000 a year, he will continue to draw the $26,500 salary he received as Smith's executive assistant.

• The governor appointed Otice Green, a Lubbock public relations man, to take Dudley's place. Dudley apparently was unable to provide the executive office with the necessary cohesion and leadership. One columnist described the governor's office under Dudley as "a busload of yahoos rolling down the road with everyone waving out the back windows, and nobody coming to the front of the bus until it bumps into something."

• Political observers have pointed to Governor Smith's abortive call for a referendum on bussing as one example of an executive decision that should have been hashed out among top echelon staff members. Instead Smith proceeded on the recommendation of one aid, and was flatly turned down by his own State Democratic Executive Committee.

• Smith and his staff have provided the state with remarkably little leadership during the last year and a half, but the governor has appointed more committees, commissions, and task forces than anyone before him.

There is Goals for Texas, a long range plan with ten general categories; Texas Communities for Tomorrow, which is studying ways to revitalize small towns; the federally funded Criminal Justice Council; and governor's committees on human relations and the status of women.

Smith has individual staff people assigned to traffic safety, housing, Mexican-American affairs, water conservation and development, vocational education, manpower planning, children and youth, early childhood development, comprehensive health planning. And the list could go on and on.

But as *San Antonio Express-News* columnist Jon Ford pointed out recently, "For all the path finding, precious little attention is being given state revenue sources which ultimately must be stretched to meet the infinitely imaginative number of old and new demands. What happens when all the study recommendations are in? A lot of them will be out-of-date before they appear in the state budget document if equal industry isn't devoted to the all-supporting tax structure."

Politicians and pot

• Smith, Eggers, and Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes are late arrivals on the drug abuse bandwagon. Now that they all have climbed on, Barnes is making the greater mileage out of the issue.

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report from washington

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HOUSE PASSES WELFARE BILL

Senate Committee Hearings Scheduled

On April 16, the House passed and sent to the Senate H. R. 16311, the Nixon Family Assistance Plan as modified by the House Committee on Ways and Means (see **Report**, Vol. II, No. 3, March 11, 1970). Following six hours of debate and acceptance of only one minor amendment, the vote was 243 in favor to 155 opposed. Republicans and Democrats broke party lines in roughly the same proportions with 103 Republicans for and 71 opposed and 140 Democrats voting "aye" and 84 voting "nay." Liberals of both parties supported the measure almost to a man while conservatives split on the issue. The House leadership of both parties backed the bill.

Opponents of the measure, whose hopes for long delay in the Committee on Ways and Means and for opposition by its leadership were rudely shattered when Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) not only reported the bill promptly but became its champion on the floor of the House, received much the same shock treatment as the bill reached the Senate. Instead of delaying consideration of the measure, Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.), Chairman of the Committee on Finance, promptly announced the following schedule for committee action on the Family Assistance Plan.

April 22: Executive session for briefing on the bill by committee staff.

April 28: Administration witnesses led by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert H. Finch.

April 29: Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz.

May 5-19: Public witnesses.

Groups wishing to testify must send requests to Tom Vail, Chief Counsel, Committee on Finance, 2227 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. 20510, to be received *not later than April 28.*

Senator Long stated that prospective witnesses "must comply with the following rules:"

(1) All statements must be filed with the Finance Committee at least two days in advance of the day on which the witness is to appear. If a witness is scheduled to testify on a Monday or a Tuesday, he must file his written statement with the committee by the Friday preceding his appearance.

(2) All witnesses must include with their written statement a summary of the principal points included in the statement.

(3) The written statements must be typed on letter-size paper (not legal-size) and at least 50 copies must be submitted to the committee.

(4) Witnesses are not to read their written statement to the committee, but are to confine their oral presentation to a summary of the points included in the statement.

Senator Long also urged all witnesses who have a common interest and a common position to consolidate their testimony and designate a single spokesman. (In some recent hearings, the Chairman has been rather sharp and abrasive in his treatment of witnesses whose testimony he found repetitious of that of earlier spokesmen.)

COMMENT

Groups strongly opposed to the Family Assistance Plan and, particularly, to its inclusion of the "working poor" will in the Senate undoubtedly continue their efforts to defeat the bill or greatly limit provisions in it. However, the size of the favorable vote in the House indicates that the Senate will be mostly concerned with proposals which are being made to amend the bill along the following lines:

1. Increase the basic benefit to $5,500 per family of four, effective immediately.
2. Acceptance of the $1,600 basic benefit but with provision for a phased-in increase up to the then-poverty level beginning two or three years after the measure becomes operable.
3. Provide for full Federal administration (and/or funding) in place of the three alternatives in the present bill.
4. Provide assurance that no welfare recipient shall receive less assistance than is currently available to him.
5. Include single adults and childless couples.
6. Relieve mothers of school-age children of work and work-training requirements.
7. Jobs paying less than the Federal minimum wage or less than the prevailing wages to be considered unacceptable.
8. No work-training requirement without a guarantee of available employment.
9. Add a Federally-financed public service job program to assure employment to both trainees and the capable unemployed.
10. Provision for automatic distribution of food stamps concurrently with cash payments and through the same administrative mechanism.
11. Provide Federal standards governing the quality of day care programs.

These are amendments sought by Senators or advocated by particular interest groups. Undoubtedly there will be more.

Mills Opposes Higher Benefits

Proponents of any such amendment will have to consider not only its intrinsic merit but also, if it necessitates increased Federal expenditures, whether they are willing to risk defeat of the entire measure should their amendment be adopted. Chairman Mills has said that he will urge the President to veto any bill which increased the $1,600 figure (though it is not clear what his reaction would be should the effective date of such an increase be postponed for several years). Rep. John W. Byrnes (Wis.), ranking Republican member of the Ways and Means Committee, speaking for himself and the Chairman, told the House "that if the other body saw fit to go beyond that [$1,600], they would face the same situation they faced on a few other occasions: We would just refuse to go to conference and there would be no legislation."

Moreover, high ranking members of the Nixon Administration were by no means united in urging the President to advocate the Family Assistance Plan. There are undoubtedly those who would regard it as a major political plus if the Administration can hold on to the credits it has won by offering a radically new approach to welfare and at the same time escape both the heavy political and financial burdens inherent in actually administering the act. They believe they can achieve the long-dreamed of feat of both having and eating their cake if the Democratic Congress now sends the President a bill sufficiently changed from the original proposal as to make plausible a veto based on "fiscal irresponsibility."

Truly, members of the Senate will have to make some difficult decisions.

?? SOCIAL SERVICES ??

COMMENT

One of the most important changes in the welfare picture which is supposed to result from the enactment of the FAP legislation is the complete divorce of welfare payments from welfare services.

Eligibility for benefits would be established and cash payments made directly by a new and separate Federal administrative entity or, by agreement with it, through State or local offices which would be similarly divorced from the rendition of social, physical rehabilitative or similar services. The service agencies and their field personnel, relieved of the roles of inquisitors, investigators and determinants of who does or does not get a welfare check, would thus be enabled to establish far more effective rapport with their clientele. Or so the plan was initially explained.

Obviously such a development could have profound effects on both public and private agencies and they, together with members of the Congress, have insistently queried the Administration as to its plans for the continuation and, presumably, improvement of the services component of the walfare picture.

The Missing Legislation

On October 15, 1969, HEW Secretary Finch told the House Ways and Means Committee what many of his associates had been telling those who had asked. "We are mindful," he said, "of the need for social and rehabilitation services as an essential corollary to an effective income maintenance program . . . *we will be sending you definite legislative recommendations in the near future*" (italics added).

There is no question but that Secretary Finch meant what he said. Since then countless man hours have been devoted to the drafting and redrafting of such legislative proposals by personnel in the Community Services Administration of HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service, in the HEW Secretary's office, in the Bureau of the Budget, and others attached to that same White House task force which had final authority in the drafting of the FAP legislation. Periodically we have been advised that a bill had been agreed upon and would be sent to the Congress promptly.

Ten days ago we were told by a very reliable authority that a bill had been drafted and settled on with only two questions still to be decided: (1) whether or not it should be introduced as an amendment to the FAP bill and (2) whether or not the President would send a special message to the Congress along with the bill. Then, on Friday last, we were told by an equally reliable source that the White House had decided that it will not submit any such legislation to the Congress.

The "Ifs"

Ordinarily the **Report** would not inflict a story of non-happenings on its readership. In this instance, however, we believe that a great many of the organizations associated with The National Assembly want to be alerted to the situation.

IF the Administration has, indeed, decided not to propose legislation in the area of social services, it is important that State and local agencies learn just how passage of the FAP bill would affect them and that they have this information before the Senate Finance Committee begins hearing public witnesses on the measure.

IF the Administration does send up a bill in the near future, there can be no guarantee that the Finance Committee will not add it as an amendment to FAP. Such a bill might well contain provisions calling for vastly different administrative arrangements at State and local levels. It would certainly have to define or redefine eligibility for services. It could profoundly change relationships between public and private agencies. It would certainly involve role-changing for State and local welfare agencies and perhaps the dissolution or radical reorganization of some. It would deeply affect social workers as individuals as well as professionally. It would raise or answer many more questions of concern to everyone interested in social welfare.

Conference Possibility

While it is admittedly unlikely that this will occur, should the Administration send up a services bill during the next few weeks, concerned organizations would have very little opportunity to analyze its implications and to take positions on it before the Senate hearings end. Therefore, in that event, The National Assembly will alert directors of national organizations by wire and call a one-day short-notice Washington conference for an explanation

of the bill by Administration spokesmen and for analysis and comment by recognized leaders in the field. If other readers would be interested in attending such a conference, *please notify us by April 30.*

Address requests to The National Assembly for Social Policy and Development, Inc., 1701 18th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20009. (Phone: 202-232-7575.)

CONGRESSIONAL TALLY

Unemployment Compensation On April 7, the Senate passed H.R. 14705, retaining those provisions affecting nonprofit organizations which the House had approved. (See **Report,** Vol. I, No. 3, Oct. 1, 1969.) However, the Senate added coverage for an estimated 100,000 handicapped "clients" of sheltered workshops and for certain farm workers and employees of institutions of higher education and of hospitals. Because of these additions and changes in other parts of the measure, a House-Senate conference will be required before the bill can be sent to the President. If the conference version passes both houses (as is likely), it will include nonprofit organizations.

Ask your Senator or Congressman for a copy of the bill, H.R. 14705, House Report 91-612 and Senate Report 91-752.

Voting Rights The Senate has passed H.R. 4249, which proposes extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Senate version differs from the House-approved bill (see **Report,** Vol. II, No. 1, Jan. 14, 1970). The Senate measure provides for (1) a five-year extension of the 1965 act, (2) a nationwide ban on literacy tests for voting, (3) uniform residency requirements in Presidential elections and (4) lowering the voting age to 18.

House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) favors the Senate-passed bill's provisions on extension of the Voting Rights Act but has stated he believes a lower voting-age floor should be considered as a Constitutional amendment. He has, however, indicated that he will accept the Senate package if the House approves it. The bill is now waiting for clearance by the House Rules Committee for floor action, which is expected shortly.

Manpower Training Both Senate and House committees are continuing to hold hearings on bills proposing revisions in manpower training programs (see **Report,** Vol. I, No. 5, Nov. 19, 1969). Despite the fact that a new manpower training program was proposed by President Nixon last August as an adjunct to the Family Assistance Plan, there is no assurance now that this session of the Congress will enact such legislation. The House Education and Labor Committee reportedly is deferring to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. The latter's Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty—whose chairman is Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.)—has a schedule of hearings to May 14, now tentatively set as the cutoff date for the sessions. If this schedule is adhered to, the parent committee could report out a bill by early or mid-June. Meanwhile, although Senator Nelson is known to be interested in sponsoring a manpower training measure spelling out a public service employment program, he has not yet introduced such a bill.

ITEM

Comment Probably the most significant item to come out of Washington in recent days is this report in the *Wall Street Journal* April 17: "The economy's real output underwent its most rapid drop in a decade in the first quarter, the Commerce Department reported, while inflation picked up speed."

The Report from Washington neither advocates nor opposes. It attempts to inform objectively as to legislative and administrative developments, to advise on sources of further information both pro and con, and to provide unbiased replies to inquiries so that its readers may better decide for themselves how such developments might affect areas of concern to them and how best to react thereto. Editor, William G. Reidy; Associate Editor, Jerry Askwith; Editorial Assistant, Vicki O'Brien.

GOV'T

The National Assembly's

report from washington

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HOUSE VOTES 5% SOCIAL SECURITY INCREASE AND AUTOMATIC COST-OF-LIVING RAISES

The House on May 21 passed H.R. 17550, the proposed Social Security Amendments of 1970, which had been reported by the House Committee on Ways and Means only seven days earlier. The House accepted the committee bill by a vote of 343 ayes to 32 nays but not until it had added a provision for automatic cost-of-living increases in social security benefit payments. This amendment, which was proposed last year by the Nixon Administration but opposed in floor debate by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.), was approved by a tally of 233 to 144.

A major provision of the bill is a five percent increase in benefit payments, to be effective January 1, 1971. At the same time, the base for the employer-employee social security tax on wages would rise from the current $7,800 a year to $9,000.

The automatic benefits increase would be effective starting in 1972. Given a three or more percent rise in living costs in any calendar year, cash benefits would increase an equivalent percentage in the following year. The amendment would also provide automatic rises in the taxable wage base as wages of workers covered under social security go up, with a computation to be made every two years.

Other principal provisions of H.R. 17550 include:

- The amount a beneficiary under age 72 could earn in a year and still be paid full social security benefits for the year would be increased from the present $1,680 to $2,000. For the next $1,200 of earnings, there would be a reduction of $1 in the recipient's benefits for each $2 in earnings. Effective date, taxable years ending after 1970.
- One hundred percent widow's and dependent widower's benefits applied for at age 65 in place of the current 82½ percent. Effective, January 1, 1971.
- Age 62 computation point for men in place of the present age 65 (it is currently age 62 for women). Effective, January 1, 1971.
- Childhood disability benefits for those disabled before age 22 in place of the existing law's age 18 requirement. Effective, January 1, 1971.
- A number of proposals designed to improve the operation and administration of the Medicare, Medicaid and Maternal and Child Health programs. The Ways and Means Committee report described them as "many relatively small modifications . . . which, while perhaps not very significant taken

singly, as a whole show great promise for making significant advances in accomplishing the goal of making these programs more economical and more capable of carrying out their original purposes."

- One of these proposals, which would be effective on the legislation's enactment date, would give the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare the authority to terminate Medicare payments for services of a supplier of health and medical services found to be guilty of program abuses. Other "modifications" include limitation on Federal payment for disapproved expenditures, the development of experiments and demonstration projects testing methods of making payments to providers of services, limits on costs recognized as reasonable, guarantee of payment for extended care services and utilization review in Medicaid.

COMMENT

Following the hearings on social security which began last October, the Committee on Ways and Means first approved a 15 percent increase in benefits which was enacted and which became effective January 1, 1970. Subsequently, the committee developed and favorably reported H.R. 16311, the revised Family Assistance Plan (see below). Having now shepherded H.R. 17550 through the House, except for conferences with the Senate on the last two items, Ways and Means is expected to devote its attention to other matters for the rest of the Congressional session.

H.R. 17550 is now pending in the Senate Committee on Finance. Hearings on it have not yet been scheduled.

The big surprise in H.R. 17550 is the automatic cost-of-living escalator clause. The idea has been around as long as the Social Security Act itself. Congress-watchers have assumed it would never be enacted into law because if increases in social security benefits become automatic, vote-seeking incumbent Congressmen will have given up a standard ploy in the search for the senior citizen vote. There is some speculation that perhaps the Congressional attitude is changing because of the counter-reaction of tax-conscious workers and employers whose social security contributions will now go up with most increases in benefits.

At any rate, if the Senate leaves this provision in the bill when it acts on the measure, it will become law. If the Senate knocks the provision out of the bill, it is probably dead for this session of the Congress, because Wilbur Mills, who is adamantly opposed to it, will be the leader of the House conferees on the measure and can scarcely be expected to put up much of a fight for it.

Write your Senator or Representative for a copy of the Ways and Means Committee report on H.R.17550. It is House Report 91-1096. Zip codes: Senate 20510, House 20515.

FAP HEARINGS ABORTED

The Nixon Family Assistance Plan, which had shot through the House of Representatives with unprecedented speed and which seemed about to repeat that performance in the Senate, came to a grinding halt on May 1, the third day of Senate Finance Committee hearings. Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert H. Finch and a battalion of aides had appeared with a persuasive statement and a series of charts purporting to show how much better FAP would be than the existing welfare program. On the very first day of hearings, however, the committee got its collective back up when the Secretary was unable to answer so basic a question as to what FAP would cost if unemployment were to rise to 4.5 percent (the Nixon Administration calculations had been based on a 3.5 percent unemployment rate). (*It is now 4.8 percent.*)

Repeated failures to satisfactorily answer other committee questions were so many that, on the second day, Sen. Fred R. Harris (D-Okla.) interrupted to say that never had he seen an Administration proposal so poorly defended by Administration witnesses. He said there were rumors around Washington to the effect that the Administration now wanted the bill defeated and asked if the Secretary and his aides were putting on an act designed to achieve that result. The obviously embarrassed Sec-

retary replied ruefully that, if they had planned to put on such an act, they never could have written so bad a script.

The committee then produced its own series of charts depicting what it called anomalies, inequities and disincentives to work which could result from enactment of FAP in its present form. Committee members contended that, in some States, given two identical families each with a family head working side by side and earning $3,000 each, the family in which the mother worked would receive income supplement but the family with a working father would not.

Other members contended that a man careful not to work more than 30 hours a week would receive more real income than a man working full time at the same job. Sen. John J. Williams (R-Del.) pointed out that a welfare family in New York, living in public housing, receiving food stamps and eligible for Medicaid, would have more real income than one with a working head earning over $8,000. And so it went.

Finch Reply Unacceptable

Secretary Finch attempted to show that such instances would be relatively few, were relatively unimportant and, in any case, could not be corrected through a welfare bill since they resulted from a melding of provisions in housing, food stamp, Office of Economic Opportunity and Medicare-Medicaid legislation.

Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long (D-La.) and Senator Williams were not buying. They insisted that if the Administration means to revolutionize welfare, it should make a real revolution: present a proposal representing a new start with all anomalies, absurdities, duplication, overlapping, contradictions and disincentives removed. The committee went into executive session; instructed Secretary Finch to meet with other agency heads to develop just such a program, and recessed the hearings indefinitely.

White House Task Force

The White House promptly announced the formation of a task force to undertake the job and opined that it would be done by May 15. About a week later, however, Daniel P. Moynihan, counsellor to the President, announced that it might take five years to rationalize the many pieces of legislation involved and the Administration would content itself with redrafting the welfare bill so as to meet as many as possible of the committee's objections.

Administration spokesmen now state that they hope to submit a redrafted bill by the first week in June and will probably send along a welfare social services bill as an amendment to it. Whether the Finance Committee will restart the hearings promptly or first turn its attention to the Social Security-Medicare/Medicaid bill, H.R. 17550, is an open question.

TO EMPLOY THE UNEMPLOYED

Manpower Training

On May 20, one day before his subcommittee concluded its hearings on manpower training proposals, Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) introduced, for himself and seven other senators, the "Employment and Training Opportunities Act of 1970." Potentially of real significance, the bill, S. 3867, would authorize an annual appropriation of $1 billion to be used to provide up to 90-percent funding for projects developed by States, counties, municipalities, other governmental units and nonprofit organizations to provide public service jobs for the unemployed.

Senator Nelson said the bill proposes "a reasonable beginning toward a truly effective national manpower policy including a public service employment program" which would meet a long-felt need for "a federally-funded program of public employment." If enacted, the legislation could provide from 150,000 to 200,000 public service jobs in the first year, the Wisconsin senator said, and they would not be what he termed "make-work" jobs. There are four to five million jobs which need to be done and which can be done by unskilled labor to help meet "the desperate need" in the nation's cities for personnel "in education, health, recreation, police, fire, conservation and sanitation," he continued.

The Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, of which Senator Nelson is chairman, will meet in executive session to consider this bill and other manpower training proposals (see **Report**, April 22, 1970, Nov. 19, 1969) early in June.

COMMENT

Some severe criticism has been directed at the Nixon Family Assistance Plan because, while it requires welfare recipients to take job training, it does not assure the availability of jobs. The Nelson bill would make a beginning for providing such assurance and represents one of the type of measures which Senator Harris said would be an essential corollary to either his welfare proposal (S. 3433, see **Report,** March 11, 1970) or the Administration's plan if the nation is to wage a meaningful attack on the welfare problem.

With its budget now in disarray and confronted with the certainty of a deficit in place of the once-hoped-for surplus, it is not likely that the Administration will look kindly on a proposal to add another billion dollars to the deficit. Congress, painfully aware of the fact that sharply decreased revenues in 1970 resulting from the current business recession may necessitate tax increases next year, will not be overjoyed at the idea of initiating a new $1 billion program which, obviously, could rapidly escalate in cost should recession turn into depression.

Nonetheless, support for such a proposal could quickly skyrocket into a major campaign issue this fall should unemployment rates continue to rise as they have in recent months. We paid little attention to the drug problem while it festered for decades in the ghetto. But when it suddenly hit suburbia — ! Similarly, we've done little meaningful to create jobs even though a two or three percent unemployment rate meant 15 to 25 percent unemployment in Black or Spanish-speaking America. With unemployment now reaching deep into aeronautical suburbia and threatening to spread to other white enclaves, positive action could quickly lead to the resurrection of the WPA, the CCC and the NYA(*) of the 1930s—which is, essentially, the Nelson proposal.

Pro or con statements on the pending manpower bills, including S. 3867, should be sent immediately to members of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty (see Committee Rosters, page 6), Room 359, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. 20510. Statements for the subcommittee record of its hearings must be filed by June 1. For copies of S. 3867, a summary thereof and Senator Nelson's explanatory remarks, write to Sen. Gaylord Nelson, Room 404, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. 20510.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Conference Report

A joint House-Senate conference committee made its report on May 5 on H.R. 14705, the proposed Employment Security Amendments of 1970, which includes extension of unemployment compensation insurance to workers in nonprofit organizations hiring four or more employees for 20 weeks or more. The conferees deleted certain provisions in the Senate-passed version of the bill (see **Report,** April 22, 1970), which would have extended coverage to (1) an estimated 100,000 handicapped "clients" of sheltered workshops and (2) certain farm workers.

The conference version of the bill has been waiting for approval by the House and then the Senate. House action may take place the week of May 25.

According to a Department of Labor spokesman, the rationale behind the conference's deletion of coverage for clients of sheltered workshops is that they primarily are recipients of vocational rehabilitation rather than full-time workers. There have been no visible indications that, when the conference report reaches the Senate, the Senate will object to this deletion. However, at least a handful of determined Senators are expressing objection to the elimination of coverage of the specified farm workers by the conference and they reportedly are prepared to rally Senate floor support to return the bill to conference on this point.

(*) Works Progress Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration.

Nonprofits Coverage Would Stay in Bill

Both the House and the Senate have agreed on the general provisions relating to nonprofit organizations and, consequently, these will be in the bill when enacted: the four workers/20 weeks eligibility with the States required to give each such organization the choice between (1) paying the State tax on the same basis as other employers and (2) reimbursing the State for unemployment benefits paid.

VOTING RIGHTS CRISIS

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-110) expires on August 6, 1970. Should the House and the Senate fail to agree on a bill to extend its life or should the President veto such a bill and corrective action not be taken in time to apply to the November elections, civil rights proponents will be gravely concerned about the developments which might then occur.

Parliamentary Diversion

The Senate has taken the House-passed H.R. 4249, strengthened its civil rights protections, added the vote for 18-year-olds and returned it to the House. Ordinarily, a bill which has passed both houses of Congress in differing versions would automatically go to a joint House-Senate conference committee which would try to resolve the differences and present each house with a compromise measure to vote up or down.

In this instance, however, civil rights proponents fear that a conference committee would be dominated by their opposition. Hence, House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), who favors the civil rights provisions in the Senate bill, will, on June 2, ask the House Rules Committee for permission to bring the Senate-passed bill before the entire House of Representatives to give it an opportunity to vote in favor of the bill as passed by the Senate. If the rule is granted and the House does vote to accept the Senate version, the measure will then go to the President for signature or veto.

COMMENT

Three Stages Deemed Critical

There will be three critical stages at which proponents and opponents of the Senate bill (see **Report**, April 22, 1970) can let their views be heard. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is urging its supporters to contact members of the House Rules Committee before June 2, asking them to support the request of Chairman Cellers. If he is successful, the Leadership Conference suggests that all House members be asked to vote in favor of H.R. 4249. And, if that succeeds, the civil rights proponents will want the White House flooded with requests that the President sign the bill. Obviously, opponents of the measure will be urging counteraction at each of the three stages.

Should the bill pass the House in its present form, there is a distinct possibility of a Presidential veto. Some anti-Administration observers believe a veto possible as part of the "Nixon Southern strategy," though cloaked in the garb of constitutionality. Some Administration supporters think a veto a possibility because they are convinced the White House really believes that extending the vote to 18-year-olds through legislation rather than through amendment to the Constitution could throw the 1972 presidential election into the courts—and precipitate a major crisis in government.

We're not placing any bets.

Communicate your pro or con opinion to members of the House Rules Committee (see Committee Rosters, page 6) and to your own Representative promptly. The telephone number for the Congress is 202-224-3121. The House Zip code is 20515.

CHILDREN'S FOOD SERVICE PROGRAMS

Public Law 91-248, signed by President Nixon on May 14, strengthens and improves the food service programs under the National School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act of 1966. As described in the conference report on the measure (House Report 91-1032), the purpose of the legislation is "to

clarify responsibilities related to providing free and reduced-price meals and preventing discrimination against children, to revise program matching requirements, to strengthen the nutrition training and education benefits of the programs and otherwise to strengthen the food service programs for children in schools and service institutions."

By authorizing the appropriation of Federal funds a year in advance, the new law gives local school boards more flexibility in budgeting for the food programs. It also assures that every child from a family whose income is below the poverty level will get a free or reduced-price lunch.

The national standard for the poverty level as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture will be used as the standard of eligibility. The conference report points out that every child from an impoverished family is to be served meals either free or at a reduced cost—not to exceed 20 cents per meal—and "under no circumstances shall those unable to pay be charged for their lunches."

Another provision in the new law increases the authorization for appropriations for the school breakfast program from $12 million to $25 million for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1970.

Write your Representative for a copy of House Report 91-1032. It includes the text of the legislation as enacted.

TAX EXEMPTIONS—RELIGIOUS PROPERTY

On May 4, the Supreme Court upheld the principle that property tax exemptions may be granted by States to religious organizations for religious properties used solely for religious purposes. It denied the contention that such exemption violates provisions prohibiting establishment of religion under the First Amendment. A very interesting 64-page presentation of the Court's reasoning (including a vigorous dissent by Justice William O. Douglas) is available.

Write to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402, for "Supreme Court of the United States, Docket No. 135—October Term, 1969, Frederick Walz, Appellant, v. Tax Commission of the City of New York." The price per copy is 30¢. Make check or money order payable to the Superintendent of Documents. Coins sent at own risk; stamps not acceptable.

COMMITTEE ROSTERS

Members are listed in order of seniority. For listing of other pertinent committees, see **Report**, January 14, 1970, and September 17, 1969.

House Rules Committee: Chairman, William M. Colmer (D-Miss.); Democrats—Ray J. Madden, Ind.; James J. Delaney, N. Y.; Richard Bolling, Mo.; Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Mass.; B. F. Sisk, Calif.; John Young, Texas; Claude Pepper, Fla.; Spark M. Matsunaga, Hawaii; William R. Anderson, Tenn.

Republicans—H. Allen Smith, Calif.; John B. Anderson, Ill.; Dave Martin, Neb.; James H. Quillen, Tenn.; Delbert L. Latta, Ohio.

Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee: Chairman, Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.); Democrats—Ralph Yarborough, Texas; Claiborne Pell, R. I.; Edward Kennedy, Mass.; Walter F. Mondale, Minn.; Alan Cranston, Calif.; Harold Hughes, Iowa.

Republicans—George Murphy, Calif.; Jacob Javits, N. Y.; Winston Prouty, Vt.; Peter Dominick, Colo.; Ralph Smith, Ill.

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The National Assembly's

report from washington

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HOUSE PASSES HEW FUNDS BILL

On July 23, the House of Representatives by a vote of 361 to 14 passed H. R. 18515, the bill making appropriations for the Department of Labor, for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and for such related agencies as the Office of Economic Opportunity. While the funds finally approved will be applicable for the fiscal year 1971, which began July 1, 1970, the measure is still the subject of hearings—as it has been for many weeks—by the Labor/HEW subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Action by the full committee and then the Senate itself is not expected before the latter part of August. This means that **Report** readers unhappy with any of the detailed provisions of the House bill as set forth below, have about two weeks in which to convey their views to their senators.

The **Special Report** dated February 4, 1970 listed selected figures in the President's budget for fiscal 1971. In acting on H. R. 18515, the House Committee on Appropriations recommended and the House agreed to vote $92.9 million more than the President had requested for the programs covered. Should the Senate accept this figure or should it appropriate even more than did the House (as it customarily does), the stage would be set for a Presidential veto and the first round of the upcoming elections may well be fought on the issue of overriding such a veto.

The major increases made by the House included $114 million above the budget for the Health Services and Mental Health Administration (mostly for hospital construction and community mental health centers) and $92.7 million above the budget for the National Institutes of Health. These increases were offset in part by a cut of $66.3 million in the Social and Rehabilitation Service budget, $50 million of which was taken from the budget for the work incentives program.

Open-Ending Wins Again

On March 11, the **Report** called attention to a sleeper in the President's budget: a proposal to limit grants to the States for social services to not more than 110 percent of the 1970 figure. This would have substituted a "closed-end appropriation" for the open-ended appropriations guaranteeing Federal matching of State and local funds, historically used to encourage local action. Because many State and other agencies entered strong protests and on the grounds that it would be discriminatory against States only now ready to expand services, the committee struck this provision from the bill. The cost of dropping this limitation is about $300 million.

Ask your Representative for House Report 19-1310. It explains the committee's reasons for cutting or increasing the budget items.

H. R. 18515 As Passed By The House

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Program	*1970 Appropriation*	*1971 Budget*	*House Bill*
Health Services and Mental Health Administration			
Mental health			
1. Research:			
(a) Grants	$85,254,000	$87,740,000	$89,600,000
(b) Direct operations	25,952,000	26,389,000	26,389,000
2. Manpower development:			
(a) Grants	118,366,000	116,350,000	116,350,000
(b) Direct operations	5,603,000	5,671,000	5,671,000
3. State and community programs:			
(a) Community mental health centers:			
(1) Construction	29,200,000	—	—
(Obligations)	(36,886,000)	(20,000,000)	(20,000,000)*
(2) Staffing	47,550,000	60,100,000	80,100,000
(b) Narcotic addiction and alcoholism programs	11,175,000	15,900,000	15,900,000
(c) Direct operations	2,453,000	2,499,000	2,499,000
4. Rehabilitation of drug abusers	16,619,000	19,640,000	19,640,000
5. Program support	11,384,000	12,367,000	12,367,000
Health services research and development	42,474,000	57,403,000	57,403,000
Comprehensive health planning and services			
1. Partnership for health grants:			
(a) Planning	20,000,000	22,000,000	22,000,000
(b) Formula	90,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000
(c) Project	73,596,000	109,500,000	109,500,000
2. Migrant health	15,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000
3. Standard setting and resource development	10,252,000	10,434,000	10,434,000
4. Program management	4,380,000	4,564,000	4,564,000
Maternal and child health			
1. Maternal and child health:			
(a) Formula grants	108,000,000	118,600,000	118,600,000
(b) Project grants	75,825,000	83,030,000	83,030,000
(c) Research and training	14,885,000	17,085,000	17,085,000
(d) Program management	3,071,000	3,109,000	3,109,000

*Obligations include monies from prior appropriations.

Program	1970 Appropriation	1971 Budget	House Bill
2. Family planning:			
(a) Grants and contracts	22,800,000	32,015,000	32,015,000
(b) Program management	—	1,500,000	1,500,000
Regional medical programs			
1. Regional medical programs:			
(a) Grants	73,500,000	79,500,000	79,500,000
(Obligations)	(78,500,000)	(94,500,000)	(94,500,000)
(b) Direct operations	1,771,000	1,812,000	1,812,000
2. Technical assistance and disease control	18,287,000	13,168,000	13,168,000
Communicable diseases	41,301,000	41,538,000	41,938,000
Medical facilities construction			
1. Construction grants	172,200,000	50,000,000	172,200,000
2. Direct loans	—	30,000,000	—
3. Interest subsidies	—	5,000,000	5,000,000
Patient care and special health services	77,443,000	79,889,000	79,889,000
National Institutes of Health			
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development	76,221,000	93,303,000	94,436,000
National Eye Institute	24,339,000	25,686,000	30,986,000
Health manpower			
1. Institutional support:			
(a) Medical, dental and related	101,400,000	113,650,000	116,350,000
(b) Nursing	7,000,000	11,000,000	11,000,000
(c) Public health	9,471,000	9,071,000	9,071,000
(d) Allied health professions	10,988,000	14,245,000	14,245,000
2. Student assistance:			
(a) Traineeships	20,670,000	22,270,000	22,270,000
(b) Direct loans:			
(1) Medical, dental, etc.	15,000,000	12,000,000	22,000,000
(Obligations)	(16,113,000)	(12,000,000)	(22,000,000)
(2) Nursing	9,610,000	9,610,000	15,610,000
(Obligations)	(12,281,000)	(9,610,000)	(15,610,000)
(c) Scholarships:			
(1) Medical, dental, etc.	15,541,000	15,000,000	15,000,000
(2) Nursing	7,178,000	17,000,000	17,000,000
3. Manpower requirements, utilization and program management	16,746,000	18,388,000	18,388,000
National Library of Medicine	19,263,000	19,769,000	19,769,000
Social and Rehabilitation Service			
Grants to States for public assistance			
1. Maintenance assistance	4,350,180,000	4,943,551,000	4,943,551,000
2. Repatriated U. S. nationals	700,000	770,000	770,000

Program	1970 Appropriation	1971 Budget	House Bill
3. Medical assistance	2,654,122,000	3,109,685,000	3,109,685,000
4. Social services	463,738,000	509,328,000	509,328,000
5. State and local training	23,264,000	25,536,000	25,536,000
6. Child welfare services	46,000,000	46,000,000	46,000,000
7. Research and training	16,980,000	17,080,000	17,080,000
Work incentives			
1. Training	85,140,000	92,750,000	61,000,000
2. Day care	16,860,000	77,250,000	59,000,000
Rehabilitation services and facilities			
1. Services:			
(a) Basic State grants	436,000,000	503,000,000	503,000,000
(b) Innovation	3,200,000	3,200,000	3,200,000
(c) Rehabilitation service projects:			
(1) Regular expansion grants	9,500,000	12,800,000	12,800,000
(2) Training in industry	450,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
(3) New careers	900,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
(4) Services for migrants	—	5,000,000	—
(5) Workshop improvement	9,906,000	11,300,000	11,300,000
(6) Initial staffing	550,000	550,000	550,000
(d) Services for the mentally retarded	23,644,000	24,790,000	24,790,000
2. Facilities:			
(a) Vocational rehabilitation facilities	2,892,000	—	—
(Obligations)	(3,233,000)	(—)	(—)
(b) Facilities for the mentally retarded	10,226,000	8,000,000	8,000,000
(Obligations)	(19,405,000)	(10,195,000)	(10,195,000)
Programs for the aging			
1. State grants	13,000,000	15,200,000	15,200,000
2. Foster Grandparents program	8,817,000	10,000,000	10,000,000
3. Research and training	5,942,000	6,800,000	6,800,000
White House Conference on Aging	(250,000)	(1,000,000)	(1,000,000)
Juvenile delinquency prevention and control	10,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000
Research and training			
1. Research and demonstrations:			
(a) Rehabilitation	20,003,000	22,360,000	26,360,000
(b) Social services	3,219,000	6,000,000	
(c) Income maintenance experiments	8,000,000	12,000,000	8,000,000
2. Training	27,700,000	27,700,000	27,700,000
3. Special centers	10,331,000	13,375,000	13,375,000

Program	*1970 Appropriation*	*1971 Budget*	*House Bill*
Social Security Administration			
1. Matching payments for supplementary medical insurance	928,151,000	1,245,282,000	1,245,282,000
2. Hospital insurance for uninsured	617,262,000	878,688,000	878,688,000
3. Retirement benefits for the uninsured	364,151,000	370,916,000	370,916,000
Other Agencies			
Office of Civil Rights	5,810,000	7,927,000	7,927,000
Office of Child Development			
1. Research and demonstrations	—	8,500,000	3,500,000
2. White House Conference on Children and Youth	400,000	600,000	600,000
3. Administration and technical assistance	1,507,000	2,355,000	1,817,000
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY			
1. Community Development Programs			
(a) Research, Development and Evaluation	$75,600,000	$118,300,000	$114,600,000
(b) Health and Nutrition Programs	155,200,000	176,800,000	195,300,000
(c) Legal Services Programs	53,800,000	63,400,000	61,400,000
(d) Community Action Operations	382,100,000	384,600,000	388,600,000
(e) Special Impact Program	36,800,000	32,100,000	37,100,000
(f) Migrant Program	30,900,000	35,500,000	35,500,000
(g) VISTA	35,000,000	38,500,000	36,500,000
2. Work and Training Programs			
(a) JOBS	47,000,000	—	—
(b) Concentrated Employment	149,400,000	123,000,000	105,500,000
(c) Public Service Careers	47,000,000	96,600,000	86,600,000
(d) In-School & Summer Programs	183,900,000	208,900,000	208,900,000
(e) Out-of-School	98,000,000	134,200,000	127,800,000
(f) Job Corps	170,200,000	180,000,000	172,000,000
(g) Operation Mainstream	41,000,000	41,000,000	41,000,000
(h) Program Support	17,400,000	18,300,000	18,300,000
3. Child Development Programs			
(a) Head Start	326,000,000	339,000,000	321,300,000
(b) Follow Through	70,300,000	69,000,000	70,400,000
(c) National Summer Youth	3,000,000	—	—
4. Rural Loan Program	9,400,000	5,000,000	9,400,000
5. General Support	16,000,000	16,000,000	16,000,000

Program	1970 Appropriation	1971 Budget	House Bill
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR			
Manpower Development and Training Activities			
1. Training and Allowance Payments:			
(a) Job opportunities in the business sector/on-the-job training..	$182,608,000	$260,000,000	$260,000,000
(b) Concentrated employment program	49,600,000	76,000,000	76,000,000
(c) Public service careers	49,000,000	35,400,000	35,400,000
(d) Institutional training	258,068,689	256,000,000	256,000,000
(e) Part-time and other training	10,084,000	10,084,000	10,084,000
(f) Disadvantaged youth program	33,900,000	—	—
2. Program Services:			
(a) Employment security services	44,892,400	50,492,000	50,942,000
(b) State institutional training services	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000
(c) On-the-job training services	1,500,000	500,000	500,000
(d) Planning and technical assistance	18,109,000	21,929,000	18,929,000
(e) Labor market information & job matching	15,934,000	29,089,000	29,089,000

A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFRONTATION

Comment

When the Congress passed the bill extending the hospital construction Act (Hill-Burton) for three years, when President Nixon vetoed the bill because it authorized an appropriation of $350 million more than his budget had called for (and for another reason discussed below), when the Congress repassed the bill over the President's veto by a vote of 279 to 98 in the House and 76 to 19 in the Senate (far more than the two-thirds needed to override a veto), the stage was set for a constitutional confrontation between the Presidency and the Congress which, when it is resolved, will carry profound implications for most of the organizations associated with The National Assembly.

Time was when, if you had in mind a program calling for the expenditure of Federal funds, your problem could be resolved in two steps. First, you and your associates worked to persuade the Congress to pass authorizing legislation. Then, there was an Act stating that, in the interest of the general welfare, the Federal Government should finance or aid in financing child care centers, mental health centers, vocational rehabilitation or juvenile delinquency programs, hospital construction or what would you. That Act did not appropriate funds for the purpose mentioned. It did *authorize* the appropriation of either X millions of dollars or "such sums as may be necessary" for that purpose in the next fiscal year or years.

Your second task then was to help persuade the appropriations committees and the Congress to actually appropriate either the full amount authorized or such lesser sums as supporters of the program thought could properly be used in that particular fiscal year. (Appropriations can be and usually are less than the amount authorized. They cannot exceed that amount.) If you were successful in securing the desired appropriation, you could relax. The program was assured and funded. Eligible

State and local agencies or organizations would submit their applications and, upon approval, the funds would be made available to them.

A Radical Change In recent years, particularly during the Eisenhower and subsequent Administrations, there has been a radical change in this picture. Success in securing a Congressional authorization and a Congressional appropriation has not carried a guarantee that the program authorized would be funded. Presidents (of both parties) have simply refused to spend the sums appropriated.

In the interest of balancing the overall national budget or because he believed a particular item in the appropriation was larger than could properly be spent in a particular year or to stabilize one facet in the economy (such as cutting back on construction) or simply because he believed a program should have a lesser priority than did the Congress, a President has instructed his administrators either to withhold grants or to hold them to amounts less than those approved by the Congress.

This new departure has led to a growing sense of frustration and of anger in the Congress which believes that it has the right and duty to determine national priorities: that the Congress shall legislate national programs and the Executive shall administer them as directed by the Congress. That sense of anger and frustration has, of course, been felt even more keenly by every group of citizens which has succeeded in winning Congressional support and financing for a program only to have the program cut down or frozen by Presidential edict.

The Issue Joined The issue has now been joined. On June 8, the Senate and, on June 10, the House voted to pass a bill, H. R. 11102, agreed upon by their conferees, to extend the life of the Hill-Burton Act for three years. On June 22, the President vetoed the bill as representing "a long step down the road of fiscal irresponsibility." He objected particularly to two items in the bill: first, an authorization for grants in fiscal 1971 some $350 million more than called for in his budget and, second, a provision stipulating that the President *must* spend such sums as might be appropriated under the Act for the construction of hospitals and mental retardation-mental health centers.

It is possible to make a case for each side of this issue. The President presented his in his veto message. The Congress was not persuaded. It promptly repassed the bill by far more than the two-thirds vote in each house required to override the veto. Now, in H. R. 18515, the House has voted to appropriate much more for Hill-Burton than was in the Nixon budget for fiscal 1971 and the Senate no doubt will concur. UPI (United Press International) reports the White House is exploring the possibility of defying the mandatory spending provision in the Act.

At issue is far more than hospitals and health centers. It is the basic question of who has the authority to order our national priorities—the Congress or TOMB (as White House staffers are now calling The Office of Management and Budget)? Will the decisions as to what percentage of our resources should be allocated to health, education and welfare, to defense, to housing, to space, to roads, to urban blight, to SSTs or rapid transit—will these all-important decisions be made by the elected representatives of the people in the Congress or by the Chief Executive and TOMB? The answer will profoundly affect us all.

A FEDERAL CHILD CARE CORPORATION

On July 20, Sen. Russell B. Long, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, which is holding hearings on the Family Assistance Plan proposals, introduced S. 4101. The bill is drafted as an amendment to the Social Security Act and undoubtedly will be considered along with the social security and FAP amendments now pending in the Senate.

The bill would create a Federal Child Care Corporation charged with constructing, maintaining and operating a wide variety of child care centers throughout the country or contracting for same with public or private bodies including profit-making organizations. Presumably self-financing and "not costing the taxpayers a penny," the corporation would get initial financing through a $500 million loan from the U. S. Treasury and could issue $50 million of its own bonds per year up to a total of $250 million.

Under the heading, "Standards for Child Care," the bill stipulates the ratio of children to "qualified staff members" in various types of facilities and then defines "qualified staff member" as meaning "an individual who has received training in, or demonstrated ability in, the care of children." Having set forth other "minimum standards," the bill then states that "any facility in which child care services are provided by the corporation (whether directly or through arrangements with other persons) *shall not be subject to any licensing or similar requirements imposed by any State (or political subdivision thereof), and shall not be subject to any health, fire, safety, sanitary or other requirements imposed by any State (or political subdivision thereof) with respect to facilities providing child care.*" (Italics added.)

Because of its sponsorship as well as its content, this bill is important.

> *Ask your Senator for a copy of S. 4101. Write to Sen. Russell B. Long, Room 217, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. 20510 (the Senate zip code) for his press release No. 69, July 20, 1970, giving his explanation of the bill.*

IN PROCESS

Bills to watch (and which will be reported on in detail subsequently as warranted) include:

H. R. 17550, increasing **social security** benefits five percent and making other changes in the Social Security Act, including revisions in Medicare and Medicaid. Passed by the House May 21, it was the subject of hearings with government witnesses by the Senate Finance Committee on July 14 and 15. Additional hearings with public witnesses are being scheduled.

H. R. 16311, the **Family Assistance Plan,** passed by the House April 16, has been presented to the Senate Finance Committee at the latter's request in "revamped" form. Administration witnesses testified July 21, 22, 23 and 28; additional hearings with public witnesses are being scheduled.

Both House and Senate are expected to receive shortly from the appropriate committees a bill which would give cease-and-desist powers to the **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission** as well as coverage to state and local employees.

H. R. 14705, the bill amending **unemployment compensation** legislation to include workers in specified nonprofit organizations, among other provisions, and which has been waiting for action since a joint House-Senate conference committee reported it May 5, has now won House approval. The vote on July 23 was 388 for and 3 against. What has been holding up action is the desire of a number of members of the Congress to put back into the bill coverage of certain farm workers, which the Senate had approved but the conference committee deleted. A move on the House floor to restore this coverage, introduced by Rep. James O'Hara (D-Mich.), was defeated July 23 by a tally of 170 ayes for the O'Hara proposal as against 219 nays. The Senate may take up the conference report the week of July 27.

A new **manpower training** bill, revising the present administrative setup and proposing public service jobs, as supported by Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.), is expected to be reported shortly to the Senate by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

S. 2108, which would vastly increase Federal Government programs in **family planning,** was approved by the Senate on July 14 and is now pending in the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. The Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare has scheduled hearings for August 3 and 4.

The **Report from Washington** neither advocates nor opposes. It attempts to inform objectively as to legislative and administrative developments, to advise on sources of further information both pro and con, and to provide unbiased replies to inquiries so that its readers may better decide for themselves how such developments might affect areas of concern to them and how best to react thereto. Editor, William G. Reidy; Associate Editor, Jerry Askwith; Editorial Assistant, Vicki O'Brien.

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The National Assembly's

report from washington

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CONGRESS RETURNS NOVEMBER 16

To the surprise of no one in the corps of Washington observers, the 91st Congress proved unable to wind up its affairs and adjourn before Election Day. Once again the Senate had permitted itself the luxury of far too many filibusters and, as a result, the Congress is in recess and is scheduled to reconvene on November 16.

It will be a lame duck Congress including those who will have lost on November 3 and not including those who will have been chosen by the electorate to replace them. The leadership on both sides of the aisle will find it difficult to control. Attendance will be a major problem. And should either House or Senate go Republican in the election (as now seems unlikely), one can expect paralysis as regards measures subject to partisan controversy.

Nonetheless, it will still be the 91st Congress and that means that bills previously considered but not yet enacted are still alive. Individuals and organizations concerned with any such now have breathing space and time in which to regroup and plan strategy aimed at securing passage or defeat of pending measures after the recess. It also means that those interested groups have from now until November 3 to try to secure commitments as to their post-recess postures from members of the Congress up for reelection.

Measures Approved In the hours before recessing on October 14, the Congress did manage to give final approval to a few measures of interest to **Report** readers, sending them to the White House for the President's signature. Included are legislative proposals involving:

- Drug abuse prevention and control
- Regional medical programs and comprehensive health planning
- Developmental disability including mental retardation

More on each of these below.

Measures Pending Still unresolved and subject to further consideration after the recess are several key issues with which the 91st Congress has been grappling. The timetable on these is uncertain. Some are still in committee in one house or the other; some are waiting for floor action. The leadership in both parties differ in their estimates of how long the lame duck session will last, with predictions on final adjournment ranging from Thanksgiving to after Christmas.

Among the pending bills of particular interest are those dealing with:

- Amendments to the Social Security Act, H. R. 17550, revising social security benefits/taxes/Medicare/Medicaid. Waiting for action by the Senate Finance Committee.
- Family Assistance Plan, H. R. 16311, House Ways and Means Committee and House-passed version of the Nixon welfare proposals. Waiting for action by the Senate Finance Committee.
- Manpower training/public service jobs. Senate passed S. 3867 on September 17, Senate Report 91-1136. House Education and Labor Committee reported H. R. 19519 on October 5, House Report 91-1557. House bill now scheduled for House floor action on November 17.
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Senate passed S. 2453 on October 1, Senate Report 91-1137. House Education and Labor Committee reported H. R. 17555 on August 21, House Report 91-1434. House bill waiting for floor action.
- "Concentration Camps—USA," repeal of Emergency Detention Act of 1950. Senate-approved S. 1872 (Senate Report 91-632) bypassed by House Internal Security Committee which reported H. R. 19163 on October 13, House Report 91-1599. House bill waiting for floor action.
- Extension of food stamp program. Senate passed S. 2547 on September 24, 1969, Senate Report 91-292. House Agriculture Committee reported H. R. 18582 on August 10, 1970, House Report 91-1402. House bill waiting for floor action.
- Appropriations for the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the 1971 fiscal year, ending June 30, 1971. President Nixon on August 11 vetoed the appropriations bill, H. R. 17548, which the Congress had approved for HUD, and the House sustained the veto. A new bill has not yet been drawn up by the HUD subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee.
- Appropriations for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity for fiscal 1971. See below for details and statistical tally.

We are taking new soundings on these legislative proposals and will shortly detail our findings in the next issue of the **Report.**

Meanwhile, ask the office of your Senator or Representative for a copy of the bills and committee reports you do not already have. The postal zip code for the Senate is 20510; for the House of Representatives, 20515.

MEASURES APPROVED

Drug Abuse Both the House and the Senate agreed on October 14 to the conference report on H. R. 18583, the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970, thus clearing the measure for the President. As approved, it represents a compromise between the initial Senate approach limited to law enforcement aspects of the drug abuse problem and the House revisions of same including more input from the scientific and medical community into the law enforcement decisions and placing increased emphasis on prevention and rehabilitation (see **Report**, Aug. 19, 1970). In general, the final version is the House-passed bill with, however, somewhat more stress on rehabilitation, treatment, education and prevention.

The measure delegates authority for the health-oriented provisions to the HEW Secretary, for control and enforcement to the Attorney General. It includes the requirement that the Secretary's recommendations on specified scientific and medical matters shall be binding on the Attorney General. The controversial "no knock" procedures in enforcement are in the measure. Most of the approved provisions are effective immediately on enactment but some of the control and enforcement sections do not go into force for seven months.

Grants for Nonprofit Agencies

The most extensive revision in the House-Senate joint conference committee was the rewriting of Title I, "Rehabilitation Programs Relating to Drug Abuse." As approved, the measure authorizes the National Institute of Mental Health to continue its newly-established division administering its programs dealing with problems of drug abuse and drug dependence. States are required to include drug abuse and drug dependence programs in their public health comprehensive plans. The authorization for and scope of project grants for narcotic addicts and drug dependent persons are increased.

New concepts proposed by the Senate when acting on the House-passed bill, such as the setting up of a National Institute for the Prevention and Treatment of Drug Abuse and Drug Dependence, which were not approved in conference, are expected to be the subject of House hearings in the next Congress.

The House-Senate conferees agreed on an appropriations authorization under Title I of $189 million for the fiscal years 1971, 1972 and 1973. The Senate had approved $190 million, the House $164 million.

Certain grants to public or nonprofit private agencies and organizations are authorized to be made by the HEW Secretary under Title I. Such grants and also contracts with other private agencies and organizations may be made for (1) the collection, preparation and dissemination of educational materials dealing with the use and abuse of drugs and the prevention of drug abuse and (2) the development and evaluation of programs of drug abuse education directed at the general public, school-age children and special high-risk groups.

The HEW Secretary is also authorized to make grants to public or nonprofit private agencies and organizations to cover a portion of the costs of specified programs for treatment and rehabilitation of narcotic addicts or drug dependent persons.

Susan

Ask your Congressman's office for a copy of the committee reports relating to this measure: S. Rpt. 91-613, H. Rpt. 91-1444 (Parts I and II) and H. Rpt. 91-1603 (conference report); also for the Public Law (unnumbered at press time) for H. R. 18583.

Extensions of Health Programs

Extensions of the regional medical and comprehensive health planning programs are included in an omnibus health measure, H. R. 17570, which the Congress approved before recessing. (See **Report**, Aug. 19, 1970.) The final version of the bill, which incorporates H. R. 18110 and includes provisions relating to an analysis of national health care plans, was written by a joint House-Senate conference committee. The conference report was agreed to by the House on October 13 and the Senate on October 14.

Both the regional medical and comprehensive health planning programs are authorized to continue to June 30, 1973. The regional medical programs are expanded to include kidney disease, with a limit of $15 million in the current fiscal year, as well as diseases related to heart disease, cancer and stroke and kidney disease. The conferees rejected a Senate amendment for expansion to other major diseases but did direct the HEW Secretary to report to the Congress his findings from a study of such expansion.

Authorized appropriations for the regional medical programs are $125 million for fiscal 1971, $150 million fiscal 1972 and $250 million fiscal 1973.

In extending comprehensive State health planning programs, the measure specifically mentions home health services and environmental health as areas within the jurisdiction of such planning. Author-

ized appropriations for grants to States for comprehensive State health planning are $15 million for fiscal 1971, $17 million 1972 and $20 million 1973.

National Health Care Plans

Programs of Federal assistance for research and demonstrations relating to health facilities and services are expanded to include home health services and are extended to June 30, 1973 with the following money authorizations: $71 million fiscal 1971, $82 million 1972 and $94 million 1973. These sums are a compromise between higher Senate and lower House recommendations. The three-year extension was proposed by the House; the Senate had recommended five years.

This part of the measure directs the HEW Secretary, as proposed by the Senate, to develop alternative plans for health care systems designed to meet adequately the health needs of the American people and also to study bills introduced in the 91st Congress proposing a national health insurance or similar plans, determining the costs of such plans and their adequacy. The Secretary's report on plans for health care systems is to be made to the Congress not later than September 30, 1971; his report on bills introduced, not later than March 31, 1971. The authorized funds for both total $2 million.

Joint Administration of Projects

The conferees resolved the problem of administration of projects funded under more than one Federal law embodied in the Public Health Service Act by adopting the Senate amendment. It provides that one Federal agency could be designated to administer financial assistance for such projects which are funded under the comprehensive health and/or regional medical and/or health services and research programs. However, no authority for a single non-Federal share requirement or for waiver of conflicting requirements specified by law or by regulations required by law would be provided (as in the House bill). Nor is there any provision for projects jointly funded by other Federal agencies.

Ask for House Reports 91-1297, 91-1312 and (conference) 91-1590, and Senate Report 91-1090; also the Public Law for H. R. 17570 when available.

Developmental Disabilities

The House and Senate bills to amend legislation in the field of mental retardation came out of the Congress as the "Developmental Disabilities Services and Facilities Construction Amendments of 1970." Authorizing continuation of the existing programs to June 30, 1973, the measure, S. 2846, expands them to include developmental disability defined as follows:

> Disability "attributable to mental retardation, cerebral palsy, epilepsy or another neurological condition of an individual found by the (HEW) Secretary to be closely related to mental retardation or to require treatment similar to that required for mentally retarded individuals, which disability originates before such individual attains age 18, which has continued or can be expected to continue indefinitely and which constitutes a substantial handicap to such individual."

The final text of the bill was written by the conference committee; its report was agreed to by the House on October 13 and by the Senate on the following day. The measure authorizes appropriations of $60 million in fiscal 1971, $105 million 1972 and $130 million 1973 for planning, provision of services, construction, operation of facilities, training and demonstrations. Specific authorization is given for grants to assist public or nonprofit private agencies in the construction of facilities providing these services to persons with developmental disabilities. The funds are to be alloted to the States under a formula based on population, the extent of the need for services and facilities and the financial need of the respective States.

A new provision, proposed by the Senate, permits the HEW Secretary to make grants under the above appropriations to public or nonprofit private agencies for projects which he judges are of special national significance in "meeting the needs of the disadvantaged with developmental disabilities or

will demonstrate new or improved techniques for provision of services for such persons." These grants will be limited to ten percent of the appropriations and they may pay up to 90 percent of the cost of the projects.

The measure also establishes, effective July 1, 1971, a National Advisory Council on Services and Facilities for the Developmentally Disabled. It will consist of 20 members, at least five of whom must represent State or local public or nonprofit private agencies responsible for services to persons with developmental disabilities.

Ask for H. Rpt. 91-1277, (conference) H. Rpt. 91-1589, S. Rpt. 91-757 and the Public Law for S. 2846 when available.

SENATE COMMITTE REPORTS HEW FUNDS BILL

H. R. 18515, the bill making appropriations for the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (*) and the Office of Economic Opportunity, which was passed by the House last July 23, was finally reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee on October 13 (S. Rpt. 91-1335). (See **Report**, July 28, 1970.) Senate floor consideration of the bill was put off until after the recess and is expected to be scheduled soon after the Congress reconvenes November 16. This means that **Report** readers who believe the Senate committee figures are too little or too much have until mid-November to let their senators know their views.

As it customarily does, the Senate committee increased a number of the appropriations totals, particularly for the Health Services and Mental Health Administration and the National Institutes of Health. A few others were cut. The committee also recommended an additional $17.7 million in the current fiscal year for Head Start, now administered by the HEW Office of Child Development in a transfer from OEO. The statistical tally following gives the details of the Senate committee actions.

Social Services Limitation

A Nixon Administration budget proposal limiting Federal payments for social services, staff training and administrative expenses, which the House Appropriations Committee rejected last July, has surfaced again in the Senate committee HEW funds bill. The Administration proposal (see **Report**, March 11, 1970) called for a limitation in fiscal 1971 on payments to the States for the specified purposes, these payments not to exceed 110 percent of the aggregate amount estimated for such outlays for fiscal 1970.

The Senate committee, in picking up the Administration proposal which was detailed in Section 208 of the budget, changed the limitation to 115 percent. It is understood that the Administration, apparently determined to try to get Section 208 adopted, made strong pleas for it to the committee.

The committee is reported to have recommended the 115 percent in place of 110 percent as a compromise in view of the expressed opposition of many State welfare and private nonprofit agencies to Section 208. It is estimated that the 115 percent would save the Federal government about $150 million in such payments to States in fiscal 1971, compared to $181 million with a 110 percent limitation. The committee states that its action would permit "a substantial number of States [to] receive their full requirement." (See page 10 for committee comments.)

Not surprisingly, the reaction of large numbers of State and local welfare people and involved voluntary organizations upon release of the committee report was instantaneous opposition. They hope for elimination of Section 208 in conference if it is not voted out on the Senate floor. Interested groups and individuals have up to mid-November to convey their views for or against this 115 percent limitation to their senators.

Ask for Senate Report 91-1335.

(*) A separate appropriation for the Office of Education of $4.4 billion was enacted in August over a Presidential veto.

H.R. 18515 As Reported by The Senate Appropriations Committee

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Program	1970 Appropriation	1971 Budget	House Bill	Senate Committee Bill
Health Services and Mental Health Administration				
Mental health				
1. Research:				
(a) Grants	$85,254,000	$87,740,000	$89,600,000	$91,600,000
(b) Direct operations	25,952,000	26,389,000	26,389,000	26,389,000
2. Manpower development:				
(a) Grants	118,366,000	116,350,000	116,350,000	116,350,000
(b) Direct operations	5,603,000	5,671,000	5,671,000	5,671,000
3. State and community programs:				
(a) Community mental health centers:				
(1) Construction	29,200,000	—	—	—
(Obligations)	(29,586,000)	(27,300,000)	(27,300,000)	(27,300,000)*
(2) Staffing	47,550,000	60,100,000	80,100,000	100,100,000
(b) Narcotic addiction and alcoholism programs	11,175,000	15,900,000	15,900,000	15,900,000
(c) Direct operations	2,453,000	2,499,000	2,499,000	2,499,000
4. Rehabilitation of drug abusers	16,619,000	19,640,000	19,640,000	19,640,000
5. Program support	11,384,000	12,367,000	12,367,000	12,367,000
Health services research and development	42,474,000	57,403,000	57,403,000	57,403,000
Comprehensive health planning and services				
1. Partnership for health grants:				
(a) Planning	19,008,000	22,000,000	22,000,000	22,000,000
(b) Formula	90,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000	90,000,000
(c) Project	73,596,000	109,500,000	109,500,000	109,500,000
2. Migrant health	15,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	17,822,000
3. Standard setting and resource development	10,252,000	10,434,000	10,434,000	10,434,000
4. Program management	4,380,000	4,564,000	4,564,000	4,564,000
Maternal and child health				
1. Maternal and child health:				
(a) Formula grants	108,000,000	118,600,000	118,600,000	118,600,000
(b) Project grants	75,825,000	83,030,000	83,030,000	83,350,000
(c) Research and training	14,885,000	17,085,000	17,085,000	17,085,000
(d) Program management	3,071,000	3,109,000	3,109,000	3,109,000
2. Family planning:				
(a) Grants and contracts	22,800,000	32,015,000	32,015,000	32,015,000
(b) Program management	—	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Regional medical programs				
(a) Grants	73,500,000	79,500,000	79,500,000	97,998,000
(Obligations)	(78,500,000)	(78,500,000)	(94,500,000)	(112,998,000)*
(b) Direct operations	1,771,000	1,812,000	1,812,000	1,812,000
2. Technical assistance and disease control	18,287,000	13,168,000	13,168,000	13,168,000
Communicable diseases	41,301,000	41,538,000	41,938,000	50,000,000

* See page 9.

Program	1970 Appropriation	1971 Budget	House Bill	Senate Committee Bill
Medical facilities construction:				
1. Construction grants	172,200,000	50,000,000	172,200,000	180,903,078
2. Direct loans	—	30,000,000	—	—
3. Interest subsidies	—	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
Patient care and special health services	77,443,000	79,889,000	79,889,000	79,889,000
National Institutes of Health				
National Cancer Institute	181,332,000	202,383,000	227,383,000	235,383,000
National Heart and Lung Institute	161,049,000	171,747,000	178,479,000	203,479,000
National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases	132,091,000	132,152,000	138,339,000	140,339,000
National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Stroke	96,320,000	96,972,000	100,807,000	115,807,000
National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases	98,231,000	99,219,000	102,249,000	102,749,000
National Institute of General Medical Sciences	148,309,000	148,376,000	166,072,000	171,072,000
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development	76,221,000	93,303,000	94,436,000	94,436,000
National Eye Institute	23,892,000	25,686,000	30,986,000	30,986,000
Health manpower				
1. Institutional support:				
(a) Medical, dental and related	101,400,000	113,650,000	116,350,000	130,350,000
(b) Nursing	7,000,000	11,000,000	11,000,000	12,500,000
(c) Public health	9,471,000	9,071,000	9,071,000	9,471,000
(d) Allied health professions	10,988,000	14,245,000	14,245,000	14,245,000
2. Student assistance:				
(a) Traineeships	20,670,000	22,270,000	22,270,000	22,870,000
(b) Direct loans:				
(1) Medical, dental, etc.	15,000,000	12,000,000	22,000,000	33,576,000
(Obligations)	(16,113,000)	(12,000,000)	(22,000,000)	(33,576,000)*
(2) Nursing	9,610,000	9,610,000	15,610,000	21,000,000
(Obligations)	(12,281,000)	(9,610,000)	(15,610,000)	(21,000,000)*
(c) Scholarships:				
(1) Medical, dental, etc.	15,541,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	15,600,000
(2) Nursing	7,178,000	17,000,000	17,000,000	17,000,000
3. Manpower requirements, utilization and program management	16,746,000	18,388,000	18,388,000	18,388,000
Research resources	62,692,000	63,701,000	66,201,000	66,801,000
National Library of Medicine	19,263,000	19,769,000	19,769,000	22,233,000
Social and Rehabilitation Service				
Grants to States for public assistance				
1. Maintenance assistance	4,350,180,000	4,943,551,000	4,943,551,000	4,943,551,000
2. Repatriated U. S. nationals	600,000	770,000	770,000	770,000
3. Medical assistance	2,654,122,000	3,109,685,000	3,109,685,000	3,109,685,000
4. Social services	463,738,000	509,328,000	509,328,000	509,328,000

* See page 9.

Program	1970 Appropriation	1971 Budget	House Bill	Senate Committee Bill
5. State and local training	23,264,000	25,536,000	25,536,000	25,536,000
6. Child welfare services	46,000,000	46,000,000	46,000,000	46,000,000
7. Research and training	16,980,000	17,080,000	17,080,000	17,080,000
Work incentives				
1. Training	85,140,000	92,750,000	73,257,000	66,257,000
2. Day care	16,860,000	77,250,000	46,743,000	31,743,000
Rehabilitation services and facilities				
1. Services:				
(a) Basic State grants	436,000,000	503,000,000	503,000,000	503,000,000
(b) Innovation	3,200,000	3,200,000	3,200,000	3,200,000
(c) Rehabilitation service projects:				
(1) Regular expansion grants	9,500,000	12,800,000	12,800,000	12,800,000
(2) Training in industry	450,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
(3) New careers	900,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
(4) Services for migrants	—	5,000,000	—	5,000,000
(5) Workshop improvement	9,906,000	11,300,000	11,300,000	11,300,000
(6) Initial staffing	550,000	550,000	550,000	550,000
(d) Services for the mentally retarded	23,644,000	24,790,000	24,790,000	36,790,000 [1]
2. Facilities for the mentally retarded	10,226,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	[1]
(Obligations)	(19,405,000)	(10,195,000)	(10,195,000) *	(—)
Programs for the aging				
1. State grants	13,000,000	15,200,000	15,200,000	15,200,000
2. Foster Grandparents program	8,817,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	11,000,000
3. Research and training	5,942,000	6,800,000	6,800,000	6,800,000
White House Conference on Aging	(250,000)	(1,000,000)	(1,000,000)	(1,000,000)
4. Retired Senior Volunteer Program	—	—	—	1,000,000
Juvenile delinquency prevention, control	10,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	15,000,000
Research and training				
1. Research and demonstrations:				
(a) Rehabilitation	20,603,000	22,360,000	26,360,000 [2]	26,360,000 [2]
(b) Social services	3,289,000	6,000,000		
(c) Income maintenance experiments	8,000,000	12,000,000	8,000,000	10,000,000
2. Training	27,700,000	27,700,000	27,700,000	27,700,000
3. Special centers	10,331,000	13,375,000	13,375,000	13,375,000
Social Security Administration				
Payments to Social Security trust funds				
1. Matching payments for supplementary medical insurance	928,151,000	1,245,282,000	1,245,282,000	1,245,282,000
2. Hospital insurance for uninsured	617,262,000	878,688,000	878,688,000	878,688,000
3. Retirement benefits for the uninsured	364,151,000	370,916,000	370,916,000	370,916,000
Other Agencies				
Office of Child Development				
1. Head Start	326,000,000	339,000,000	321,300,000	321,300,000

[1] $12,000,000 in funds for "Facilities for the mentally retarded" are included under "Services for the mentally retarded." This is consistent with the "Development Disabilities Act" passed by the Congress.

[2] Undistributed as yet.

* See page 9.

Program	1970 Appropriation	1971 Budget	House Bill	Senate Committee Bill
2. Research and demonstrations	—	8,500,000	3,500,000	5,000,000
3. White House Conference on Children and Youth	400,000	600,000	600,000	600,000
4. Administration and technical assistance	1,507,000	2,355,000	1,817,000	1,817,000
Office for Civil Rights	5,810,000	7,927,000	7,927,000	8,874,000
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR				
Manpower Training Activities				
Training and Allowance Payments:				
(a) Job opportunities in the business sector/on-the-job training	229,608,000	260,000,000	260,000,000	260,000,000
(b) Concentrated employment program	199,000,000	199,000,000	192,440,000	192,440,000
(c) Public service careers	96,000,000	132,000,000	126,800,000	126,800,000
(d) Institutional training	245,000,000	256,000,000	256,000,000	256,000,000
(e) Part-time and other training	10,084,000	10,084,000	10,084,000	10,084,000
(f) Disadvantaged youth program	76,400,000	—	—	—
(g) Job Corps	170,200,000	180,000,000	170,390,000	170,390,000
(Direct program)	(120,383,000)	(138,855,000)	(134,658,000)	(134,658,000)
(Program support)	(36,571,000)	(31,445,000)	(26,717,000)	(26,717,000)
(Capital)	(13,246,000)	(9,700,000)	(9,015,000)	(9,015,000)
(h) In-school	62,400,000	62,400,000	59,100,000	59,100,000
(i) Summer	121,500,000	146,500,000	138,670,000	138,670,000
(j) Out-of-school	98,000,000	134,200,000	127,000,000	127,000,000
(k) Operation Mainstream	41,000,000	41,000,000	38,800,000	38,800,000
Program Services:				
(a) Employment security services	44,892,400	50,492,000	50,492,000	50,492,000
(b) State institutional training services	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000
(c) On-the-job training services	1,500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000
(d) Planning and technical assistance	18,109,000	21,929,000	18,929,000	18,929,000
(e) Labor market information and job matching	15,934,000	29,089,000	29,089,000	29,089,000
(f) Jobs for veterans	—	—	—	200,000
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY [3]				
1. Community Development Programs				
(a) Research, Development and Evaluation	75,600,000	118,300,000	114,600,000	114,600,000
(b) Health and Nutrition Programs	155,200,000	176,800,000	195,300,000	195,300,000
(c) Legal Services Programs	53,800,000	63,400,000	61,400,000	61,400,000
(d) Community Action Operations	382,100,000	384,600,000	388,600,000	388,600,000
(e) Special Impact Program	36,800,000	32,100,000	37,100,000	37,100,000
(f) Migrant Program	30,900,000	35,500,000	35,500,000	35,500,000
(g) VISTA	35,000,000	38,500,000	36,500,000	36,500,000
2. Rural Loan Program	9,400,000	5,000,000	9,400,000	9,400,000
3. General Support	16,000,000	16,000,000	16,000,000	16,000,000

[3] Reflects transfer of work and training activities to the Department of Labor and child development programs to HEW.

* Obligations include monies from prior appropriations.

SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE REPORT COMMENTS ON SOCIAL SERVICES LIMITATION

Following is the text of the comments in the Senate Appropriations Committee report (S. Rpt. 91-1335) on Section 208:

> One of the most controversial items in the budget is Section 208 of the general provisions, which would limit Federal payments for social services, staff training and administrative expenses to 110 percent of the aggregate amount spent by each State for these purposes in 1970. In other words, Federal matching would be limited to a ten percent increase per State for these purposes in 1971.
>
> Many of the State welfare agencies have expressed opposition to this provision, and the House did not include Section 208 in its bill.
>
> This Committee has heard extensive testimony from [HEW] Department witnesses and held discussions with Department staff concerning the implications of this provision. It does impose constraints on many State welfare agencies; on the other hand, the latest State estimates indicate that it would save the government $181,000,000 in 1971. (When the budget was prepared last fall and at the time of House hearings, savings were estimated to be only $45,000,000.)
>
> The Administration's principal defense of Section 208 rests on the concept that welfare services, staff training and administrative expenses cannot be justified as an uncontrollable "open-ended" appropriation. The Committee agrees with this concept and believes that this is indeed an area where welfare costs can and should be controlled without penalizing persons in need. The Social Service provisions of the proposed Family Assistance Act would close the end on Federal payments for these services. While consideration is being given in legislative channels to closing the end, the Committee agrees that there is a convincing argument for constraining the expansion of such services; especially since one of the bill's objectives is to equalize the level of services among the States. If we permit costs to rise indiscriminately, this will increase the disparity between the States.
>
> After carefully weighing all of the arguments both for and against the proposal, the Committee has concluded that these types of welfare costs should be controlled and has, therefore, restored the provision with a limit of 15 percent over the 1970 level rather than the more restrictive ten percent limit as proposed by the Administration. In taking this action a substantial number of States will receive their full requirement.

GETTING IN YOUR TWO CENTS WORTH

We presume that the phrase "your two cents worth" originated sometime before 1900. At any rate, we have been surprised to learn that many of our readers are unaware of the fact that today it only costs 90 cents to register your opinion with the President, the Vice President, members of the Congress, governors or members of a State legislature. And, by telegram!

Just boil your message down to 15 words or less. Your name address and those of the addressee go for free. To get the special rate you must remember to tell the Western Union operator that you are sending "A Personal Opinion Message." (Not applicable in Hawaii or Alaska.)

The **Report from Washington** neither advocates nor opposes. It attempts to inform objectively as to legislative and administrative developments, to advise on sources of further information both pro and con, and to provide unbiased replies to inquiries so that its readers may better decide for themselves how such developments might affect areas of concern to them and how best to react thereto. Editor, William G. Reidy; Associate Editor, Jerry Askwith; Editorial Assistant, Vicki O'Brien.

BA

MEDICAL CARE-GEN.

Hospital Unit Lists Health Plan for All, At 'Reasonable' Cost

11/24/70

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

CHICAGO—The American Hospital Association unveiled a national health care plan that would do away with the need for Medicare and Medicaid and that the association said would give improved health care to all at a "reasonable" price.

The new plan, known as "Ameriplan," differs from current ideas for national health insurance in that it provides not only a means of financing the care, but a new way of delivering it through reorganization of existing health facilities.

The basic innovation is an organization called a health care corporation, which would have responsibility for providing health maintenance, primary care, specialty care, restorative care and health-related custodial care to a defined geographical area or population. A city like Chicago might have five or six of these health care corporations and there could be as many as 400 nationally.

These health care corporations would bring together the health care management, personnel and facilities of a given community or region into a corporate structure. They would be formed by an agreement or merger of existing health providers or as a local government authority or private corporation.

Everyone would be encouraged to register at a health care corporation, although persons wouldn't be required to join. Registrants would receive a continuing program of health maintenance, continual availability of physician services, round-the-clock emergency services, essential ambulatory, diagnostic and treatment services, and continuity of care through ambulatory care centers.

Annexation Dispute Ends In Cobb City

Journal-Ga

Atl Journal

3-22-71

An annexation battle in Powder Springs has been settled with the agreement of the contractor to build more expensive homes on the land in question, city officials reported.

The controversy arose after N. E. Anderson proposed to build relatively low-cost housing on 12,000-foot lots in a 19-acre plot.

After numerous citizens protested at the last city council meeting, Anderson agreed to enlarge the lots to 20,000 square feet and to meet other demands from the citizens, city officials said.

"It was all a lot of misunderstanding," Mayor Roy C. Kellett Jr., said.

He said the problem has been resolved and that officials of the Cobb County city will contact Gov. Jimmy Carter "immediately" to request his signature on the annexation bill.

It was reported that Carter would delay signing the bill until a local agreement was reached.

City Clerk P. L. Green said Monday that Anderson's employes were resurveying the land Monday morning to enlarge the lots. He said he also had received a contract proposal which includes all the items of the compromise.

12-14-70 Atl Journ

Enact Family Aid Now, Nixon Asks

WASHINGTON (AP) — Branding the welfare system "a consuming, monstrous, inhuman outrage," President Nixon has called for passage of his Family Assistance Plan before Congress adjourns.

"For the Senate to adjourn without enacting this measure would be a tragedy of missed opportunity," Nixon said Sunday night as he opened the once-a-decade White House Conference on Children.

The legislation, which would set an income floor for a family of four at $1,600 a year, has been passed by the House but is mired in the Senate.

"In terms of its consequences for children," the President said, "I think it can fairly be said to be the most important piece of social legislation in our nation's history."

In his speech, Nixon also said the federal government cannot solve all the problems hampering the welfare of the nation's 55 million children.

"We shall do our best to meet our responsibility in those areas where the federal government can best do what needs to be done," he said.

"But I would also stress that equally and often more important is what states and communities do, and the school and the church and the family, the mass media, voluntary organizations and each of us as individuals. For the child is not raised by government. The child is raised by his family. His character is shaped by those people he encounters in his daily life."

But before Nixon's appeal for support, doubt was expressed by several hundred delegates that any plans put forth this week will obtain much action by the administration.

In an unscheduled gathering just before the formal opening, concerned representatives expressed dissatisfaction about the conference set-up and doubt that recommendations would be taken seriously.

A letter to conference Chairman Stephen Hess, read at the open meeting, stated:

"You cannot be unaware that every delegate to this conference has had to measure his personal investment of time against the public impression that the present administration is unresponsive to reports from citizens' bodies."

Many delegates, said Mrs. Richard M. Lansburgh, president of the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc., "lack confidence that their hard won recommendations will ever receive serious presidential attention."

Hess declined an immediate response to the dissidents.

The open meeting, attended by some 600 of the 4,000 delegates, passed resolutions condemning leaders of the conference "for their refusal to invite active citizen participation in the planning."

HAD IT WITH HEAT-CURED TOBACCOS?
fresh-air-cured tobaccos

HEATING SERVICE

6-30-71

Susa

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Jackson-Hinds Comprehensive Health ~~Service~~ Center
P.O. Box 3437
Jackson, Miss. 39203

APPLCATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP. 4. ELIGIBILITY OF APPLICANT

(This form is to be filled in by the applicant agency's counsel.)

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY

Tri County Community Center

DO NOT FILL IN *(For Administrative Use)*

4.1 TYPE OF APPLICANT

☐ PUBLIC

☒ PRIVATE NONPROFIT

4.2 PUBLIC AGENCY *If public, indicate whether applicant is an agency of:*

☐ STATE(S) ☐ COUNTY(IES) ☐ CITY(IES) ☐ INSTITUTION(S) OF HIGHER EDUCATION *(See Item 4.3 for definition)*

☐ TRIBAL COUNCIL(S)

OTHER *(Specify)*

If applicant is a public agency, proceed to Item 4.7; do not answer Items 4.3 through 4.6.2.

4.3 INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

☐ *Check here if applicant is an institution of higher education as defined in Section 401(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1963, Public Law 88-204. If this is the case, proceed to Item 4.7; do not answer Items 4.4 through 4.6.2.*

Was the institution in existence prior to August 21, 1964? ☐ YES ☒ NO

4.4 PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION

If applicant is a private nonprofit organization other than an institution of higher education, answer all of the following questions.

4.4.1 NONPROFIT STATUS

Has the applicant received a ruling from the Internal Revenue Service that it is tax-exempt and capable of receiving tax-deductible contributions? ☐ YES ☒ NO

4.4.2 *If the answer to Item 4.4.1 is "YES", give date of ruling by the Internal Revenue Service:*

DATE _____

4.4.3 *If the answer to Item 4.4.1 is "NO", has such a ruling been applied for?* ☐ YES ☒ NO

If "YES", give date of application for ruling: DATE _____

4.4.4 *If the above-described ruling has not yet been granted by the Internal Revenue Service, do you certify to the best of your information and belief that the applicant qualifies for such a ruling?*

☒ YES ☐ NO

4.4.5 NONPOLITICAL

IS APPLICANT A POLITICAL PARTY?

☐ YES ☒ NO

4.5 CORPORATE STATUS

INCORPORATED	IF YES, GIVE DATE AND STATE OF INCORPORATION	IF NO, GIVE DATE OF ORIGIN
☒ YES ☐ NO	Mississippi, September 11, 1967	

4.6 CONCERN WITH POVERTY

4.6.1 PRIOR CONCERN *Has the applicant agency had a concern with problems of poverty prior to the submission of this application?*

☒ YES ☐ NO

If the answer is "YES", attach a statement describing the date on which this concern began, the way in which it has been expressed, and any results that have been achieved through such concern.

4.6.2 SPONSORSHIP *Is the applicant agency sponsored by a public agency or by a private institution or organization with a prior concern with problems of poverty?*

☐ YES ☒ NO

If so, attach a statement describing the sponsoring agency, institution, or organization and the nature of its sponsorship. A letter or resolution from the sponsoring agency should be included, expressing its agreement to be a sponsor of the applicant agency. Where the sponsor is a private institution or organization, the statement should include a description of its prior concern with problems of poverty. (See Item 4.6.1 above.)

4.7 CERTIFICATION OF AUTHORITY

I, the undersigned, as a duly licensed attorney at law, hereby certify that to the best of my information and belief, the applicant agency has the authority, under applicable principles of law, to carry out the program described in this application.

TYPED NAME OF COUNSEL

Eddie H. Tucker

SIGNATURE

Eddie H. Tucker

ADDRESS

121 North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

(4.6.1)

That prior concern with poverty began/July 1, 1966 and that the area of intents, concentration was in the Second Judicial District of Hinds County, Mississippi, i. e. Edwards, Bolton and Terry, Mississippi.

COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY	GRANT NO.
Tri-County Community Center	
PROGRAM ACCOUNT TITLE	PROGRAM ACCOUNT NO.
PROJECT TITLE(S)	PROGRAM YEAR 1970, July, 1
Jackson-Hinds Comprehensive Health Center	END DATE: June 30, 1971

	PAGE NO.
I. PURPOSE:	
a. What problems will you deal with in the program account?	1
b. What are the objectives of the program account and what benefits should result from its operation?	4
c. Why do you believe these results can be achieved?	9
II. PARTICIPANTS	
a. How many people are potentially eligible to take part in the program account?	7
b. What percentage of those eligible will participate?	7
c. How will the poor and target area residents learn about and be recruited for the program?	14
d. What are the selection criteria?	2
III. PROGRAM	
a. What activities will be carried out in the work program?	9
b. What major steps will be taken to carry out the work program?	9
c. What are the strengths and weaknesses of your current program?	NA
d. What changes are you proposing in this work program as compared with your current program?	NA
e. How will participants in one activity be referred to other activities or programs?	10
f. What follow-up activities will assist participants upon completion of the program?	14
g. How will other members of the participant's family be involved in the program account or other programs?	9 & 26
h. What facilities are needed for the operation of the program and where are they located?	10 & 9
i. What transportation is required and how will it be provided?	3 & 4
j. What new equipment is needed?	
k. What problems do you foresee in carrying out the program?	1
l. How would you change the program under an expanded or reduced budget?	7 & 8
IV. RESIDENT PARTICIPATION	
a. What are the functions and responsibilities of policy advisory groups set up for the program?	6
b. How are members of policy advisory groups selected?	6
c. What ideas of the poor and target area residents have been included in the work program?	9-12

PROGRAM ACCOUNT TITLE	GRANT NO.

IV. RESIDENT PARTICIPATION *(Continued)*	PAGE NO.
d. How will the poor and target area residents influence the program while it is being carried out?	4
e. What assistance will target area groups and neighborhood based organizations have to help them express their needs and interests related to the program and to administer programs directly?	4
V. ADMINISTRATION	
a. If all or portions of the program account are delegated, why did you decide to delegate?	NA
b. How will you advertise for, recruit and select staff?	
c. What functions once performed by professionals will be assigned to nonprofessional employees as a result of reassessment of professional job requirements?	31
d. How will nonprofessional employees be helped to advance to higher level positions within the program?	31
e. How will nonprofessional employees be helped to gain employment with agencies other than the CAA?	31-32
f. What volunteer services are required in the program?	23 & 14
g. How will volunteers be recruited?	
h. What consultant or technical assistance will be needed?	31-32
i. What staff training will be provided?	31-32
VI. COORDINATION	
a. Checkpoint procedures have been followed and forms are: [ ] ATTACHED [X] NOT ATTACHED *(If not explain)*	
b. What other agencies in the community are dealing with problems related to the program account?	22-23 & 14
c. What arrangements do you have with these agencies to coordinate their programs with the activities of the program account?	
d. How have you encouraged other agencies to provide or help finance activities of the program account?	
e. What changes in approaches to poverty problems do you foresee as a result of the operation of the program account?	4
VII. EVALUATION	
a. How will the effectiveness of the program be evaluated?	18
b. How will recommendations for improvement be put into effect?	19
VIII. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS	
a. Provide other information you consider important in describing the purpose and operation of the program account.	

COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH SERVICES SUPPLEMENTARY WORK PROGRAM

COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY	GRANT NO.
Tri- County Community Center	
PROGRAM ACCOUNT TITLE	PROGRAM ACCOUNT NO.
Comprehensive Health Services	41
PROJECT TITLE(S)	PROGRAM YEAR July 1, 1970
Jackson-Hinds Comprehensive Health Center	END DATE: June 30, 1971

I. PURPOSE	PAGE NO.
d. What is the latest local information available on health indices, such as infant and maternal mortality, tuberculosis, chronic disability, hospitalization?	1
e. What information is available on the adequacy and shortcomings of health resources and services in the neighborhood or area?	2
II. PARTICIPANTS	
e. What are the geographic boundaries of the neighborhood or area to be served? *(Include census tract numbers)*	9-10
f. What is the latest estimate of the total eligible population in the target area?	7-8
g. Will any persons served by the program be charged for services? If so, include schedule of fees or methods of prepayment. How were these policies decided?	7-8
h. How do the proposed fees relate to the actual cost of the services provided?	7-8
III. PROGRAM	
m. At what hours are the various services offered?	12
n. What are the specific arrangements for services not provided at the Center, i.e., in-patient care, home care, etc.? How is continuity of care achieved? Do the Center's physicians have appropriate staff privileges or faculty appointments?	20
o. What kind of outreach services will be provided? How are these activities integrated with the health care services?	14
p. What arrangements encourage continuing personal relationships between staff and patients?	9-10
q. What type of record system is used? Are there family records? Does the record system facilitate continuity of care?	15
r. What mechanisms are directed at maintaining and furthering quality of care?	31-32
s. Are there plans for additional space in the present or other facilities? If so, how will these arrangements meet the requirements of Appendix B of the Program Guideline?	8
V. ADMINISTRATION (Including Manpower Development)	
j. What is the relationship between the various units of the program? *(Submit an up-to-date organizational chart)*	15-17
k. What are the proposed ratios of physicians and dentists to eligible population? *(See Table I)*	
l. What is the proposed ratio of supporting personnel to population?	
m. What is the basis for setting staff salaries?	Prevailing local salaries scale.
n. Are there any special policies governing physician income, including income from other sources?	Yes
o. How much time of full-time professional personnel will be devoted to teaching, research or other duties?	31-32
p. What is the role of medical, dental, nursing, and other students, including interns and residents?	10-13
q. What is the current nature and status of the training program for neighborhood residents and what changes are are planned? How are trainees selected? What have been the most notable experiences to date? What has been the experience with respect to turnover, placement and career advancement?	31-32

VI. COORDINATION	PAGE NO.
f. What are the extent of participation and nature of attitudes of the following groups in the development of the program and application: 1. local medical association 2. local hospitals 3. local and State health departments 4. local and State welfare departments 5. local and State mental health agencies 6. voluntary health agencies 7. local regional and State planning agencies 8. other key or area community agencies serving the neighborhood	
g. What arrangements are completed or planned for coordination with the following programs: 1. State "Medicaid" Program *(Title 19)* 2. "Medicare" Program *(Title 18)* 3. Maternal and Infant Care Program 4. Children and Youth Programs 5. "Partnership for Health" Program 6. Regional Medical Program 7. Community Mental Health Programs 8. Vocational Rehabilitation Programs 9. FHA Group Practice Loan Guarantee Program	15, 22, 12, 14
h. What proportion of the population to be served is potentially eligible under the Title 18 and 19 programs? *(Submit copy of fees schedule)*	50%
i. What are the current rates of reimbursement?	
j. What assistance is provided to help neighborhood residents qualify for medical and other assistance?	11
k. What specific relationships will be established for working with other OEO/CAP programs, e.g., Head Start, Legal Services, Manpower Development?	11
l. Have there been any major recent changes in other health, welfare, recreational or other social services in the area? Inactment of	Title 19
VII. EVALUATION	
c. Have special efforts been undertaken or planned to collect base line data for evaluation?	18
d. What special research or evaluation activities have been undertaken or planned? *(Include activities to be funded from all sources.)*	26
e. What activities have been undertaken or planned to determine neighborhood residents' attitudes and satisfaction concerning the health services provided?	18
f. List published reports on the progress of the program. Attach a copy of each.	NA

VIII. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

b. Complete the following table:

TABLE I

EMPLOYED STAFF AS OF *(Date)* July 1, 1970

STAFF	FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	NUMBER	NEIGHBOR-HOOD RESIDENT	BY CENTER
MEDICAL STAFF						
GENERAL PRACTITIONER		3	0	3		
INTERNIST			1	1		
OB/GYN			1	1		
OTHER PHYSICIANS		2	8	10		
CLINICAL REGISTERED NURSES		3		3		
PUBLIC HEALTH REGISTERED NURSES		1		1		
DENTAL STAFF						
DENTISTS		4		4		
DENTAL SPECIALIST			1	1		
DENTAL HYGIENISTS		3		3		
ALLIED HEALTH STAFF						
PHARMACISTS		1	1	2		
SOCIAL WORKERS		2		2		
ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF		5		5		
OTHER						
OTHER HEALTH RELATED STAFF						
LICENSED PRACTICAL NURSES		6		6		
FAMILY HEALTH WORKERS		10		10		
X-RAY TECHNICIANS		3		3		
LABORATORY TECHNICIANS		1		1		
DENTAL TECHNICIANS		0		0		
OTHER *(Identify)*						

WORK PROGRAM

I. Purpose:

To develop a multi-speciality group practice to provide comprehensive health services to the low income population of Jackson and Hinds County, Mississippi.

a. Problem

The health status of the poor citizens of Jackson and surrounding Hinds County can be described as extremely poor. In 1967, the infant mortality rate in Hinds County, for example, was among the highest (36 per 100 live births) of all counties in the state. The maternal death rate in Hinds County in 1967 was 17/10,000 births. The state itself has the highest infant mortality rate in the nation, being 64% higher than the national average. Access to health care in Hinds County is hindered by every barrier possible - poverty, indifference on the part of medical providers towards the poor, lack of transportation, poor communication, lack of education, little awareness and suspicion of those limited services available, rural isolation, shortages of health manpower and facilities, inefficient organization of health delivery systems, little or no out reach or counseling, and crisis and disease-oriented care. In a real sense, each of these barriers is a major cause of morbidity and mortality in Hinds County.

Hinds County, Mississippi, is located in the west central part of the state. Its 877 square miles includes a population of 235,000 (1970 projected), with 175,000 living in Jackson, the state capitol and only large city in the county. Forty percent (40%) of the population is black. (See exihibit I for more information on population)

in 1966, according to the Social Security Administration guidelines, 11,550 families of a total of 57,170 families in Hinds County did not have enough income to provide for their subsistance. The residents of Hinds County received no reported per capita disposable income in 1962. Per Capita disposable income during the same period was $2,059 for the United States as a whole and $1,222 for the State of Mississippi. At the same time, Medicaid in Mississippi covers only 14,000 people in the county.

There are eight (8) physicians outside the city of Jackson in Hinds County serving the 40,000 rural residents or a ratio of 20 physicians/100,000 population compared to 86/100,000 in Mississippi and 142.9/100,000 in the United States as a whole (based on data gathered by the Department of Health Education and Welfare, 1962). The doctors per capita in Hinds County ranked lower than 96% of all counties in the United States.

Health facilities are likewise inadequate. There were 886 hospital beds in the county in 1962 or 244.8 beds per 100,000 population compared to the State rate of 321.0 and the total United States rate of 380.0 beds per 100,000 persons. Hinds County has fewer hospital beds per capita than seventy-one percent (71%) of the counties. Tens of thousands of Hinds County citizens cannot be admitted to a hospital even when beds are available, because they cannot afford to pay for hospital services.

Since most of the medical facilities are concentrated in Jackson at the eastern border of the county, getting to the facility and follow-up care for the rural residents is a major barrier to health. The difficulty of distance is compounded by the fact that few of the rural families can afford private

modes of transportation. There is no public transportation outside of Jackson in Hinds County. As a result, people in the isolated communities wait until the pain is so great or the disease process so far gone that there is no other alternative but to try and somehow make it to Jackson. By then, it is often too late to do anything for the problem.

Distance is a two-way street. While it is difficult for people outside Jackson to get to services, sufficient services, at present, are also not brought to the people - and not just health services. The people living outside Jackson are shut of/from information so that too often they are unaware of the little that is available, of what they can do at home to improve their health, of what preventive medicine can offer, and so on.

In an area where resources are scarce and precious, inefficient organization of health services means fewer people are being served than could be. There is at present, no multi-speciality group practice in Hinds County. The fragmented, crisis and disease-oriented care that characterizes the general, overworked health delivery system of the county, and which is a by-product of all the above problems, produces a mortality all its own. It also produces yet another barrier; people who have been through the system and recognize its shortcomings are reluctant to return. Their suspicion is compounded by a lack of any mechanism by which they can affect the organization or priorities of the services they are delivered of.

Heart disease is listed as the major cause of death in Hinds County, Mississippi (Public Health Statistics, Mississippi State Board of Health,

Jackson, Mississippi 1966). But it is possible, though it is not even listed, that barriers to health care that exist might well be the real leading cause of death.

b. Objectives

It is the objective of this proposal to overcome or eliminate the barriers to health care and to intervene in the continuing cycle of poverty and ill-health that exists in Jackson and rural Hinds County by:

1. developing a multi-speciality group practice that offers to the citizens of Jackson and Hinds County a primary-care health program of high quality with a wide scope of comprehensive health services. These services are to include ambulatory, home care, and hospital care in general medicine, preventive medicine, pediatrics, surgery, obstetrics and gynecology, psychistry, dentistry, social services, nutrition, health education and community organization, group work and others as required.

2. developing mechanisms by which the program would be truly available to all those in the designated area, particularly those who cannot presently afford health care and those who live in the isolated rural communities of Hinds County by establishing a transporation system for those who need it and satellite clinics (1 to 3) in key areas of the county.

3. allocating resources and developing the program in accordance with needs and priorities as established by the cooperative efforts of consumers, medical professionals and non-professionals. Consumer participation will be stimulated through community organization and development of local health associations operating structured programs of their own.

4. establishing nutritional training and counseling for participants to assure at least a minimally adequate diet for every member of the families involved. This will include implementation of Department of Agriculture Food Programs, indentification and certification of eligible food stamp participants, and home economics training programs to assure the efficient storage and use of food - all in coordination with clinical and other services.

5. educating the population to fully and appropriately utilize the services of this health care system. Neighborhood residents will be trained as Health Aides and will help integrate participants into the system through the use of health education techniques and general supportive services.

Board of Directors

The governing board of the project will be made up of eighteen (18) members, six of whom will be consumers (those eligible to receive free services). The remaining twelve will be made up of business, professional, religious, civic and medical personnel who have shown prior concern for the problems of the poor. There will be at least three physicians as members of the board. The six consumer members will be elected by the population to be served and will serve staggered terms of one, two and three years, two members being replaced each year. The remaining twelve members will initially be appointed by the developers of this project and will also serve staggered terms of one, two and three years. Subsequent to this initial appointive procedure, these twelve members will elect four replacements each year during the same time the consumer representatives are elected.

The board will serve as a policy making body and will assist the staff in planning for the development and delivery of health services. The board in no way will interfere with the professional duties of the practitioner or the patient-doctor relationship.

Population To Be Served

1. According to the best available data there are approximately 40,000 poor people in Jackson and Hinds County who meet the OEO Guidelines. Because of the present shortage of available professional staff (physicians and dentists) only 12.5% or 5,000 people will initially be able to receive medical care and another 5,000 will be phased in by the end of the first year using part time local physicians on a fee per session basis.

2. Of the population to be served, eighty per cent (80%) will receive full benefits completely free. Through careful surveys, it is found that 15% of the patients (near poor) already being served by local physicians who will work with the project could receive services on a sliding scale basis and five percent (5%) could pay the full cost of services. It is deemed essential that this last group of patients be allowed to participate in the project since they would be without those physicians who have provided their basic health needs over the past several years once these physicians become involved full time with the project. It is also felt that the center and its patients would benefit from servicing on economically "diverse" population though placing major emphasis on the poor. The paying patients will be incoporated into the total program on a prevailing fee for service basis and will receive full benefits of the project.

3. Since the major burden of receiving health care lies with those in rural Hinds County, eighty percent (80%) of those to be served will be selected from that area and the remaining twenty percent will be selected from the City of Jackson. The following is an approximate break-down of the population to be served:

			Full Benefits	Sliding Scale	Fully Paying
Jackson	Whites Total	6,000			
	To be served	300	240	45	15
	Non Whites Total	22,000			
	To be served	1,700	1,360	255	85
Hinds County	Whites Total	2,000			
	To be served	1,325	1,060	199	66
	Non Whites Total	10,000			
	To be served	6,675	5,340	1,001	334
TOTAL ELIGIBLE		40,000			
Total To Be Served - Jackson -		2,000	1,600	300	100
Total To Be Served - Hinds County -		8,000	6,400	1,200	400

4. As the staff (professional) increases and we move from our temporary facilities into our permanent facilities, we plan on phasing in the total eligible population into the program. (The governing board will have the primary responsibility of establishing program priorities.)

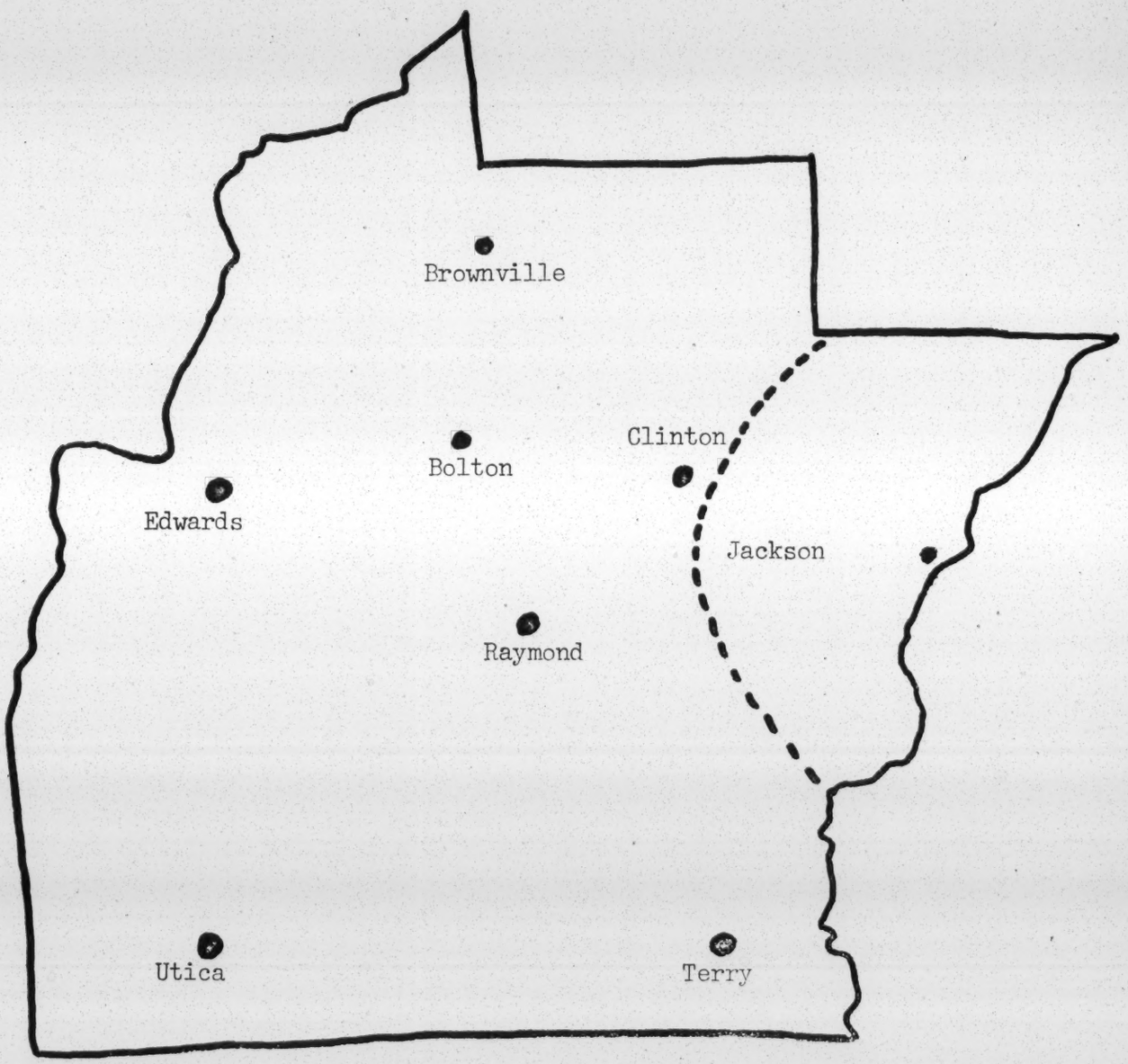
PROGRAM

The team approach is to be the ultimate goal of the project, however, due to the limited staff available initially, a modified team approach will be developed.

The facilities will consist of a primary site to be located in Jackson with two satellite clinics in the counties. The primary site will provide comprehensive health care consisting of: 1. acute care, 2. x-ray and laboratory, 3. preventive health services, 4. psychiatric and psychological services, 5. comprehensive home care for the chronically ill and other home health services, 6. dental care. 7. drugs, 8. emergency food services. There will be extensive nutritional training in conjunction with the above named services.

Two satellite clinics will be located in the rural area of Hinds County (see map) and will serve primarily as an emergency, acute care, and screening station, as well as a bases for home care, transportation and outreach services. Pre-packaged drugs will be dispensed as well as food through the emergency food program. Dental services (acute care and screening) will be offered on a part-time basis. Nutritional and health education and social services will be provided along with the regular medical and dental services.

The medical services provided by physicians will consist of: 1. general practice, 2. internal medicine, 3. pediatrics, 4. surgery, 5. obstetrics and gynecology, 6. orthopedics, 7. urology, 8. psychiatry, 9. radiology and 10. ophthalmology.


Brownville
Bolton
Clinton
Edwards
Jackson
Raymond
Utica
Terry

The initial health team will consist of:

1. Two general practitioners, one pediatrician: To provide diagnosis and treatment at the health center and admission with full work-up and day by day care fo any participating patient at one of two hospitals in the community as needed.

2. One orthopedic surgeon, one hematologist: To provide regularly scheduled orthopedic and hematologic consultation to the clinic staff.

3. One pshchiatrist, one psychologist: To develop and maintain an on going mental health program and to direct a piolt child care program within the clinic as part of the overall program.

4. Three dentists: To provide complete emergency, prosthetic, operative and restorative and preventive care and oral rehabilitation.

5. Internal medicine, general surgery, obstetrics and gynecology, urology, radiology and ophthalmology will be provided through a contractual arrangement with area physicians.

6. Three clinic nurses, five field nurses (RN or LPN): Clinic nurses to supervise health aides, perform initial screening of patients for physicians, give injections, arrange for x-ray and laboratory procedures, make referrals. Field nurses to supervise home health aides, make home visits, make arrangements for patient transportation from field to clinic or hospital, man and coordinate activity at satellite clinics, make referrals and arrange laboratory and x-ray procedures.

7. Fifteen health and home health aides: To assist physicians and nurses in primary and satellite clinics, make home visits, follow-up broken appointments, assist in providing health education (nutritional, environmental, personal).

8. One nutritionist: To work directly with patients and families with nutritional problems and assist them in acquiring adequate foods and providing training in preparation and preservation. To establish emergency food program, coordinate distribution, and provide nutrition training for health aides.

9. One social worker: To provide individual casework, family and group work, to provide emergency assistance, and assistance in obtaining proper support from existing service programs (food stamp, welfare, social security, etc.). To provide training for health aides.

10. One social service assistant: To function under supervision of the social worker as his assistant in providing social services.

11. Three dental hygienists: To provide dental education, preventive dentistry (cleansing and prophylaxis, fluoride application), examine and chart teeth and to assist dentist as necessary.

12. Six dental assistants: Assist dentist at chair, assist dental hygienist in clinic and in field in educational activities and preventive dentistry.

13. Three nurse - midwives: The chairman of the Department of OB, GYN of the University of Mississippi Medical Center has expressed a willingness to assist in establishing a nurse-midwifery program in the project. This will allow nurse-midwives to follow non-complicated expectant mothers in the clinics (primary and satelite). Facilities will be set up in each clinic for delivery of uncomplicated pregnancies by the nurse-midwife along with nursery facilities for the newborn. This will eliminate the need for costly hospitalization of non-complicated pregnancies.

Full diagnostic and treatment procedures will be offered at the primary site five days a week, ten hours per day. Regular clinic hours will be held from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. Mondays through Fridays and 9 a.m. to 12 noon Saturdays. After the regular clinic hours and on Sundays, a physician, nurse and laboratory and x-ray techinician will be on call for emergencies.

Initially, the activity at the two satellite clinics will consist primarily of; acute and emergency care, screening, education, and training. One physician and one dentist will be at each clinic several hours per day, Mondays through Fridays. They will be augmented by a field nurse, two health aides and two dental assistants. Nutritional and social service activities will be provided at varying intervals.

Efforts will immediately be made to involve in the project residents, interns and medical students from Howard University, MeHarry and University of Mississippi Medical Schools. Howard University Medical School has already expressed interest in the program and several students at MeHarry and University of Mississippi have likewise indicated interest in becoming involved. This will be pursued vigorously.

Home Health Services: Improper utilization of health care professionals, over institutionalization of health care and over utilization of health care facilities have compounded the problems of the poor and have placed an additional burden on the health care system. It is the intent of this project to initiate home health services, utilizing field nurses and home health aides to help remedy this problem.

FUNCTIONS:

1. The field nurses and home health aides could conserve the physician's time by making initial house calls in many instances. Determination can be made by these nurses as to whether the patient could be best served within the clinic or satellite clinic and arrange transportation as needed.

2. Adequately trained nurses can be used to follow-up patients at home for such chronic diseases as diabetes mellitus, hypertension and orthopedic problems. These nurses will be acquainted with the patient's problems while the patient is still hospitalized, often allowing his hospitalization to be shortened or significantly reduced, thereby reducing the cost of his health care.

3. These nurses can be used to follow at home patients presently in costly extended care facilities, especially those who are kept for such minor nursing procedures as catheter care, routine injections and routine physical therapy procedures.

4. With the establishment of comprehemsive group practice, and thus more adequate out-patient work-up, more patients can be treated as out-patients at home with adequate home nursing service.

5. The possibility of establishing a pilot project whereby field nurses will be used in a simulated sick room in selected areas in rural Hinds County will be throughly explored. This again could serve to eliminate costly hospitalization in some instances.

Recruitment of Patients From Target Population

Registration and medical history of new patients will be taken by health aides under the supervision of field nurses. Some parts of the registration procedure will be completed by the aides in the process of door-to door recruitment, at which time appointments for the initial visit to the clinic facility will be made.

The patient's medical history will include an account of his prior health, illness, prior medical care and time spent in the hospital if any. With the patient's permission the records of these previous experiences will be sought from the appropriate institutions and physicians in time for review prior to his initial appointment with the clinic physicians.

An important aspect of the recruitment process will be interpreting the available service to the patient, encouraging questions and creating an understanding that the service is for his use. Another important aspect of the outreach and recruitment will be determining eligibility for enrollment in Medicare, Medicaid and other health programs. There is much to be desired in the present efforts to enroll poor people in the various health programs in Jackson and Hinds County. Many have yet to sign up for and use the benefits to which they are entitled.

Participants in the program will also be sought through referrals from cooperating community agencies: Community Action Agency, Welfare Deparment,

Health Department, Family Service Agencies, Nursing Homes and Homes for the Aged, Churches, Hospitals, Salvation Army Shelter, etc. Referrals by individuals, direct calls by patients, their children, friends or neighbors will be encouraged.

The outreach and recruitment components will be closely coordinated with the service components so that those brought to the program will find the services promised, and that long waits will be avoided.

Initial Visit At Clinic

The first visit between patient and health team will be scheduled to coincide with the taking of additional history and laboratory screening. Chest-x-ray (in adults), urine analysis, hemoglobin and white blood count, electrocardiogram and cholesterol determinations (in adults) will be among the routine procedures done initially. During the appointment, height, weight and vision will be checked by the health aide. The doctor will then review the patient's medical history and perform a complete physical examination. Based on the examination, history and laboratory results, the physician will determine:

1. The course of care needed.
2. If supportive health services are needed in the home.
3. If referral to a specialist, clinic, hospital, extended care facility or other institution is indicated.
4. If the patient needs consultation with the nutritionist or social worker.
5. If the patient should see the psychiatrist.
6. If the patient should see the dentist.

Treatment and Follow-Up

The field nurse will play the administrative role in carrying out the physician's instructions for treatment and follow-up through the home health aides. The field nurse will be the supervisor and coordinator of several home health aides who work directly with the patients and their families to help them implement the health care plan. In this fashion she will be able to oversee the care of hundreds of patients with each home health aide carrying nearly a hundred families. By this extension of her expertise through well-trained home health aides, who are target area residents, careful attention can be given to the follow-up needed in obtaining and taking medications, speciality appointments, additional tests, home care or transportation to treatment centers and social services.

Preventive Health Services

The project will develop a health education program in order to make people aware of the need for preventive measures and the importance of early detection and treatment. There is little understanding among many of the poor of the need for regular physical examinations. Many rely on "pain signals" before going to a doctor; many older persons accept their ailments "as part of growing old," not as treatable symptoms or diseases.

The education program will also include the exposure of health fakes, swindlers, quacks, and fraudulent advertising which so frequently victimize the poor - particularly the older poor. Exploitation is too common in misrepresented remedies for arthritis, tired blood and anemia, cancer treatments, cough and cold remedies, treatments and machines and so on. High pressure,

door-to-door salesmen and mail solicitations, which range from insurance to remedies, reach the poor, extracting lifetime savings and meager income. The education program will also deal with matters of public policy relating to health, health legislation, and current events in the health field.

The educational component will utilize various techniques and combinations of local resources. It will consist of lectures, films, panel discussions, exhibits, written materials etc. In addition to individual presentations of specific topics, longer, more detailed courses will be offered in first aid, home nursing, homemaking, food preparation, diet and nutrition, and exercise.

Supplementary Food Program

Concerted efforts will be made to establish a supplementary food or prescription food program for Jackson and Hinds County through the project. Negotiations will be held with officials of the Department of Agriculture and the State Welfare Department, which administers this program in the state. Although at present Bolivar County is the only one with an on-going supplementary food program, through the Tufts Delta Health Center, it is felt that with the resources that Hinds County could provide, there will be little difficulty establishing such a program in this area. When the program is established, the projects' physicians will certify those in need and warehouses will set up for distribution.

Drugs

A registered pharmacist will be on full time status in the primary clinic to dispense durgs free for the poor, and on a sliding scale to the near poor. Those able to pay full cost will do so. Pre-packaged drugs will be stored at the satellite clinics to be dispensed by physicians and nurses.

Evaluation

The physician in charge of the program will hold regular staff meetings with team members to review individual patient's medical histories, evaluate a patient's progress, and examine the quality of services being given him by staff.

Besides evaluating each patient's needs and treatment program, this medical review committee will establish, early in the program, procedures and measures for evaluating the Health Service and its impact on the total community health program. The measurements designed by the review team will provide the means to answering, qualitatively and quantitatively, the following questions:

1. To what degree has the Service enabled the poor to live independently as productive members of the community?

2. To what degree are the individual health needs of the poor being met?

3. Has the program been effective in providing prompt, early diagnosis and getting patients to utilize therapeutic plans or treatments available?

4. What has been the impact on the health of the participants, and has the program been acceptable?

   a. What are the characteristics of those who do not use the services?

   b. Who uses the program and where do they live?

   c. Are some portions of the services underused?

   d. When referrals are made, are they effective? Is an adequate follow-up system established?

   e. Does a measurement indicate basic changes in health attitudes and knowledge?

5. Has the infant mortality rate, maternal death rate, and disability and mortality among the elderly been reduced?

6. To what extent does the Service reflect the involvement and participation of the target population on its committees and staff?

7. How can the program be improved?

A central, consistant record system will be designed and used in order to not only potentiate continuity and coordination of care but also to enable better medical audit techniques and help answer some of the above questions.

Hospitalization

There are no provisions for hospitalization of the poor in Jackson, Mississippi and Hinds County. Of the 5,000 patients to be enrolled initially, 2,500 will not be covered by either Medicaid or Medicare even though they meet OEO Guidelines. In order to maintain the comprehensive nature of this project and insure continuity of care, it is vital that provisions for hospitalization of this segment of the target population be established. It is proposed to offer hospitalization coverage through a group insurance plan whereby the project will pay the total premium of the poor and subsidize the premium of the near poor on a sliding scale. A local insurance company which already has a variety of health insurance plans and therefore has actuarial statistics and experience with this type of population has expressed interest in providing a group package to meet the needs for this type of population.

Transportation

A system will be developed to provide complete transportation service in rurual Hinds County and Jackson. It will be the goal to develop a system which would eliminate long waits both before and after the patient sees the doctor. A transportation coordinator and staff will be hired to develop this system.

Facilities

During the first year, the primary site in Jackson will be a temporary facility renovated to accomodate the projected patient load of 5,000. Permanent satellite clinics will be constructed in two areas in rural Hinds

County. During this time we will develop plans for the permanent structure to accomodate the total projected enrollment of 40,000.

MENTAL HEALTH CARE

At the present time, the poor and disadvantaged of Hinds County have limited facilities to which to go for psychiatric evaluation and treatment. The Veteran's Administration Hospital serves veterans on its in-patient service. However, they must have service connected disabilities to receive out-patient care. The University of Mississippi Medical Center has a total of 20 beds on its psychiatry Service. These must be shared with the non-indigent. Private psychiatrists in the community can treat their patients in two general hospitals, but, of course, the poor cannot afford this. A community mental health center is now in the making, but with the high demands already placed upon it, and with the overwhelming needs of the impoverished citizens of this area, along with those citizens who are not considered poor, but who cannot afford the fees for private care, this facility (when it finally begins full operation) will not be sufficient. The State Hospital at Whitfield on the outskirts of Jackson is understaffed, and although its staff does all it can with the resources at hand, poor people are especially reluctant to avail themselves of what it can give because it is not a part of their community and is not seen as a facility which would help them remain in their community as functioning, productive citizens.

Since emotional problems and mental illness arise from conflicts and weaknesses of the individual and the real or imagined stresses in their environment, it is easy to see that the poor, disadvantaged and black in Hinds County who have been discriminated against, disenfranchised, alienated and hated would be much more affected by these, and why it is vital, essential and imperative that psychiatric services be designed specifically for them and that research as to the best ways to deliver

psychiatric services to them in this particular setting begin immediately while serving the community as best we can with the knowledge and resources at hand.

A nuclear clinical team of psychiatrist, psychologist, social worker, nurse, community worker, vocational rehabilitation counselor and mental health aides would seem essential for this. While designing research projects, this team could provide screening and evaluation, out-patient treatment (group therapy, individual therapy, activity group counseling, special groups, e.g., for unwed mothers, wives of servicemen, etc.), community education as to treatment and prevention especially with regard to children, community consultation, crisis intervention, education for and supervision of volunteer of workers and health aides, vocational counseling and rehabilitation, seminars for workers who deal with the public (Welfare Workers, teachers, ministers, etc.), appropriate referrals, aftercare for those discharged from hospitals, but who are not eligible for out-patient treatment at those hospitals and a daytime activity program. These would serve to meet the demands for prompt treatment, reduce the number of people requiring residential hospital treatment, thus, giving hospital staffs more time to adequately treat those who must be hospitalized; enable more people to become useful, functioning citizens thus lifting their self-esteem and self-concepts and setting better examples for their youngsters; diminish the genteral anxiety and unrest not only by diminishing individual anxiety, but by helping people realice that they have dignity, worth and influence and that they by their own efforts can do much to affect their own destinies; rehabilitate many who

are hopeless though not physically ill; disseminate principles of mental hygiene and prevention to large segments of the population; encourage other to go into the helping professions; invite the participation of the community which we serve and make use of it, and make complete the comprehensive health center.

CHILD CARE PROGRAM

I. The Drop -In Center

Integral to the medical care of families is a drop-in center for children while members of the family are receiving the services of the clinic. These centers at the three sites will provide supervised activities for children in adequately equipped and spacious facilities from 9:00 a.m. until 9:00 p.m.

Facilities in the drop-in center will enable young infants to be in playpens or exploring a prescribed area set aside for infant mobility. Older siblings who often enjoy younger children in this type of setting could assist if they choose. For the toddler and pre-schooler, there will be equipment such as an indoor gym house, blocks, transportation toys, housekeeping corner, puzzles and sequence boards, books, blackboard, etc. Creative materials and appropriate games will be the main indoor materials for older children. Outdoor equipment adjacent to the child care center outdoor play area will provide the major source of activity for the children in the drop-in center. Supplies such as jumping ropes and various types of balls would be available for small group activities. Under a large roofed-in area, equipment such as a rocking boat, variplay traingle set and large hallow blocks would be in a circumscribed area for younger children. Near the roofed-in area would be a large sand pit; further away from this area would be a jungle gym with balancing and jumping boards that could be used to re-arrange the physical challenges presented for the children.

These drop-in centers will be staffed by sensitive persons who enjoy children and can communicate with ease in a group situation. Carefully selected and trained, these persons would be able to play or sing with young infants, talk to and otherwise care for other children in a relaxed, positive atmosphere. The staffing needs in this aspect of the project will be based on need, holding to a ratio of 15 to 1. Volunteers will be recruited to assist the paid staff.

II. The Child Care Center

Most middle-class parents in our culture have had some degree of exposure to the field of child development, at least through Dr. Spock. However, low income adults have little opportunity to reflect on the developmental patterns of their children and tend to accept traditional highly authoritarian patterns based upon the premise that their children must adjust themsleves in this way to the hard necessities of poverty and discrimination. There is a tendency, born of necessity, to expect the child to behave as an adult as soon as possible. The role of the parent in guiding young children needs to be stretched so that parents begin to see the real needs of young infants and children. Learning to see children as they are and especially as they see themselves will be the constant thrust of this program.

The child care center will work with parents and children on a sustained basis toward the goals of developing and restoring a healthy functioning family.

Under the direction of psychologist, each center will provide opportunities for learning and growth for 20 children (aged 1-3) and their parents. These children, with a fairly even distribution of the age grouping, will be in the center from 8:30 a.m. until 5:00 p.m. Staffing will consist of one child care specialist, 3 child care aides (non-degree people to be trained), 1 cook, 1 assistant cook. The parent-child consultation services will include the whole team of the group practice, i.e. the pediatrician, psychologist, psychiatrist, social service worker, nutritionist, nurses, etc. This means that the teaching staff will have easy acess to the professional staff and vice versa.

III. Study Of The Infant And The Child

All children develop a language and cognitive style unique to the culture or sub-culture of which they are a part. Consequently, the child raised in a non-mainstream cultural context confronts an alien culture upon entering public school, a social institution representative of the dominant cultural values.[1]

Early intervention programs for pre-school children have attempted to superimpose the dominant cultural patterns upon the young child with little if any regard for the already existing language and congitive styles.

In this proposal, we wish to disassociate ourselves from the social pathology model and offer a plan based on the findings of reseachers such

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[1] Baratz & Baratz, "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40, No. 1, Feb., 1970.

Baratz and Baratz, that is, of disevering who the child is and utilizing his own learning style. This means that we want to find ways of reinforcing the child's familial and community heritage while at the same time expanding that process.

To do this it is necessary to study the inter-acting relationship of parent and child. Date gathered in this matrix will suggest recurring patterns of the inter-action processes. Whatever those learning-teaching styles are will have implications for the aquisition of language and the future learning style of the child. Those processes need to be discovered and utilized by the teaching staff of the center.

Using the observational method, the child care center will assess in a meaningful way, who the children are, how they approach problem solving, how conflicts are resolved, the interests and themes of their play, the area of cognition (understanding cause and effect, generalization patterns, ideas of space, time, distance), the kind of humor expressed, the whole range of language usage (for communiciation, meaning, nonsense, chants, etc.) and whatever other ranges of expressiveness the children communicate.

Thus, in the last analysis, the program will seek to preserve the identity and heritage of the child and at the same time persue ways which will enable the child to function in the dominant culture.

IV. Staff And Operation

The primary areas of responsibilities of the child center staff will be twofold; working with parents and children in the planned environment of

the center as well as tutoring or home visits. The underlying philosophy here is that parents are to participate in the center as much as is feasible and in turn the center staff will be in close contact with the child's home. It is hoped that each child can be seen for two weekly periods of one hour each in his home by one member of the child center staff.

Establishing a basic relationship in the home of the infant or young child will enable the center staff to pay attention to the child in the context of his family. This will provide an opportunity to observe, appreciate and know the total child away from the center. Every attempt will be made to include the parent in the activities that the center presonnel does with the child whether it be playing on the floor, exploring the direct environment of the child via walks, or making toys of out of the materials available in the home.

Bi-weekly staff meetings will provide a forum for the staff to discuss the behaviorial needs of the individual children in the program, to evaluate staff performance is to center and in tutorial relationship and to discuss future direction.

Exposure to materials will focus on sensary responses, manipulative discovery and physical exploration which will lead to an eventual sense of mastery. Nourishment and support of the constantly emerging exploratory process whether it be of an enter-personal nature, physical, social, emotional or symbolic farm will be employed to aid each child in his own growth.

The center will serve as an early childhood resource center for parents. Evening or daytime workshops, the content of which would be defined by parents will held. The development and building of outdoor equipment

out of material natural to the community will involve the community. Parents and their children will select and borrow toys from the "toy brary". Staff will aid in utilizing and exploring all phases of the environment. List of possible field trips for parents or families could be persued; small groups or families would be encouraged thru the resources of the center to expose their children to the resources of the community. Further areas of concern could be nutritional aspects of family health, economic considerations, and thus employment factors. Whatever findings that were developed by the center staff would be communicated to the people of the community. For anything that emerges that is of genuine concern to the community, has a direct bearing upon the health of the child, and his whole family. For the concerns of children have no bounds.

TRAINING PROGRAM

This project will serve as both an employer and trainer for indigenous personnel during its operation. It has been shown in other projects in the area that poor people with less than college education and no obvious skills can be trained as productive workers in all areas.

The project will employ a training and education coordinator and staff to provide continuing career development. It will be the ultimate goal to provide such training and work experience as well as allow placement of trainees in several directions. Duration of training and content of curriculum will be matched with skill-need requirements.

Initially each non-professional will function as a trainee for four (4) to six (6) weeks. A core curriculum will be developed in each area and most of the teaching will be done by the health center staff.

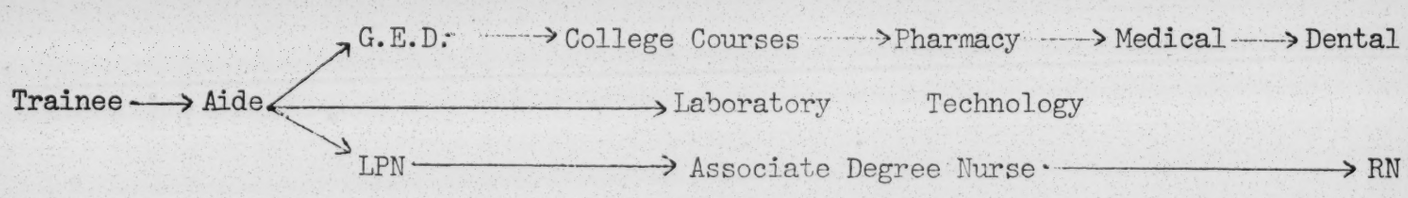
Supervision of trainees on-the-job will be by health center physicians, nurses, and others in supervisory positions. Supervision of trainees for career programs will be by the training and education director and his staff.

As non-professionals learn and grow into their jobs, a continuous follow-up will be made and the staff will offer continuous counseling and guidance in both personal and vocational areas.

Every employee who has not completed high school will immediately be geared towards the G.E.D. Three college courses will be offered per-semester on a regular basis as a part of the project. At least two colleges in the area will provide instructors and give credits. Some specific courses will

be English, accounting, and bookkeeping. Jackson State Collete, a four year school in Jackson and Utica and Hinds Junior Colleges - located in western Hinds County are educational institutions which will be called upon to establish programs in para-medical areas. Hinds Junior College already has a MDTA Associate Degree Nursing Program. The University of Mississippi Medical Center has at least two programs in which para-medical personnel are trained. In another area the County Welfare Department has a program in which headstart social service aides are trained and certified by the state-thus making them eligible for employment with that agency. It is conceivable that some of our aides would be interested in such a program. The training and education director will have the responsibility of maintaining regular liasion with these agencies as well as the personnel directors of various private hospitals and medical programs, to engage in continuous job development.

TYPICAL EXAMPLE OF PROGRESSION OF NON-PROFESSIONALS



The Family Assistance Plan

Work and Welfare

Before this year is out, and possibly this summer, Congress almost certainly will have enacted the most important contribution to social legislation since the days of the New Deal. I refer to *H.R. 1 Social Security Amendments of 1971,* reported to Congress by Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, and passed last week by the House, 288-132. The bill is far from perfect, no doubt it will be

N. Republic
7/3/71

amended by the Senate, perhaps substantially; but as it stands it is a giant step forward.

The signal contributions are primarily in the controversial area of "family assistance." The 386-page report of the committee also covers old age and disability insurance benefits, which are liberalized, and the troublous medicare and medicaid, which will not occupy us here. In welfare, the bill sets national standards for benefit levels and qualification requirements for the first time, comes close to "federalizing" welfare financially as well, raises minimum benefit levels, embraces the working poor, and perhaps most important of all, provides a variety of new and superior facilities for the rehabilitation and employment of the poor. In its studious concern for detail as well as in its broad innovations, the bill goes well beyond the Family Assistance Plan originally proposed by President Nixon. And yet in nearly all of its provisions, the Mills bill still leaves a significant gap to be filled by subsequent amendment or new legislation.

Coverage is a case in point. Financial assistance under current regulations is withheld from families that include an employed father (the "working poor") and in most states from those including an adult male even if he is unemployed – the impressively unpopular "man-in-the-house rule." The new legislation drops these restrictions and would thereby increase the number of persons eligible for relief (not counting, of course, the aged, blind, and disabled) from less than 12 million to more than 19 million, when the new act goes into full effect on January 1, 1973. But aid in the new bill is still confined to families with children. Embracing single persons and childless couples would probably add an additional 3 or 4 million to relief rolls. Provisions to do so have already been prepared by Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D, Conn.) and others.

The minimum income level established by the Mills bill, for which the federal government assumes full financial responsibility, is $2400 for a family of four, a figure that will raise substantially the benefits of relief families throughout the South and in a few border and Northern states such as Kentucky, Maryland, Maine and Utah. Specifically, the bill provides $800 for each of the first two family members, $400 each for the next three members, and smaller amounts for additional members up to a maximum that any family could receive of $3600. In all, the new minimum would benefit 4 million people now on welfare in 22 states, in addition of course to the 7 million of working poor and others who will be newly added to the rolls in all parts of the country. In some states, such as Mississippi and Alabama, where present welfare payments average $700 or less per family, the improvements will be immense. Yet the Mills bill will do nothing at all for the 8 million people now on relief in the Northern states, where in nearly all instances welfare benefits are materially above the new minimum.

Indeed, the most serious shortcoming of the bill is that it might inadvertently result in reducing benefits for some of the Northern poor. To be sure, the states are free to maintain present standards by supplementing the federal contribution with additional payments of their own, but there is no compulsion for them to do so. Nor is an incentive provided through matching contributions by the federal government for supplementary allowances above the $2400 minimum. Hence, given the growing resistance to taxes in some parts of the country, cutbacks in welfare allowances are not improbable.

To forestall that possibility (and more effectively than by matching contributions) the federal government should assume the burden for *all* welfare costs, with minimum payments established realistically in accord with geographical variations in the cost of living. No family in New York or Chicago can live on $2400, or even on $4000, which is approximately the government's 1971 national standard for the poverty threshhold. Interestingly, just how much more it would cost to live on a "minimum decent" level in New York than in Tupelo, Miss., is a question that even the Bureau of Labor Statistics cannot answer from present data resources. But such figures are needed, and they're not so difficult or expensive to get.

On the other hand, raising the general minimum benefit level *is* expensive, more so than would appear superficially. The reason has to do with what the Ways and Means Committee calls "the disregard formula." Since the working poor are to be embraced under welfare, it becomes more necessary than ever to maintain an incentive for those who have jobs to keep them, and for others to get jobs when possible. If *all* of a family's earnings were deducted from its welfare allowances there would be *no* incentive. The Mills bill permits a family to keep the first $720 plus one-third of all earnings above that amount without deduction. The possible results for a family of four are shown in the accompanying table. For example, referring to the third line of the table, a family with earnings of $1800 would keep the first $720 without

MINIMUM WELFARE PAYMENTS IN THE MILLS BILL, FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR

Earnings	*Family Assistance Payments**	*Total Income*
None	$2400	$2400
$ 720	2400	3120
1800	1680	3480
2400	1280	3680
3000	880	3880
3600	480	4080
4140	120	4260
4320	None	4320

* Computation: Reduce total earnings by $720 annual "disregard"; then apply two-thirds of the remainder to reduce assistance payment.

penalty, leaving $1080. Of the latter sum, it would keep one-third, or $360. The remainder, or $720, would be deducted from the basic welfare allowance of $2400, to get $1680, shown in the second column of the table. Earnings plus the welfare payment would give the family a total income of $3480.

Notice that using this formula would result in giving at least some welfare allowance to families with earnings up to $4320, called the "break-even point," at which level the deductions based on earnings would completely exhaust the basic $2400 welfare allowance. The gross cost of this family assistance program for the federal government would be $6.5 billion. If the recommendation of the National Welfare Rights Organization were followed, elevating the minimum benefit level to $5500 for a family of four, and boasting the "disregard formula" from one-third to one-half, the break-even point would rise to $11,720. Total costs, according to a Brookings Institution analysis, would escalate to $71 billion *above* present welfare outlays.

And yet, in some of the more expensive Northern cities a $5500 income for a family of four would not make for high living and in fact is only a bit above the sum welfare families in New York City get now. Allowing for geographic cost-of-living differentials scaled down below a maximum $5500 benefit level (which might apply to New York), would probably cut the total cost of the program by about one-third. A sharp look at the federal budget – focusing on such items as wasteful farm subsidies and the tax giveaways recently reported by Senator William Proxmire (D, Wis.) – might yield a considerable part of that sum without an increase in tax rates.

A further lightening of the financial burden associated with a general welfare program could be provided by effective rehabilitation services and a public employment program, for these in the long run would reduce the number on welfare rolls. More important, they get at the roots of poverty, which for most families is a social and cultural situation rather than a financial accident. It is in this area, especially, that the Mills bill makes important contributions. The bill would require "employable" persons on relief to register with the Secretary of Labor who would then "provide the necessary services, training, counseling, testing, coaching, program orientation, job training, and followup services to assist the registrant in securing employment, retaining employment, and obtaining opportunities for advancement. Provision would also be made for voluntary relocation assistance to enable a registrant and his family to be self-supporting," and for special medical assistance, child care centers and family planning guidance for welfare mothers.

One difficulty with training programs, especially in recession, is that their principal function is to let the trainee know what kind of job he is out of. But the Mills bill provides for jobs in public service projects in "health, social service, environmental protection, education, urban and rural development and redevelopment, welfare, recreation, public facility and similar activities." Wages on the jobs "could not be less than the higher of the prevailing or applicable minimum wage or the federal minimum wage." Some of the employment would be financed in state, city, and county governments and non-profit organizations. A total of $1.7 billion is appropriated for training and public employment, which nearly doubles the amount currently spent by the federal government for all manpower programs.

Any requirement that people register with government for training or employment runs the risk of harshness in administration. However, this kind of requirement has applied for years to the unemployment insurance program. Furthermore, the Mills bill contains a number of safeguards – for mothers of young children, for those incapacitated in other ways, for those with special skills not applicable in public service jobs, and so on – though perhaps further analysis and debate in Congress will disclose that more are needed. For blacks in the South, the most reassuring note is that administration of the program will be completely federal.

Another possible objection, which the Mills bill meritoriously rejected, is one loudly heard on the intellectual right. The position here is that anything government may attempt to do in the economic sphere is destined to fail. Scholarly works, written in the spirit of economist Milton Friedman, document the travesties of currently disorganized training and social services, and generalize from there. They push for the negative income tax, period. (The negative income tax would distribute money to the poor on a strictly formula basis incorporated in the regular Internal Revenue Service's income tax schedule.) No public housing or rent subsidies, no social counselors or family planning guidance, no public day care centers, public health, public manpower training, public employment, or public anything else. (If you think I'm carried away, note that Friedman also opposes public education.) Commonly this argument is buttressed with the assertion that "only one percent of those on welfare are employable," despite the fact that the vast majority of those receiving family assistance are sound in mind and body, have themselves expressed a preference for jobs if they can get them, and in two-thirds of all cases (embraced in the new legislation) have had actual work experience during the year. Fortunately, in contrast, the authors of the Mills bill have looked at the statistics and view poverty as something more than a lack of money.

Melville J. Ulmer

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
JULY 17, 1972

Tommy Richardson
#155

WALLER CALLS MOUND BAYOU HOSPITAL A NATIONAL SCANDAL

Governor Bill Waller today released a breakdown of the proposed expenditures of $5.5 million in OEO funds by the controversial Delta Community Hospital and Health Care Center in Mound Bayou. Waller called the expenditures by the hospital shocking and said he believed it would become a national scandal.

Waller said, "I vetoed this OEO grant on June 1 because I believe our taxpayers demand a dollars worth of service for every tax dollar expended. I believe, as Governor, it is my obligation to the taxpayer to see that their tax dollars are spent wisely whether they are Federal or State tax dollars." He said, The real tragedy is that the money being spent does not provide health care for the poor who need it."

According to the figures in the grant application at the State Office of OEO, almost four million of the $5.5 million grant is scheduled to go for internal salaries. The salary schedule reveals that two of the staff positions allow salaries of $35,000 plus living expenses. In addition, the Project Director is scheduled for a salary of $25,000 and the Health Center Director is scheduled for a salary of $22,781. The present Project Director is now acting as both Project Director and Health Center Director.

In addition to the four million in salaries, the grant calls for nearly $700,000 for consultation and contractual services.

According to the grant application the hospital would pay the City of

Mound Bayou $18,000 for police and fire protection as a contractual service. Mound Bayou Mayor Earl Lucas is a member of the Board of Directors.

The grant also provides for $231.468 in travel expenses of which $152,009 is for seminar fees, meetings and conventions out of State.

Of the $5.5 million grant, only $370,300 is allocated for medical supplies of which $231,000 is pharmacy supplies or medicine. Supplies of all types, for operating the hospital and health care center, total only $628,975.

In a report by Bill Ray, Administrator of the Coahoma County Hospital-a 194 bed, fully equipped and staffed hospital - the 51 bed Mound Bayou Hospital pays $72,300 for water and lights to the City of Mound Bayou as compared to the $34,143 paid by the nearly four-time bigger Coahoma County Hospital. Fuel consumption for the 51 bed hospital is $33,000 as compared to $15,052 for the Coahoma County Hospital.

The controversy over the OEO funded hospital of Mound Bayou was vaulted into the national spotlight last week when Greenville newspaper editor Hodding Carter, III, a nominee for Vice-President, took the podium at the National Democratic Convention to accuse Mississippi Governor Bill Waller of playing politics in vetoing the OEO grant. He claimed the Governor's veto would deny much needed health care to needy blacks in the delta and accused the Governor of retaliating by vetoing the grant because the Credentials Committee, of which he was Vice-Chairman, denied seating to the Regular Democrats of Mississippi.

The Governor entered his veto on the grant June 1 while the Credentials Committee hearing in Washington was held one month later on July 1.

Members of the Board of Directors of the hospital and health center charged that the Governor was attempting to close down the facility for political reasons. They added that if funds were not released money would not be available to meet the payroll in July. On June 29 the Governor sent a telegram to Dr. Leon Cooper, Director of the Office of Health Affairs of OEO authorizing the release of $1.3 million to meet current obligations and pay for operations for May, June and July.

However, according to Mrs. Lee Sutton, State OEO Director, records indicate that as of April 30, 1972, the Delta Community Hospital and Health Center had $2,873,556 in unexpended funds from the 1972 budget which Dr. Cooper's office had authorized the hospital to carry over and apply to the 1973 budget.

These funds, when added to the $5,539,180 grant approved by OEO, would have authorized expenditure of $8,412,736 by the Delta Community Hospital and Health Care Center between May 1, 1972 and April 30, 1973. Mrs. Sutton said the corporation operating the facility had also borrowed $200,000 from a Greenville Bank in May.

Waller said, "When you consider that the comparable operation of the 65 bed Belzoni hospital which has both in-patient and out-patient services in a similar area has an annual budget of $900,000 or about $4.5 million less, you begin to imagine the magnitude of this boondoggle."

Waller emphasized there was no effort to close the facility but only to see that the money was used for the purpose for which it was intended-providing health care services for the poor. He said more

and better health care services could be provided for more people in the Delta and at less cost.

Mrs. Sutton said another group is being formed and we are in favor of a continued program in Mound Bayou of a size compatible with the need and population.

The Governor said his only condition for returning the money to operate the facility was that it be operated in a business-like manner by a responsible Board of Directors.

Mrs. Sutton said that the health care facility gained national recognition when it was begun by Tufts University but because of problems created by individuals who were attempting to control the Board of Directors, the University pulled out. In a letter dated August 13, 1970, the Dean of the Tufts Medical School told the OEO, "After three uninterrupted years of this problem, without definitive action to end it, I believe it is fair to say that neither Tufts University or any other responsible institution could be expected to continue its participation in Mississippi under these circumstances."

In the same letter, the Tufts Medical School Dean told the Office of Economic Opportunity, "The situation remains essentially unchanged-and just as bad. All of our current physicians can document the same problems. We now have a list of nearly twenty health center physicians past and present, many of whom have worked for as much as nine years in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East and two of whom are black and have practiced extensively elsewhere in Mississippi, who are prepared to say that this is one of the poorest quality hospitals that they have worked in anywhere, despite prolonged continuing efforts on our part

to be helpful to the hospital."

Mrs. Sutton pointed out also that the Joint Commission on The Accreditation For Hospitals, a national organization, has withdrawn its approval of the Mound Bayou Community Hospital.

The Governor said, "It doesn't take a CPA to analyze the magnitude of this fiasco. When only a little over $300,000 goes for all medical supplies out of $5.5 million to be spent, it becomes obvious that the major aim of this program is not to provide health care for the needy blacks in the Delta. Moreover, it is incredible that OEO with a State-wide budget of 7 million annually for health care would spend 80% or $5.5 million in a small unpopulated area like this. Such practice is unfair and unjust to two million Mississippians.

"I am pleased to say that many blacks in the Delta have realized what is going on and are taking action to see that it is stopped. I have pledged to work with any responsible group that will dedicate themselves to the real need--giving health care to the needy."

-30-

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE new york, n.y. 10027

MRS. THEODORE O. WEDEL, PRESIDENT R. H. EDWIN ESPY, GENERAL SECRETARY

THE DELTA MINISTRY, P.O. BOX 457
GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI 38701

OWEN H. BROOKS
DIRECTOR

July 19, 1972

Dear Friend (s):

Enclosed, from the desk of Mr. Owen H. Brooks, please find xeroxed copies of information concerining the Mound Bayou Community Hospital. We trust you will find this information interesting and helpful.

Sincerely,

D. E. Kingdom,
Secretary to the Director
Mr. Owen H. Brooks
THE DELTA MINISTRY
Post Office Box 457
Greenville, Mississippi 38701

DEK/

Enclosure:

Get MCHR to mail to mailing list

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE July 19, 1972

Delta Community Hospital and Health Center, Inc.
Mound Bayou, Mississippi

The Board of Directors of the Delta Community Hospital and Health Center, Inc. is compelled to make a full and complete response to Governor Waller's press statement of July 17, 1972, concerning the Mound Bayou health complex.

Again Governor Waller contradicts himself when he gives as the reason for his veto of the $5.5 million grant the allegation that the taxpayers monies have been misused or abused in the operation of the two facilities in Mound Bayou(the Mound Bayou hospital and the out-patient health center). Let us remind you that those were not the official reasons given OEO for the veto. Neither the presently constituted board of directors, nor the corporate body, the Delta Community Hospital and Health Center, Inc., the grantee, has ever had a grant to misuse. Further, the governor has not examined the official records of the programs which reflect the manner in which the taxpayers monies have been spent. He has neither consulted the current board of directors, or competent staff engaged by this program in an effort to get full and complete factual information. Until an effort of this kind is made by the governor, his judgement that health care for the poor is not being provided has no substance.

Governor Waller's superficial examination of the grant application has led him into the trap of distortions and flagrant inaccuracies. The four million dollar estimate of internal salaries though not al= together accurate is not excessively high. It is quite common knowledge that in a program of this nature salaries , including fringe benefits would run in the neighborhood of 65% of a total budget. The individual salaries of both the Project Director and the Health Center Director came under attack also as being too high. Anywhere else in the country the salaries for similar positions could run as high as $40-45,000. The Health Center Directors projected salary of $22,700. is an approved salary range by OEO as are all of the salaries contained in the budget. Perhaps the Governor's real problem is that he does not like to see blacks make decent wages.

The Governor also attacked the budget item of contractual services and consultations. The programs would be happy to make available information regarding types of consultations that will be sought and the varied constracual services that are standard for programs of this nature. We are in the process of negotiating contractual relationships with more than one university and would be more than happy to share this information with the governor. As far as the involvement of the City of Mound Bayou, they are under an approved OEO contract to provide security and after hours ambulatory services for the hospital facility. The Mayor of Mound Bayou's presence on the board, like that of County Supervisor, Kermit Stanton is in the category of"public officials."

Waller's office quotes a figure of $231,468 for travel in the grant application. A closer reading of said document would have disclosed that OEO approved only $140,284. This figure covers costs related to 77 vehicles used for patient transportation, outreach and home care services for both facilities (the hospital and health center), plus travel to seminars, meetings and conventions which any intelligent review of the reports of the Mississippi Hospital Association would reveal is consistent with the proper operation of other hospitals within the state.

Further, the Governor, quoting a letter of May 9, 1972 from Mr. W. K. Ray, Executive Director of the Coahoma County Hospital which stated "...I have taken special note of various items in their/ hospital-health center/ budget---such as the amount of money paid to the City of Mound Bayou for water and lights in the amount of $72,300...." This statement is not only a misrepresentation of the facts, but/an arbitrary and capricious charge with malicious overtones. The facts are clear for anyone unbiased enough to see, and fair enough to admit that the City of Mound Bayou does not own an electric utility company. Unless the City of Mound Bayou has recently acquired a controlling interest in the multi-million dollar Mississippi Power and Light Company, it is beyond us how so-called intelligent peopel could publically make such statements unless they are calculated to distort the truth. We strongly suggest that the Governor, Mrs. Sutton, and Mr. Ray contact the Mississippi Public Service Commission to determine whether MP&L has been purchased by the City of Mound Bayou.

Mississippi Power and Light Company, not to be confused with the

City of Mound Bayou(which owns no shares in said company), is budgeted to receive $56,000 for electricity. Contrary to the Governor's statement, the City of Mound Bayou expects to receive as it did in 1971, $2,831. for water, sewage, and garbage fees from the program for services to three facilities located in the City(the hospital, the health center, and an outreach contact center). The remaining $13,169. of a $16,000. budget item for water will cover costs for nine contact centers located throughout Bolivar County. The above cited electricity figure also covers service to the same. They are located in the cities and towns of Winstonville, Merigold, Duncan, Shelby, Alligator, Roundlake, Gunnison, Rosedale, and Symonds.

The previous grant to the health center and the hospital expired February 29th. The carryover funds from the two previous grants were absolutely not in the amount the Governor cited. These carryover funds were authorized for use by OEO for the period covering March 1 through April 30th 1972. The Board of Directors of the Delta Community Hospital and Health Center were not responsible for the administration of those funds do to the fact that they effectively were not in existence, nor were they awarded a grant of any sort during that period.

It is a fact that the health center had expended completely all of its carryover funds well prior to May 1, 1972, the intended effective date of the grant. This necessitated the board's borrowing $200,000. on May 1, 1972. Mrs. Sutton chooses to add the $1.3 million three months grant to the above debt as well as the $5.5 million OEO approved grant and hopes to arrive at $8 million we will spend. We must strongly challenge the addition in the governor's release where he adds supposed unexpended funds in the amount of $2.8 million of two old grants, 1971-72 to $5.5 million of a new grant effective May 1, 1972 not yet awarded. We liken this to adding six apples to six oranges and totalling one dozen plums. It is further stated in the Governor's release that Dr. Leon Cooper, Director of Health Affairs, OEO, authorized this kind of addition to take place. The governor is hereby advised that Dr. Cooper's office stands ready to give clarity to this gross distortion of the facts.

We are completely amazed at the attempt to compare a hospital in Belzoni with the Mound Bayou Community Hospital. There appears to be a disagreement between the Governor's Office and the Mississippi Hospital Association Report of April 1972 which describes that hospital as only having 35 beds while the governor's figure was 65. The Guide for the American Hospital Association 1971 Volume, Part II listed the Belzoni hospital's budget as $364,000, rather than the $900,000. figure the Governor used. In the same reference the Governor confuses the operating budget of the health center with that of the hospital and again leads all to believe that the projected hospital budget will spend $5.5 million. A careful reading of the budget will reveal that approximately $850,000. will go toward the operations of the hospital for the grant period.

The governor emphasized to all that it is not his desire to close the hospital and that no efforts are being made on his part to accomplish this. We call your attention to a Delta Democratic Times article of July 17, 1972, where his appointee, Mrs. Sutton is quoted as saying to a delegation of twelve north Bolivar County residents that both she and the governor would favor closing the hospital part of the project.

The Governor's release also quotes Mrs. Sutton as saying that a new corporation would be acceptable in his eyes for funding of a new program in the Delta. Again the tactic of divide and dismember is being used on the poor of the Delta and this state. OEO has emphatically said to the governor and the press that the Delta Community Hospital and Health Center, Inc. is the corporate body it recognizes as fullfilling its guidelines, and therefore meets with its approval for funding. We would hereby submit that the governor's approval of the $1.3 million grant to this corporate body to some extent gives his recognition to it as a viable mechanism to operate this program. If we are trusted to program the $1.3 million grant he can trust us to program $5.5 million. His statement reads that his only condition for returning the funding to operate the program is that it be operated in a business like manner by a responsible board.

We call to the governor's attention the administrative changes that have already taken place in the program. Furthermore, the fiscal department of the health center portion has been completely re-organized as was recommended by the OEO auditors. These are irrefutable facts that can be substantiated to the governor or anyone else's satisfaction.

Another misrepresentation of the facts by the governor has to do with his allegation that the Joint Commission of Accreditation for Hospitals, a national organization, has withdrawn its approval of the Mound Bayou Community Hospital. The MBCH in fact has only applied for accreditation. The governor is hereby advised to refer to a Report of the Mississippi Hospital Association dated June 1, 1971. Of the state's 116 hospitals, only 37 out of 77 that reported have accreditation from the Joint Commission of Accreditation for Hospitals.

The Governor further states that "it does not take a CPA to analyze the magnitude of this fiasco," and again repeats the distortion regarding budgeted funds for medical supplies, etc. He then concludes that the program is not designed to deliver health care for the needy. We suggest to the governor that a CPA would have been a most useful addition to his staff for the purpose of assisting him in his analysis of the budget prior to the issurance of his statement. Furthermore, an honest and qualified health professional would most certainly have assisted him in arriving at a more intelligent and objective evaluation of the total program.

In conclusion, we agree with Governor Waller when he asserts that 2 million Mississippians are receiving unfair and unjust treatment, This unjust treatment does not come from the hands of the OEO, but rather at the hands of the governor and his administration which bases its case on lies, distortions, half-truths, and information from discredited informers.

YES GOVERNOR WALLER, MANY DELTA BLACKS HAVE AWAKENED AND DO TRULY REALIZE WHAT'S GOING ON.

Jerry Swift

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
JULY 17, 1972

WALLER CALLS MOUND BAYOU HOSPITAL A NATIONAL SCANDAL

Governor Bill Waller today released a breakdown of the proposed expenditures of $5.5 million in OEO funds by the controverseal Delta Community Hospital and Health Care Center in Mound Bayou. Waller called the expenditures by the hospital shocking and said he believed it would become a national scandal.

Waller said, "I vetoed this OEO grant on June 1 because I believe our taxpayers demand a dollars worth of service for every tax dollar expended. I believe, as Governor, it is my obligation to the taxpayer to see that their tax dollars are spent wisely whether they are Federal or State tax dollars." He said,"the real tragedy is that the money being spent does not provide health care for the poor who need it."

According to the figures in the grant application at the State Office of OEO, almost four million of the $5.5 million grant is scheduled to go for internal salaries. The salary schedule reveals that two of the staff positions allow salaries of $35,000 plus living expenses. In addition, the Project Director is scheduled for a salary of $25,000 and the Health Center Director is scheduled for a salary of $22,781. The present Project Director is now acting as both Project Director and Health Center Director.

In addition to the four million in salaries, the grant calls for nearly $700,000 for consultation and contractual services. According to the grant application the hosoptal would pay the City of Mound Bayou $18,000 for police and fire protection as a contractual service. Mound Bayou Mayor Earl Lucas is a member of the Board of Directors.

The grant also provides for $231,468 in travel expenses of which $152,009 is for seminar fees, meetings and conventions out of State.

Of the $5.5 million grant, only $370,300 is allocated for medical supplies of which $231,000 is pharmacy supplies or medicine. Supplies of all types, for operating the hospital and health care center, total only $628,975.

In a report by Bill Ray, Administrator of the Coahoma County Hospital-a 194 bed, fully equipped and staffed hospital - the 51 bed Mound Bayou Hospital pays $72,300 for water and lights to the City of Mound Bayou as compared to the $34,143 paid by the nearly four-time bigger Coahoma County Hospital.

Fuel consumption for the 51 bed hospital is $33,000 as compared to $15,052 for the Coahoma County Hospital.

The controversy over the OEO funded hospital of Mound Bayou was vaulted into the national spotlight last week when Greenville newspaper editor Hodding Carter, III, a nominee for Vice-President, took the podium at the National Democratic Convention to accuse Mississippi Governor Bill Waller of playing politics in vetoing the OEO grant. He claimed the Governor's veto would deny much needed health care to needy blacks in the delta and accused the Governor of retaliating by vetoing the grant because the Credentials Committee, of which he was Vice-Chairman, denied seating to the Regular Democrats of Mississippi. The Governor entered his veto on the grant June 1 while the Credentials Committee hearing in Washington was held one month later on July 1.

Members of the Board of Directors of the hospital and health center charged that the Governor was attempting to close down the facility for political reasons. They added that if funds were not released money would not be available to meet the payroll in July. On June 29, the Governor sent a telegram to Dr. Leon Cooper, Director of the Office of Health Affairs of OEO authorising the release of $1.3 million to meet current obligations and pay for oeprations for May, June and July.

However, according to Mrs. Lee Sutton, State OEO Director, records indicate that as of April 30, 1972, the Delta Community Hospital and Health Center had $2,873,556 in unexpended funds from the 1972 budget which Dr. Cooper's office had authorized the hospital to carry over and apply to the 1973 budget.

These funds, when added to the $5,539,180 grant approved by OEO, would have authorized expenditure of $8,412,736 by the Delta Community Hospital and Health Care Center between May 1, 1972 and April 30, 1973. Mrs. Sutton said the corporation operating the facility had also borrowed $200,000 from a Greenville Bank in May.

Waller said, "When you consider that the comparable operation of the 65 bed Belzoni hospital which had both in-patient and out-patient services in a similar area has an annual bedget of $900,000 or about $4.5 million less, you begin to imagine the magnitude of this boondoggle."

Waller emphasized there was no effort to close the facility but only to see that the money was used for the purpose for which it was intended-providing health care services for the poor. He said more and better health care services could be provided for more people in the Delta and at less cost.

Mrs. Sutton said another group is being formed and we are in favor of a continued program in Mound Bayou of a size compatible with the need and population.

The Governor said his only condition for returning the money to operate the facility was that it be operated in a business-like manner by a responsible Board of Directors.

Mrs. Sutton said that the health care facility gained national recognition when it was begun by Tufts University but because of problems created by individuals who were attempting to control the Board of Directors, the University pulled out. In a letter dated August 13, 1970, the Dean of the Tufts Medical School told the OEO, "After three uninterrupted years of this problem, without definitive action to end it, I believe it is fair to say that neither Tufts University or any other responsible institution could be expected to continue its participation in Mississippi under these circumstances."

In the same letter, the Tufts Medical School Dean told the Office of Economic Opportunity, "The situation remains essentially unchanged-and just as bad. All of our current physicians can document the same problems. We now have a list of nearly twenty health center physicians past and present, many of whom have worked for as much as nine years in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East and two of whom are black and have practiced extensively elsewhere in Mississippi, who are prepared to say that this is one of the poorest quality hospitals that they have worked in anywhere, despite prolonged continuing efforts on our part to be helpful to the hospital."

Mrs. Sutton pointed out also that the Joint Commission on The Accreditation For Hospitals, a national organization, has withdrawn its approval of the Mound Bayou Community Hospital.

The Governor said, "It doesn't take a CPA to analyze the magnitude of this fiasco. When only a little over $300,000 goes for all medical supplies out of $5.5 million to be spent, it becomes obvious that the major aim of this program is not to provide health care for the needy blacks in the Delta. Moreover, it is incredible that OEO with a State-wide budget of 7 million annually

for health care would spend 80% or $5.5 million in a small unpopulated area like this. Such practice is unfair and unjust to two million Mississippians.

"I am pleased to say that many blacks in the Delta have realized what is going on and are taking action to see that it is stopped. I have pledged to work with any responsible group that will dedicate themselves to the real need--giving health care to the needy."

-30-

TO BE EQUAL

by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Barriers To Black Voting

This year's election could be one of the most crucial of the century, an election in which decisions will be made that could affect the course this nation takes for the next decade or so, but millions of citizens will be robbed of their right to participate in the vital electoral process that affects their lives.

The South has always been pointed to as the region that kept black people from voting. The landmark Voting Rights Act of 1965 helped to change that, although some parts of the South still set up roadblocks. But a new research study by the National Urban League, "Abridging the Right to Vote," shows that many northern and western communities are just as reluctant to encourage full citizen participation in elections today, as the South has been historically.

It is well known that there is a smaller voter turnout for American elections than for those of other Western countries. The popular explanation for this has always stressed voter apathy, but it is now apparent that the real reason is the external impediments placed in the path of many people.

These barriers are especially significant in the inner-city and in smaller metropolitan areas. Residency requirements are among the most effective means of keeping citizens away from the polling booth. Some 33 states have rules requiring one year's residence in the state before one can vote, and most states have the same one-year rule for residence in the county or the precinct.

It is well known that we are the most mobile country in the world, but election officials still cling to residency requirements more suited to the old New England town meeting style of government. It is clear that such unreasonable residency requirements prevent millions from voting and fall disproportionately upon minority groups that have high mobility rates within states or cities.

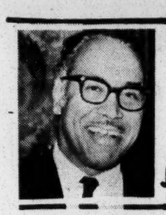
The registration process itself is a formidable barrier to voting. In many states, registration ends two months or more before the elections - that is, well before the publicity of the campaigns stimulates voter interest. In many states, registration ends well before the primaries, cutting even more potential voters from the rolls.

Most year-round registration offices are only open from 9 to 5, thus effectively preventing working people and the poor from registering. Not many people are willing or able to lose a day's pay to register. Many cities open temporary registration offices with evening or weekend hours for a limited period, but these are open for only a few days and there is so little publicity that most people never even know about them.

Since registration offices are located "downtown" -- far from the ghetto, distance is an effective barrier as well. Few cities have really attempted to open temporary offices in the ghetto during registration periods, utilize mobile units and neighborhood registrars, or make other efforts to reach potential black voters.

Literacy tests, long used against blacks in the South, are now used in some states, including liberal ones like New York, to keep Spanish-speaking citizens and some blacks from registering. And many states bar convicted felons from the ballot, a rule that is said to result in disqualifying over 1.5 million people, many of whose convictions were for relatively trival offenses.

There are plenty of other administrative regulations and local laws that keep people out of the system when they should be used to include them in. It looks like the biggest reason not enough citizens participate in the electoral system in the system itself.



For Women- ----

Your Body, Your Health

John F. J. Clark, M.D,FACOG

A couple of wraps around the upper arm, a few pumps of air, and then the doctor or nurse reads the blood pressure. That's all there's to it--yet few pregnant women realize how much this simple test means to them. One of the most common conditions affecting pregnancy is hypertension (high blood pressure). For both the mother and her developing baby it is important that the mother's blood pressure be in the normal range. If the blood pressure is too high, the blood vessels may get smaller and narrower (constrict), and the blood supply from the mother to the baby be seriously reduced, possibly depriving the baby of its required food.

Women with a previous history of high blood pressure should be under the close supervision of their doctor during pregnancy. With proper care, in most cases they can have a normal pregnancy and deliver healthy babies.

Some women with high blood pressure may deliver babies that are thin and scrawny, smaller in weight than should be expected---the "low birth weight baby." Statistics show that low birth weight babies have less chance of surviving than normal weight babies.

The chief worry tied in with high blood pressure is toxemia. In this disease, excess

MY REFLECTION IN THE ARTS

By Lillian B. Garnett

On Sororities and Fraternities

August is convention month. Many of our black Greek letter organizations will be holding their national meetings this month.

For almost three quarters of a century "black" sororities and fraternities have existed in the U. S. For a long time they were national in scope. They are now, international. There are five national sororities and at least five fraternities in the country. With their emphasis on scholorship, leadership, and service they have done much to improve the "self concept" of college black young men and women. They have helped in Black's struggle for human dignity.

Though criticized severely for being more social than humanitarian, sororities and fraternities have served as a

THE ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA BOULE

Among the two thousand Alpha Kappa Alpha sorors who will converge on Denver, Colorado August 13-18 will be twenty five sorors from Atlanta. They will be attending the forty-fifth Annual Boule.

The Boule of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority is the governing body of the organization, and convenes every two years. Headquarters and ses-

The Moving PAGEANT

By Ray McIver

BLACK-WORLD-VIEW

A monthly column of opinion and analysis from the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta, Ga.

From Gary to Me McGovern: Black Politics - Lost, Strayed, and Betrayed

The election of George McGovern to the presidency of the United States would probably mean much less to Black America than is supposed. For it is difficult to see what George McGovern can do that John Kennedy, for example, could not. The system that stymied Kennedy would undoubtedly stymie McGovern too. Even if McGovern were elected, it is unclear how he would govern at all, facing a Nixon-slanted Supreme Court, a Senate presided over by James Eastland, a hostile opposition party, and a divided Democratic Party.

In any case, McGovern's election does not appear likely. His campaign is sputtering and spattering, and threatening to burn out. Perhaps his future is already be hind him, his greatest achievement lying not in his near-rise to the white House but in his rise to the top, if only temporarily, of the Democratic Party. McGovern's emergence from obscurity represents an important political lesson to black people, a lesson that too many black politicians and leaders seem not to understand or care about as they single-mindedly sprint to join the McGovern bandwagon, stampeding over Gary as though it never happened at all.

What our black politician-leaders fail to see is that George McGovern embodies the opportunism of American politics, be it of the Republican or the Democratic variety. Like Wallace, he rode tide of a politics of protest that threatened delegates, ninety percent of whom had never attended a political convention before, could as easily have been voting-in Eugene McCarthy..... if he had only hung in there and provided leadership for the cause. Instead, McCarthy abdicated the political throne, preferring poetry to politics; losing his followers to McGovern through aristocratic neglect.

So McGovern became the new standard-bearer of anti-war and reform politics by default, bequeathed his legacy by "Clean Gene." And when McGovern's chance had come, he knew what he had to do to capitalize on it. He knew that he could not beat the old Party System playing by its rules, so he changed them. There was simply no way that he could win either the nomination or the election by playing politics as usual. He had first to change the party system, and he did, by bringing in the young protesters of Chicago, newly politically conscious Blacks, and American youth and women clamoring to be heard. These new Democrats took the place of the Dixiecrats and machine politicians who had previously run the Democratic Party to suit their own interests. The fundamental meaning of the clash with Daley was whether the Democratic Party would play by Daley's rules or McGovern's. In Miami McGovern had the horses and won the race, but this has nothing to do with a politics of integrity. rules. They seek not to change the system but to participate in it. They seem unable to fight for any black cause larger than that which they see in their mirror every morning.

In Maimi, Gary and the Black Agenda were bartered away for a mess of porridge, their memory trampled underfoot in the hot Miami dust. But the truth of Gary's analysis will out) as will the nature of the white politics to which so many of our black politicians still cling):

"For more than a century we have followed the path of political dependence on white men and their systems. From the Liberty Party in the decades before the Civil War, to the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln, we trusted in white men and white politics as our deliverers. . . .Let there be no more of that."

Miami exposed the nature of the Democratic Party and its leaders. We saw Humphrey and Muskie subordinate the welfare of the party, personal pride, fair play, everything, to their lust for power. They seemed prepared to cut McGovern's throat if necessary to advance their own personal careers. And then, after Miami, we saw McGovern "standing 1000 per cent" behind his chosen running-mate, Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri one week, only to cast him casually aside the next. The name of this game is win at any cost, at any price. And if these white Democrats will - and do -- betray their own, what is it that

ways stressed voter apathy, but it is now apparent that the real reason is the external impediments placed in the path of many people.

These barriers are especially significant in the inner-city and in smaller metropolitan areas. Residency requirements are among the most effective means of keeping citizens away from the polling booth. Some 33 states have rules requiring one year's residence in the state before one can vote, and most states have the same one-year rule for residence in the county or the precinct.

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Though criticized severely for being more social than humanitarian, sororities and fraternities have served as a catalyst to inspire black men and women to strive to achieve.

Even the social aspect is commendable for it has contributed to personal improvement and a feeling of being somebody as well as a feeling of belonging. At their meetings and social affairs they have been a source for bringing together those of similar interests and ideals. Though somewhat seclusive and restricted fraternal attitudes of snobbishness and bigotry are outweighed by their contribution to individual human development. Through association and fellowship sorors and fraters have gained, from each other.

Through their local and national programs of service to the community they have contributed to the educational, political, religious and general welfare of humanity.

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Headquarters and sessions of the Boule will be held at the Denver-Hilton Hotel. Many sorors will live at the hotel but room reservations have been exhausted for over a month.

Denver is such a wonderful place to hold a convention. Colorado's capital city has been described as "The Mile High City where the Great Plains wed the Rockies.

Mattelia B. Gray, Supreme Basileus will call this huge gathering together and preside over the sessions. She has said, "I hope that this Boule will be an experience in involvement positive thinking and worthwhile participation.

We envision vast possibilities for extensive, relevant action and dedicated service as we operate under the theme "Greater involvement - Alpha Kappa Alpha's Responsibility. The focus, "Personal Involvement Now" best communicates what Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority is about.

The Moving PAGEANT

By Ray McIver

One Reason More Why Blacks Just Must Go It Alone

Whenever we read a story like the one we are reprinting in brief below, we marvel at the minds of some black leaders (fleeders ?) who loudly in Black English exhort black hearers to damn all white people and embrace all black ones.

On reading the story we also pondered on the clamor made a few springs ago by some students on some local campuses who demanded that all, college boards of education rid themselves of all white members, leaving black minds solely in the hands of black people.

THE STORY

The highlight of the Annual Meeting of the Morehouse College Board of Trustees on the college campus on April 15 was the announcement of a contribution of $500,000 to the Atlanta institution by the Charles E. Merrill Trust.

The announcement of the grant was made by Mr. Charles, Board Chairman of both the Trust and the college, through Morehouse President Hugh M. Gloster.

According to Dr. Gloster, Mr. Merrill approved the use of the grant for the establishment of an endowed Charles E. Merrill chair in Economics as permanent recognition of the dedicated service to the College by the present Board Chairman.

The grant of $500.,000 from the Charles E. Merrill Trust will be included in the national drive for $14,000,000 which Morehouse launched this spring.

Of course, all of this can make no sense to that murky-minded black who believes, for some dreamy reason, that the so-called white race owes money to the so-called black race because some time ago a few members of that group held a large number of the latter in legal but immoral bondage.

Enslavement of any person or persons is and was of course horrendous, but has been a fact throughout recorded history.

But if the descendants of former slaves are to be requited for the labors of their ancestors, who would pay whom ?"

- The whites who held other whites as slaves?
- The blacks who sold and owned slaves in the fatherland?
- The descendants of poor whites who could not afford to buy even one slave but went forth to die for the rich whites who could and did?
- The Crabs whose names illiterate blacks are latching out, now that it is a nigger fashion to do so?
- The American blacks - some 400 of them - who found slavery as lucrative a thing as the African chiefs who were the best of wholesalers?

No man is an island, the poet said. If any black wants to make himself one, what a bleak and desert plot of ground that would bel.

selah-

Here & Yon By YeOlde Alumnus

I've been gone for a mighty long time, but now I 'm back to earn my dime. FLASH. Everybody talking bout the Eagleton case and how McGovern backtracked on a situation which would have been to his credit if he had hung on in there Some fools said that they wouldn't want a man who had gone to a shrink in the white house. Well, what about the crazy people in Washington who are running our country and haven't ever been to see a psychiatrist. TEXAS.. The rumor is that L. Beast J. approves of the way that Nixon is handling the mass murders in Vietnam and he is secretly backing Connally's efforts to get some the top Pigocrats to throw in support for Richard Millwho. Who says that Nixon is a "Republican?" LOUISIANA. People who weren't weeping at Alan "The Planter" Ellender's funeral were the poor people of Louisiana, especially black people, who haven't been able to make two cents because of Ellender's refusal to support a strong minimum wage in his state. Ellender has been considered one of the Fat KKKats among the Southern Bosses. He's dead, but the ruthless, greedy system he supported goes on. NORTH VIETNAM. More and more evidence is coming out that Nixon has in fact bombed, is bombing, and will bomb the dikes in an effort to stop the liberation forces. Even indirect hits can damage the base of the dams, so that with the pressure of the flood waters during Monsoon weather, they will give a way and drown thousands. Check out what happened in the Phillipines, at Rapid City, and in Pennsylvania. This is the policy which both Democrats and Republicans support. "But the NLF is going to win anyhow. Can you dig it?" Check it out.

(constrict), and the blood supply from the mother to the baby be seriously reduced, possibly depriving the baby of its required food.

Women with a previous history of high blood pressure should be under the close supervision of their doctor during pregnancy. With proper care, in most cases they can have a normal pregnancy and deliver healthy babies.

Some women with high blood pressure may deliver babies that are thin and scrawny, smaller in weight than should be expected---the "low birth weight baby." Statistics show that low birth weight babies have less chance of surviving than normal weight babies.

The chief worry tied in with high blood pressure is toxemia. In this disease, excess fluids begin to be retained in the body. As a result, the blood pressure goes up, the kidneys do not function properly, and the hands, feet or face swell. Since the kidneys do not remove enough waste and fluid material from the blood, the blood pressure may go up even higher.

Toxemia occurs most often in women who have had high blood pressure or kidney disease, particularly if they are fat, are carrying twins or have diabetes.

But another important class of women can be affected. These are often young women between the ages of 15 and 29, who live in poverty areas, whose diets are poor, who are pregnant for the first time and who are worried because of lack of knowledge about their pregnancy or by financial problems. I don't need to tell you how closely this describes many young women in our inner cities and poorer rural areas.

Such women may not go to a doctor when they first become pregnant and so continue their poor eating habits and become more anxious, thus endangering themselves and their children.

Among the symptoms of toxemia are above normal weight gains with retention of excess fluids, headache and pain in the upper abdomen (just below the rib cage), swelling of the hands or feet that doesn't go away, and in severe cases, convulsions.

Although toxemia has been observed by doctors for over 2,000 years, what actually causes it is still not definitely known. We do know that when women have better diets and eating habits and when pregnant women receive medical attention, the severe form of toxemia is rare in the United States.

When weight gain is rapid or swelling lasts, the physician usually recommends increased rest, a properly balanced diet, and avoidance of too much salt (although some salt is needed at all times). If her symptoms are not relieved by these measures, the woman may be admitted to the hospital so that she can get more complete rest and receive further treatment.

If high blood pressure and other signs of toxemia are present at the time of delivery, special care is given to both mother and baby for the first three days after delivery. After that time the mother's body usually begins to expel any excess fluids that have built up during pregnancy and the toxemia usually disappears.

The most important step for every woman who wants to have good health during her pregnancy and wants to protect her baby is to put herself in the care of a doctor and consult him about any problem that comes up.

(Dr. Clark's column is prepared with the cooperation of The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists. Letters and questions should be sent to: Dr. John F. J. Clark, ACOG, 79 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois 60603.)

ing to burn out. Perhaps his future is already be hind him, his greatest achievement lying not in his near-rise to the white House but in his rise to the top, if only temporarily, of the Democratic Party. McGovern's emergence from obscurity represents an important political lesson to black people, a lesson that too many black politicians and leaders seem not to understand or care about as they single-mindedly sprint to join the McGovern bandwagon, stampeding over Gary as though it never happened at all.

What our black politician-leaders fail to see is that George McGovern embodies the opportunism of American politics, be it of the Republican or the Democratic variety. Like Wallace, he rode tide of a politics of protest that threatened to tear the Democratic Party in two. Indeed, it was difficult not to feel, as one watched the television take-over the Democratic Party by McGovern followers in Miami, that all these new

its rules, so he changed them. There was simply no way that he could win either the nomination or the election by playing politics as usual. He had first to change the party system, and he did, by bringing in the young protesters of Chicago, newly politically conscious Blacks, and American youth and women clamoring to be heard. These new Democrats took the place of the Dixiecrats and machine politicians who had previously run the Democratic Party to suit their own interests. The fundamental meaning of the clash with Daley was whether the Democratic Party would play by Daley's rules or McGovern's. In Miami McGovern had the horses and won the race, but this has nothing to do with a politics of integrity.

This lesson about the bankruptcy of white politics seems lost upon most black politicians. They claim that they are trying to play black politics, but they play by whites, opportunistic

War, to the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln, we trusted in white men and white politics as our deliverers. . . .Let there be no more of that."

Miami exposed the nature of the Democratic Party and its leaders. We saw Humphrey and Muskie subordinate the welfare of the party, personal pride, fair play, everything, to their lust for power. They seemed prepared to cut McGovern's throat if necessary to advance their own personal careers. And then, after Miami, we saw McGovern "standing 1000 per cent" behind his chosen running-mate, Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri one week, only to cast him casually aside the next. The name of this game is win at any cost, at any price. And if these white Democrats will - and do -- betray their own, what is it that **prompts black politicians to entrust our own black fate to those unprincipled white hands?**

Some of our elected representatives were sincerely mistaken, others were hopelessly corrupt, but all, the best and the worst, including Shirley, delivered up our real and potential black political power. They delivered it up willingly, graciously, cleverly, in the belief, one supposes, that by advancing white politics they were somehow advancing our own. That is, of course, an error. Shouldn't they have known who they were and with whom they were dealing when they heard George McGovern sentimentally calling for America to "come home?" Come home to what? To Tuskegee, Alabama, where white Public Health Officials were experimenting with the bodies and lives of black men and decade before Nazi Germany made such medical barbarism fashionable? Come home to Jefferson's plantation in Monticello, or Washington's in Mount Vernon, or Rockefeller's in Harlem or Attica? No. We think not. Rather do we remember our poet Langston, who proclaimed our black truth many years ago when he said, "America, America, you've never been America to me."

So we do not look with the same starry eyes as George McGovern for America to come home to the slave ships and Jim Crow of its past. Instead we look to the future, to the rising of the colored races of the world, to the setting of the fading white sun. We look to Malcolm's star, and Martin's and Fanon's and Garvey's and Sojourner's shining on.

In the words of the Black Agenda, let us." here and now... begin with an independent black political movement, an independent black spirit. Nothing less will do. We must build for our people. We stand on the edge of history. We cannot turn back. . . ."

Auburn Avenue Sam Says:

wall, somer yall been wondering where i has been. well, if you must know, i done been to miami for a vacation and to go along with the poor people's march down there in flamingo park. is sho was hot and muggy and it was like being in a steam bath, like they useta have on peachtree, when i worked there as a towelman. mr. macgovern sent his mens down to tell us howdydo, but at the meeting with the welfare people, which i was a part of, he tell us that he wasnt going to support our demands for 65 hundreds dollars a year, which aint much if you ask me. now, some of our leaders was well housed, not me. i had me a cot in a tent with an old geezer from sumter. south calina, and we had us some good talking about the old days when we had a march on the county courthouse to get poor relief during the depressing. course i really felt a little bad when i saw the daughter of one of our leaders just a splashing away and having herself a real good time in the swimming pool, while we was battling the heat and sweating like mules. seems to me that somebody couda thought of the idea of letting all of us have a chance in the pool. or at least pass our some swimming trunks so we couda went wading in the ocean. and some people dint even know that the polices hit on some or heads during tone demonstration. there was a guy there name j. j. who ask me why was resurrection city allowed to die by the people who gave birth to it. who knows.

To The Editor

Mrs. Brena Frey has advised us of the tremendous role you have played in helping to spread the word on the activities and programs of the Voluntary Action Center in Atlanta.

This important service you have rendered puts us a step closer to our ultimate goal -- to demonstrate, within a community, what can be done by volunteers. The local Voluntary Action Centers are the heart of an expanding national network created to bring a new degree of support, recognition and focus to the work of the nation's volunteers. Sincerely,

Douglas K. Kinsey.

Hospitals test fixed-charge billing

Several hospitals across the country are experimenting with a cost-containment program that eliminates itemization of charges on a patient's bill.

The one-year project, sponsored by the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare and being implemented by consultants, aims to enable hospitals to present a simplified bill to the patient at discharge.

Hospitals in Colorado, Hawaii, and the Appalachia area are participating. In all cases, approval was obtained from third-party payers.

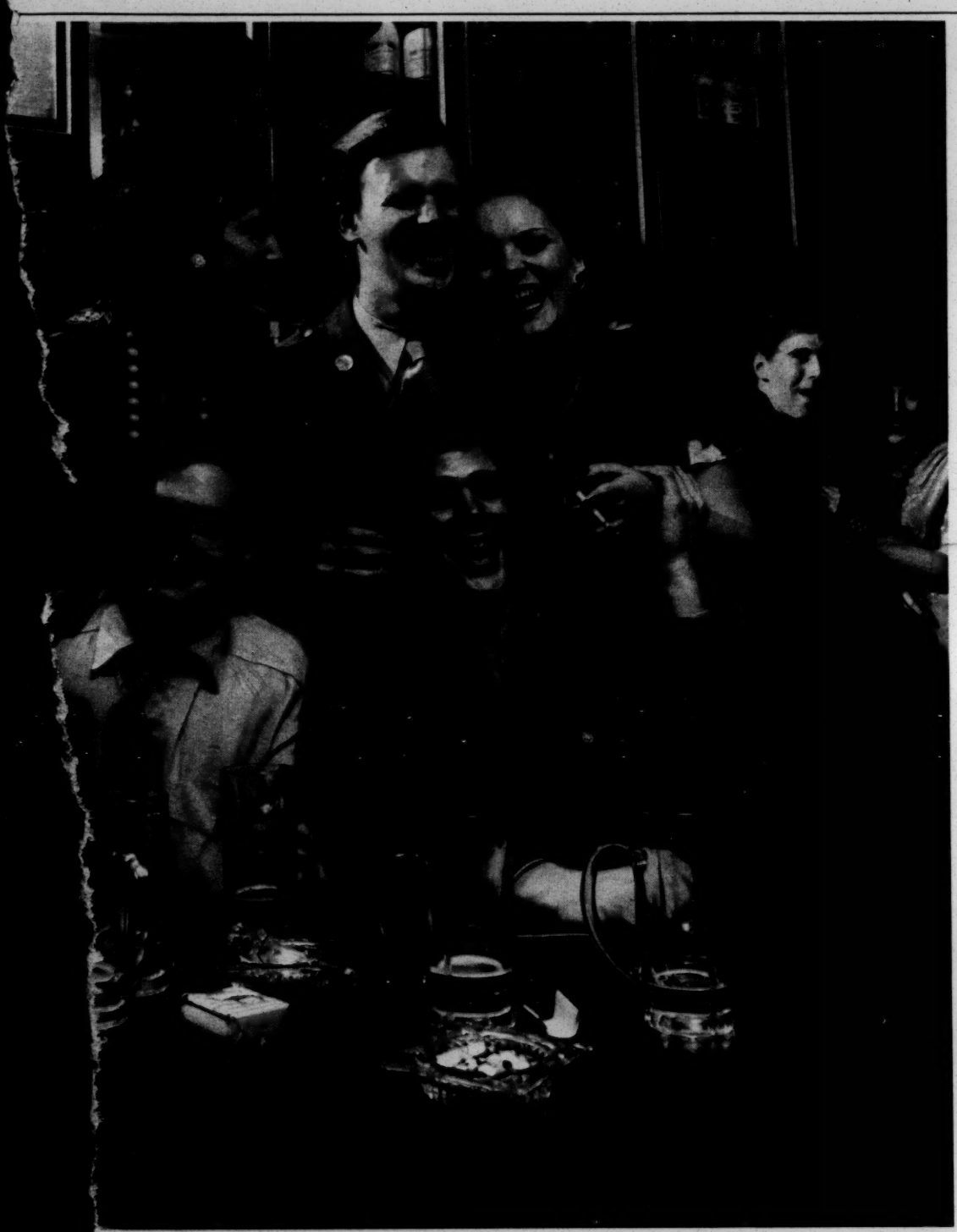
Under the program, the patient is charged an established per-day rate for accommodations and ancillary services, such as radiology, laboratory, pharmacy, and operating room.

The daily rate may vary depending on the type of hospital service and how long the patient remains hospitalized. The daily charge for ancillary services is obtained by gathering costs over a one-year period for a particular service, and averaging the daily charge by computer.

At Colorado General Hospital, for example, hospital officials said no more costs will be added to the original fixed charge "no matter what complications set in." There are certain exceptions, they said, but these are related to blood, pharmaceutical supplies taken for use at home, special appliances such as pacemakers and crutches, and intensive care.

When a patient checked out under the old system of itemization, hospital billing employees had to gather as many as three or four pages of charge slips, and the patient would get his bill from 10 days to two weeks later, hospital officials added.

The billing system already is being used by several hospitals in Cleveland and New York, but this particular HEW evaluation project is experimenting with a more sophisticated and comprehensive system, officials said.



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MDs cite rise in Blues' costs

Blue Cross and Blue Shield administrative costs per subscriber rose 60% nationally between 1965 and 1969, a Harvard research team of physicians reported in the *New England Journal of Medicine*.

After analyzing 74 Blue Cross and 73 Blue Shield plans, MDs Robert J. Weiss and William Wiese, and Joel C. Kleinman, PhD, of the Harvard Center for Community Health and Medical Care reported that if all plans were administered as efficiently as a few are, 140 million subscribers would have saved $119 million in 1969.

The physicians said that Massachusetts Blue Cross and Blue Shield was spending almost twice as much per enrollee to process claims in 1969 as in 1965.

"Up to the present, there has been no incentive for private insurance companies to monitor their own costs because these are always passed on directly to the consumer," the physicians wrote.

Walter J. McNerney, Blue Cross Assn. president, said there were "serious deficiencies in the data the physicians presented."

McNerney added, "Many factors determine administrative costs of Blue Cross plans, including various salary scales in different areas of the country, the nature and complexity of the benefits offered by the individual plan, and its role in servicing national accounts.

"It is also important to know that Blue Cross increased its efforts to control health care costs during this period, and this led to higher administrative expense by various plans," McNerney added.

The BCA president said that his organization is studying the situation internally and has urged comparative studies.

Massachusetts and national Blue Shield officials said the administrative increase has not been caused by inefficiency and poor management.

Rather, they said, the culprit was the increased cost of fighting medical inflation and offering subscribers more benefits.

Hospital records

(Continued from page 1)

this year at the legislature got this date set back to July, 1975. The commission voted to ask the General Assembly to reimpose the 1974 date and keep the 1975 deadline for nursing homes. Hospitals have voiced support for the 1974 date.

The commission said the 10-year financial data will be only the beginning of its probe into hospital finances. The commision also wants to disclose the salaries of top medical personnel in hospitals and to determine how much of a patient's bill is attributable to the care he received and how much to costs of training young physicians and nurses.

Commission members indicated they will require hospitals to separate the costs of teaching from those of patient care.

Washington's week

Collapse of the big legislative offensives for the two direction-setting health bills of this Congressional session--national health insurance and health maintenance organizations (HMOs)--prompts revised tactical thinking, regrouping, retrenching. Next session won't be a replay of this Congressional term. Administration is quietly beginning work on revisions of its mandated employer plan. Sen. Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.) and other supporters of the labor-backed NHI bill are ready to accept any broad bill, a decided switch from the previous all-or-nothing strategy.

Labor's grand design on health was thwarted by conservative forces in House, by the failure to rouse public enthusiasm for NHI, and by Sen. George McGovern's nomination and subsequent refusal to ballyhoo national health insurance as a campaign issue.

Labor had counted on committing the Democratic presidential candidate to its bill and making health--as labor officials repeatedly urged--the number one domestic battleground issue. With the hoped-for election of the Democratic candidate, the electorate would have made clear its preference for a sweeping, federalized health system, labor's thinking went.

Free of these overriding political implications, the Administration and Congress next year will be able to consider national health in a calmer atmosphere. With present odds heavily favoring the re-election of Nixon and additional conservative strength in House and Senate, the chances for a mammoth NHI plan in the near future seem remote.

The defeat of labor's fall-back offensive this year for a $5-billion program to set up HMOs patterned after prepaid group practice organizations or contract practice will have lasting repercussions. The enthusiasm in Congress for HMOs eroded as testimony piled up on costs and difficulties. Extreme budget and tax pressures on the next Congress are expected to weigh heavily against another drive to erect thousands of HMOs across the nation.

Veterans Administration is puzzled by sharp upswing in applications for patient care--some 130,000 a month and rising. Congress next year will be asked to approve a VA budget $1 billion higher than this year's $1.6 billion, with the increased patient-load responsible for about half the increase. Studies have shown no discernible pattern among the applicants for care that gives a single reason for the larger volume, according to Marc Musser, MD, chief VA medical director. Dr. Musser says one of his aims is to cut down pre-surgical hospital stays. The VA official sees no special problems in recruiting physicians or keeping them as a result of military pay hikes for physicians, citing a successful recruiting drive last spring for 800 physicians. Passage of a national health insurance bill might require changes in VA system, he notes, since many needy veterans would become eligible for civilian care financed by the new insurance program. However, Dr. Musser points to survey of veterans showing a high percentage preferring care in a VA hospital even if private hospital care were available at no expense.

Notes: President Nixon designates week of Oct. 15 as third annual Drug Abuse Prevention Week. Heroin shortages are developing, glamorization of drugs has been halted, government mobilized to enforce laws, provide rehabilitation, the President declares. "We can find good reason to be hopeful for the future." . . . Blue Cross-Blue Shield, trying for years to work out agreement with U.S. government for coverage of foreign visitors in this country, reports a contract to cover 150 Soviet citizens studying health care in U.S. HEW Dept. pays premium. American study visitors in Moscow covered reciprocally.

Drug abuse sess

The various medical complications in patients who abuse drugs will be examined in depth at a conference on Dec. 7, in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Committee on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence of the American Medical Association.

William M. Lukash, MD, White House physician and chief of gastroenterology at Bethesda Naval Hospital, will serve as conference coordinator.

"The emphasis at the conference will be on clinical problems that develop from the patient's abuse of drugs," Dr. Lukash said. "We will stress recognition and treatment of the special problems drug-abusing patients present."

The Conference is open to all physicians and other health professionals. Physicians in attendance will earn credits toward continuing education requirements. for seven cr the physicia AMA and s American cians.

Problems pulmonary, c skin diseases gery in addic its implicatio eases caused unsterile equi tions. Special ment of overd

Jerome B. J federal governm fice for Drug A on the develop sources for dru pendent person try.

Medicare changes deba

(Continued from page 1)

fits, and modifies the nation's welfare statutes. However, the Senate defeated all major welfare reform proposals. The total $18.5 billion cost of the Senate version is about twice the price tag of the House bill approved last year.

At stake in the House-Senate conference is the question of whether chiropractors' servic the first time House bill ca study of the ch ate allows chir ed they are co lation. A move (D., Mass.) t provision was a 66-6 vote.

HMO proposal s

(Continued from page 1)

measure had concentrated their efforts this year on the big Senate HMO bill when it became clear their NHI plan was sunk.

A strong cautionary note was sounded during testimony on HMOs before House and Senate committees by the American Medical Association, which warned against over-expectation of results from HMOs and pointed out the difficulties that existing prepaid group practice plans have had in getting started and in attracting new members. The AMA advocated a strictly experimental program with wide flexibility as to what constitutes an HMO, and questioned the idea of subsidizing one form of practice over another.

In the works at the Health, Education, and Welfare Dept. are 110 projects at various stages—none operational. Further experimental grants have been frozen due HEW was gressional HMO introduc

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CNI Weekly Report
Community Nutrition Institute

In This Issue:

Welfare Bill...
Nitrite Studies...
California Initiative...
Prison Commodities...

October 19, 1972
Vol. II, No. 29
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Federal Judge Orders School Lunch Expansion To Needy in Cleveland

A federal judge in Cleveland, Ohio has issued a strong statement ordering the Cleveland School Board to provide free or reduced price lunches to an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 needy children in that city.

"The one place where the state has direct control of all children is in the school system," said Judge Don Young of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Ohio in an October 2 ruling. "It can and must do there what the welfare programs are made to fail to do elsewhere: insure that growing children of tender years are not completely starved.

"The Court recognizes the financial problems of the school districts, and the difficulty of using meagre resources to the best effect. But programs, books, and teachers are of little help to a child whose receptivity to learning is dulled by the gnawing of hunger. If there is not enough money to do everything, nourishing the body must come first."

Attorneys Negotiating

In their defense, school officials had cited previous court decisions as support for their argument that all eligible children in a school district need not be served lunches simply because some children received such aid. Judge Young, however declared that Congress and USDA had recently made "clear and unambiguous provisions of law" indicating that all eligible children within a school district must be served.

The class action suit was filed in December 1969 by attorneys for the Legal Aid Society of Cleveland and the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law in New York City. Attorneys on both sides of the case are presently negotiating methods by which the judge's order might be implemented. The Cleveland school system has a central kitchen that serves some, but not all, public schools. One possibility that has been discussed is pairing schools with lunch facilities with those that lack them so as to minimize the cost of building new facilities.

"The only problem left is enforcement," Lloyd Snyder, an attorney for the Legal Aid Society, told CNI Weekly Report. "We don't know how quickly the judge's order can be implemented; we may have to seek temporary solutions that will satisfy the requirements."

Congress Wraps Up Business This Week

With action remaining on major bills, Congress extended its session beyond a scheduled Saturday deadline into the early days of this week.

Conference committees Saturday night fashioned compromise versions of two outstanding bills. On Tuesday, Congress gave final approval to the massive Social Security bill (see accompanying story). Late Tuesday night the Senate rejected a compromise bill that would have given the President unprecedented authority to limit the fiscal 1973 federal budget to $250 billion. We will offer a report on this measure, which threatened the funding of social programs, in a subsequent issue.

Congress took final action on a number of bills of interest to CNI readers:

Social Service Ceiling

Congress passed and sent to the White House the massive $30.2 billion revenue sharing bill with a controversial $2.5 billion ceiling on federal matching grants for social services spending attached. Placed on the bill by the Senate Finance Committee, the ceiling was raised by a Senate-House conference committee and given final approval by the House in a 281-86 vote last Thursday. (For background on the social services ceiling, see CNI Vol. II: 27.)

Older Americans Amendments

Congress gave final approval to a compromise bill authorizing $2.1 billion over three years in aid to the elderly. The bulk of the authorized funds would go for grants to states to provide such services as transportation, nutrition -- including the elderly feeding program and meals-on-wheels -- recreation, housing and pre-retirement training programs.

The bill also authorizes $250 million to provide up to 100,000 public service jobs for needy persons over the age of 55.

A key feature of the bill is a provision to set up a Presidentially-appointed federal Council on the Aging to act as the advocate for older Americans within established government agencies.

Product Safety, Pesticides

Congress gave final approval to bills establishing a product safety agency and controlling the use of pesticides.

The compromise product safety bill is considered much less comprehensive than an earlier bill passed by the Senate. A House-Senate conference rejected a Senate provision that would have stripped the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) of its authority over food, drugs and cosmetics (see CNI Vol. II:15).

Congress also approved a conference report on the pesticide controll bill that included most provisions sought by environmental groups but also included a provision to compensate a manufacturer if his product is found unsafe and is removed from the market.

Appropriations Bills

Congress approved a second Labor-HEW appropriations bill to replace an earlier bill that the President had vetoed as inflationary. The compromise second bill authorizes the $30.5 billion spending level that the President vetoed but would allow him to cut spending back to $28.7 billion, or $535 million more than his budget request.

In a separate appropriations bill covering several federal agencies, Congress approved a $790 million budget for the Office of Economic Opportunity. The appropriation was $30 million more than the Administration had asked for; the additional funds represent funding for the recently-reorganized emergency food and medical services (EFMS) program.

Elderly Poor Lose Food Stamp Eligibility

Congress on Tuesday gave final approval to a compromise $5.4 billion Social Security and welfare bill after dropping a large block of costly Senate amendments and cutting out welfare provisions that critics called punitive and harmful to the poor.

However, the bill would eliminate food stamp eligibility for as many as 5 million clients of a federalized, expanded assistance program for the aged, blind and disabled.

The House approved the compromise by a vote of 305 to 1. The Senate then completed action by a vote of 61 to 0.

In a House-Senate conference on the bill, conferees adopted an amendment sponsored by Senator William V. Roth, Jr. (R-Del.) to eliminate food stamp eligibility for the indigent elderly, blind and disabled in exchange for a guarantee of $130 monthly cash assistance (see CNI Vol.II:28). The conferees dropped a Senate amendment that

would have nullified the Roth amendment. They also eliminated Senate provisions that would have protected the elderly poor from harmful effects of the recent Social Security rise (see CNI Vol. II: 27).

"In general, Congress was kinder to welfare mothers this time than it was to the aged, blind and disabled," a Senate Nutrition Committee aide told CNI Weekly Report.

The bill provides for a federal takeover of the present federal-state welfare system for the aged, blind and disabled poor effective January 1, 1974. It would guarantee each such person without other income a minimum federal benefit of $130 a month ($195 per couple).

Under this bill, when an individual in the program is receiving a small Social Security payment supplemented by welfare, the first $30 a month in such a payment, plus up to $65 in earnings, would be disregarded in determining income.

Since about half the states already pay more than the new federal welfare minimums, the bill provides that states may supplement the federal payment if they wish to maintain or increase benefit levels.

The federalization plan is expected to expand welfare rolls for the aged, blind and disabled from 3 million to over 5 million. It will save the states about $1.5 billion a year and cost the federal government about $2 billion.

"When these provisions take effect in 1974," commented the Senate Nutrition Committee aide, "an elderly poor person can consider himself lucky if he is as well off as he is right now."

Reform Test Eliminated

Dropped from the bill were all basic "welfare reform" provisions passed by the House and a $400 million test of various reform plans passed by the Senate.

Also dropped were Senate provisions granting a 10 percent federal work bonus to the working poor who earn less than $4,000 a year; a system of wage supplements for low-income employees, a Senate provision to track down deserting fathers with government lawyers, a Senate provision allowing state-wide work relief programs and a reimposition of welfare residency requirements.

The conferees killed for reasons of cost a $1 billion a year Senate matching bonus to the states for welfare and $800 million in child care funds for working mothers.

Sugar Workers Win In Louisiana Case

A federal judge has barred USDA from paying any subsidies to Louisiana sugar growers until Agriculture Secretary Earl L. Butz orders a retroactive wage increase for 16,500 sugar harvesters in the state.

The ruling represents a victory for the sugar workers, who had protested the Department's delay in granting a 10 cent hourly wage increase for the 1971 harvest season (see CNI Vol. II: 16).

However, the same issue is looming again in connection with the 1972 harvest season. USDA announced last week that it was granting a record 20 cent rise in the minimum wage for Louisiana sugar workers this year. The rise will not take effect until October 23, however, several weeks to a month after the harvest season began in the state. Farmworker groups and their advocates have already registered protests with the Agriculture Secretary over this year's delay.

In his ruling on the 1971 harvest case, U.S. District Judge John H. Pratt said Butz' predecessor had abused his discretionary powers by delaying the wage increase until the harvest was nearly over. Under the Sugar Act of 1948, the Secretary is empowered to pay subsidies to domestic sugar growers and to determine a minimum wage that growers must pay in order to receive the subsidies. Normally, the wage is set in advance of the harvest season.

In a letter explaining why USDA had not required the retroactive wage increase, Clarence D. Palmby, then an assistant agriculture secretary, said the decision was made "primarily because the department does not believe that a producer, in order to become eligible for a Sugar Act payment, should be required to meet minimum wage requirements that were not known to him or in existence when the work is performed."

Conference Date Changed

CNI has pushed back the dates for the summer feeding conference one week to November 20 and 21. The conference remains scheduled for the Dupont Plaza Hotel in Washington, D.C.

Organizations and individuals wishing to attend the session should contact CNI before November 3.

FDA Misusing Data, Cancer Researchers Claim

Food and Drug Administration (FDA) policy on the use of nitrites and nitrates in food has come under sharp attack in recent weeks from cancer researchers who say that FDA is misusing scientific studies.

Nitrites, although harmless in themselves, may combine with amines in the stomach and in some cured meats and fish to form nitrosamines, which are among the most highly carcinogenic substances known. Nitrates serve as a source of nitrites. (For further background, see CNI Vol. I: 44, 45; Vol. II: 22.)

Virgil Wodicka, director of FDA's Bureau of Foods, last month told a meeting of consumer advocates that the addition of ascorbic acid to nitrite and nitrate-laden foods may inhibit the formation of nitrosamines and thus resolve the entire matter.

Citing a recent article in "Science" magazine by researchers at the Eppley Institute in Omaha, Wodicka said that any FDA action on nitrites would be inappropriate until completion of further studies on the matter. The FDA foods chief reported that FDA is conducting joint tests with USDA and large meat packers to settle a series of questions regarding nitrites, including whether nitrosamines form in various meat products, whether nitrites are necessary to prevent botulism, and whether ascorbic acid does stop nitrosamine formation.

Findings Exaggerated

However, Sidney Mirvish, principal author of the magazine article cited, told CNI Weekly Report that FDA had apparently exaggerated the importance of his work. He said other tests have now largely discredited the idea that ascorbic acid might solve the nitrite problem.

Mirvish stated that the experiment he reported showed that, under test tube conditions, ascorbic acid was effective to varying degrees in blocking the combination of nitrites and a few selected amines. (Scientists have identified over 500 amines that combine with nitrites to form nitrosamines.) When the tests were repeated in the stomachs of test animals, Mirvish said, the effects of the ascorbic acid were greatly reduced and quite disappointing.

Also questioning FDA's interpretation of the ascorbic acid experiment were Samuel Epstein, an environmental toxicologist at Western Reserve Medical School, and William Lijinsky, a cancer researcher at Oak Ridge (Tenn.) National Laboratory.

Epstein charged FDA with seizing on the ascorbic acid issue as a "major delaying tactic," and stated that the entire issue was a "red herring." Emphasizing the limited conditions under which ascorbic acid may be effective, Epstein declared: "To suggest that this is the answer to the whole problem is ludicrous."

Concurring with Epstein, Lijinsky warned that "the evidence against nitrites is now pretty striking." He declared that FDA should move immediately to reduce dangerously high levels of nitrites permitted in foods.

"There is no way around the problem," Lijinsky added.

Lijinsky sharply criticized FDA's claims that further study is necessary to establish the danger of nitrites to humans. He said he had found over 500 amines that combine with nitrites to form nitrosamines that are known carcinogens, that animals fed nitrites had been found to produce nitrosamines, and that nitrosamines had been found to cause cancer in test animals.

Lijinsky said he could not see the FDA's logic in ignoring the alarming results of the animal experiments and requiring further study with humans before considering regulatory action.

FDA officials have stated that the human studies, currently underway at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, will take another 18 months to complete.

Nitrite Suit Dismissed

A federal judge in Washington, D.C. has dismissed a law suit that would have required FDA and USDA to act immediately against the use of nitrites.

Brought by Harrison Wellford, an associate of Ralph Nader, the suit would have required the Federal Government to restrict and, in some cases, prohibit nitrite use. Wellford plans to appeal.

In a related matter, consumer advocates recently extracted an acknowledgement from Peter Hutt, FDA general counsel, that the use of nitrites in baby foods should be reviewed, since the chemical is not needed in baby food to prevent botulism.

In addition to posing a cancer threat, nitrites can combine with hemoglobin in a child's bloodstream to form methemoglobin, a substance that destroys the ability of red blood cells to carry oxygen. Methemoglobin poisoning caused by very large amounts of nitrites in food has caused the deaths of several children.

FDA Publishes Regs For Enriched Macaroni

The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has published final standard of identity and labeling regulations for enriched macaroni products with fortified protein.

Such products are now widely used in school lunch programs.

First proposed on March 3, 1971, the standard requires that the proportion of milled wheat for such products be larger than the proportion of any other ingredient used. Protein content may not be less than 20 percent by weight. (For background on the regulation, see CNI Vol. I: 13.)

The standard, which was published in the September 13 edition of the Federal Register, will become effective on November 13 unless objections are raised.

Rules and Regulations

FEDERAL REGISTER, VOL. 37, NO. 178—WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1972

SUBCHAPTER B—FOOD AND FOOD PRODUCTS

PART 16—MACARONI AND NOODLE PRODUCTS

Enriched Macaroni Products With Fortified Protein

* * * * *

§ 16.15 Enriched macaroni products with fortified protein; identity; label statement of ingredients.

(a) (1) Each of the foods for which a standard of identity is prescribed by this section is produced by drying formed units of dough made with one or more of the milled wheat ingredients designated in §§ 16.1(a) and 16.3(a), and other ingredients to enable the finished food to meet the protein requirements set out in subparagraph (2)(i) of this paragraph. Edible protein sources, including food grade flours or meals made from nonwheat cereals or from oilseeds, may be used. Vitamin and mineral enrichment nutrients are added to bring the food into conformity with the requirements of paragraph (b) of this section. Safe and suitable ingredients, as provided for in paragraph (c) of this section, may be added. The proportion of the milled wheat ingredient is larger than the proportion of any other ingredient used.

(2) Each such finished food, when tested by the methods described in the cited sections of the book "Official Methods of Analysis of the Association of Official Analytical Chemists," 11th edition, 1970, meets the following specifications:

(i) The protein content (N×6.25) is not less than 20 percent by weight (on a 13 percent moisture basis) as determined by the method in section 14.134. The protein quality is not less than 95 percent that of casein as determined on the cooked food by the method in sections 39.166 through 39.170 of the official methods.

(ii) The total solids content is not less than 87 percent by weight as determined by the method in section 14.125 of the official methods.

(b) (1) Each food covered by this section contains in each pound 5 milligrams of thiamin, 2.2 milligrams of riboflavin, 34 milligrams of niacin or niacinamide, and 16.5 milligrams of iron.

(2) Each pound of such food may also contain 625 milligrams of calcium.

(3) Iron and calcium may be added only in forms which are harmless and assimilable. The enrichment nutrients may be added in a harmless carrier used only in a quantity necessary to effect a uniform distribution of the nutrients in the finished food. The requirements of subparagraphs (1) and (2) of this paragraph shall be deemed to have been met if reasonable overages, within the limits of good manufacturing practice, are present to assure that the prescribed levels of the vitamins and mineral(s) are maintained throughout the expected shelf life of the food under customary conditions of distribution.

(c) The safe and suitable ingredients referred to in paragraph (a) of this section are ingredients that serve a useful purpose, e.g., to fortify the protein or facilitate production of the food, but they do not include color additives, artificial flavorings, artificial sweeteners, chemical preservatives, or starches. Ingredients deemed suitable for use by this paragraph are added in amounts that are not in excess of those reasonably required to achieve their intended purposes. Ingredients are deemed to be safe if they are not food additives within the meaning of section 201(s) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, or in case they are food additives, if they are used in conformity with regulations established pursuant to section 409 of the Act.

(d) (1) The name of any food covered by this section is "Enriched Wheat _____ Macaroni Product—with Fortified Protein," the blank being filled in with appropriate word(s) such as "Soy" to show the source of any flours or meals used that were made from nonwheat cereals or from oilseeds. In lieu of the words "Macaroni Product" the word "Macaroni," "Spaghetti," or "Vermicelli," as appropriate, may be used if the units conform in shape and size to the requirements of § 16.1 (b), (c), or (d).

(2) When any ingredient, not designated in the part of the name prescribed in subparagraph (1) of this paragraph, is added in such proportion as to contribute 10 percent or more of the quantity of protein contained in the finished food, the name shall include the statement "Made with _____," the blank being filled in with the name of each such ingredient, e.g., "Made with nonfat milk."

(3) When, in conformity with subparagraph (1) or (2) of this paragraph, two or more ingredients are listed in the name, their designations shall be arranged in descending order of predominance by weight.

(4) In the case of a food made to comply with another section of this part, but which also meets the compositional requirements of this section, it may alternatively bear the name set out in that other section.

(e) The common name of each of the ingredients used shall be declared on the label as required by the applicable section of Part 1 of this chapter. Further, the declaration of ingredients as set forth in this paragraph, shall appear in letters not less than one-half the size of that required by § 1.8b of this chapter for the declaration of net quantity of contents, and in no case less than one-sixteenth of a inch in height.

Any person who will be adversely affected by the foregoing order may at any time within 30 days after its date of publication in the FEDERAL REGISTER file with the Hearing Clerk, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Room 6-88, 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Md. 20852, written objections thereto. Objections shall show wherein the person filing will be adversely affected by the order and specify with particularity the provisions of the order deemed objectionable and the grounds for the objections. If a hearing is requested, the objections must state the issues for the hearing and such objections must be supported by grounds leagally sufficient to justify the relief sought. Objections may be accompanied by a memorandum or brief in support thereof. All documents shall be filed in six copies. Received objections may be seen in the above office during working hours, Monday through Friday.

Effective date. This order shall become effective 60 days after its date of publication in the FEDERAL REGISTER, except as to any provisions that may be stayed by the filing of proper objections. Notice of the filing of objections or lack thereof will be given by publication in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

(Secs. 401, 701, 52 Stat. 1046, 1055–1056, as amended by 70 Stat. 919 and 72 Stat. 948; 21 U.S.C. 341, 371)

Dated: August 29, 1972.

CHARLES C. EDWARDS,
Commissioner of Food and Drugs.

Farm Union Faces Test in California

When California voters go to the polls November 7, they may be deciding the fate of Cesar Chavez' United Farmworkers Union (UFW).

Facing the voters will be an initiative known as Proposition 22 that would so severely limit union activities that the UFW could be forced out of existence. Union officials are known to regard the initiative, which is backed by the powerful California Farm Bureau and other grower organizations, as perhaps the greatest threat ever to confront them. (For background on the UFW, see CNI Vol. II: 2.)

"Anyone who objectively analyzes this initiative will conclude that it makes it impossible to unionize farm workers in California," wrote Jerry Cohen, a union attorney, to Chavez in a memorandum obtained by CNI Weekly Report. "The initiative makes unionizing a crime. If it passes, it will destroy our union."

Among the tough provisions included in the initiative is a ban on most boycott activity, the principal weapon the union has used in its long struggles with grape and lettuce growers.

The initiative would ban secondary boycotts. It would also prohibit boycott activity against any farm product unless the growers whose product was being boycotted were specifically identified.

Slogan Illegal

This provision would make it illegal to promote the slogan, "Boycott Lettuce." Anyone doing so would be subject to one year in prison and a $5,000 fine unless he clearly indicated each lettuce grower against whom the boycott was directed and called for a boycott of only those selected brands of lettuce. (For background on the UFW's lettuce boycott, see CNI Vol. II: 22.)

Other aspects of the initiative could prove equally damaging to union activity. Any grower would be able to secure a 60-day injunction outlawing any strikes or boycotts merely by filing the proper forms. This provision would effectively prevent the union from mounting strikes during peak harvest periods and would delay strike activity for many crops until such activity was meaningless.

Farm Workers Sue Labor Department

Some 17 farmworker and civil rights organizations sued top Labor Department officials this month, charging blatant discrimination against migrant workers in the Department's job placement and training programs.

They also said a special Labor Department program to improve the conditions of migrants, instituted in response to earlier complaints, had been ineffective.

Labor Secretary James D. Hodgson said last April that the reforms he had ordered in response to the Department's investigation of the complaints would be carried out "as expeditiously as possible." (See CNI Vol. II:6.) A Manpower Administration spokesman told a New York Times interviewer this month that "implementation of the reforms has begun but everything can't be done overnight."

"Just Promises"

Lawrence J. Sherman, director of the Migrant Legal Action Program and an attorney for the plaintiffs, told the same interviewer that none of the evils had been corrected, that all the "reforms" were "just promises," and that the Department had refinanced all the errant state agencies for the current fiscal year without restrictions on the illegal practices.

Sherman said that past Labor Department laxity in policing the use of its funds by the states made it clear that no real reform was likely short of a court order to force compliance with constitutional and other legal rights of farmworkers.

When farmworker organizations had first petitioned the Labor Department in April 1971 to correct abuses, Secretary Hodgson announced a $20 million national program to improve working and living conditions of migrant workers and train 6,000 of them in better job skills during fiscal 1972.

No Statistics Available

However, only $12 million was allocated for the program both last year and this, and the Labor Department has divulged no statistics that would indicate how many migrants have been trained to leave the migrant stream.

Sherman told the New York Times that the special program, dubbed "The Last Yellow Bus," has been ineffective. He noted that some $3.5 million of the first $12 million went to the Florida Department of Commerce, which set up a migrant manpower delivery system to administer it. However, Florida Rural Legal Services, Inc., sued the Florida administering agencies last month, charging that all the abuses previously complained of had continued under the new program.

Yet another provision of the initiative states that unions are to be officially recognized only after elections supervised by a state agricultural labor relations board to be appointed by the governor. Buried deep in this section of the initiative is a clause stipulating that "the date of such elections shall be set at a time when the number of temporary agricultural employees entitled to vote does not exceed the number of permanent employees entitled to vote." The overwhelming majority of migrant workers, the mainstay of the union, would thus be disenfranchised.

Union officials are also concerned about clauses that seem to prohibit any bargaining over growers' rights to "determine methods, equipment, and facilities to be used." Cohen, the union's counsel, interprets this to mean that the union would not be permitted to bargain for restrictions on pesticide use to protect workers.

Other provisions of the initiative would ban or severely limit hiring halls, the seniority system, and protections against the firing of workers offered by the union.

In an effort to defeat the initiative, union officials have pulled boycott workers out of local offices throughout the nation and sent them to California. The union now has 250 representatives working against the initiative.

Fraud Charged

Union hopes of securing a quick victory by having the initiative thrown off the ballot were dashed last week when a California judge refused to hear until after the elections charges that nearly 65,000 signatures on the initiative petition had been fraudulently obtained.

The charges were brought by California Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown Jr., who alleged that petition getherers had told prospective signers the measure would boost farmworkers wages and had the support of Chavez and the union. Brown called the measure "the worst case of election fraud" ever uncovered in California.

Brown's charges have been supported in recent weeks by the testimony of clergymen, students, and other persons appearing before a state legislative committee. These individuals testified that they had been deceived into signing the petition.

Union officials now state that the adverse publicity generated against the initiative by the fraud charges has put them ahead. A private poll shows the union winning by a respectable margin.

Even if the UFW emerges victorious in California, however, other struggles against restrictive farm labor laws loom ahead for the union in other states.

Already, Arizona and Kansas have passed laws substantively similar to the California measure, after strong pressure from Farm Bureau chapters in those states. Passage of the Arizona law has spurred the union to file a suit challenging the law's constitutionality and to mount a campaign for the recall of Governor Jack Williams (R) who signed the bill into law last May.

Next year the union will be faced with legislative battles against similar Farm Bureau-backed measures in more than 20 additional states where the legislation is now pending. Legislation along these lines will also be considered by the U.S. Congress.

Such struggles may force the union to divert some of its energies from organizing field hands and from pushing its lettuce boycott through to a successful conclusion.

The year ahead could prove the most rugged yet for what has been thus far the most successful union in America's scarred and bitter farm labor history.

USDA May Lift Day Care Freeze

USDA may soon lift the long-standing freeze on expansion of year-round non-school (day care) feeding programs, CNI Weekly Report learned this week.

The two-year-old freeze directs states to expand existing day care feeding programs but not to approve applications for new programs. (For background, see CNI Vol. II: 14.) This policy runs contrary to recent legislation (H.R. 14896), which urges expansion of feeding programs to all eligible service institutions.

An immediate lifting of the freeze might be possible if the Department obligated unspent funds from the summer non-school feeding program to finance expansion of the year-round program. This possibility is under study, USDA budget officials acknowledged this week.

No Breakfast Supplemental

USDA has no plans to ask Congress for a supplemental appropriation to cover expansion of the school breakfast program, budget officials said. The Department has decided that the $52.5 million appropriated for the program for the current fiscal year will be sufficient to meet the needs of all new schools desiring to serve school breakfasts.

Prisons May Be Denied Commodities

Detroit city officials are challenging a USDA ruling that the Detroit House of Corrections may not participate in the commodity distribution program.

Officials in USDA's Chicago Regional Office based their ruling on a federal instruction authorizing commodity donations only to "state penal or correctional institutions;" they claim city jails are ineligible.

However William Nugent, special assistant to Detroit Mayor Roman Gribbs, told CNI Weekly Report that 800 of the 1,200 inmates in the institution are state prisoners. He vowed to continue to press the matter with USDA authorities.

Nugent says the Detroit House of Corrections serves as the only prison for women in Michigan; some 700 inmates are women from outside Detroit. Another 100 inmates are male prisoners who also came from jurisdictions outside Detroit. He said the USDA officials had been provided with this information before they made their decision.

The Detroit decision comes at a time when USDA is reviewing its policies on providing surplus commodities to prisons.

An official of USDA's direct distribution division told CNI Weekly Report that the instruction used to bar the Detroit prison from the program probably would be revised in a few months. However, he said, if the instruction is modified, it will probably become more rather than less restrictive and might totally eliminate adult correctional institutions from the surplus commodity program.

State prisons presently account for 16 percent of all commodity donations to institutions.

The official said the problem lies with requirements that the prisons maintain active rehabilitation programs for the majority of their inmates in order to qualify for commodity foods.

Auditors from USDA's Inspector General's Office (OIG) have claimed that some state prisons, mainly six in the Southeast Region, do not have adequate rehabilitation programs, the official said. He noted that OIG officials have also questioned whether all prison inmates should be judged "needy persons," since some inmates may possess considerable savings or other wealth.

In response to these pressures, USDA officials have attempted to draft a clarification for state agencies of what does or does not constitute a rehabilitation program.

Another official in the surplus foods division told CNI Weekly Report that neither the American Correctional Association nor the Bureau of Prison Industries have been able to supply USDA with a statement outlining the characteristics of a rehabilitation program.

"No one can really define a rehabilitation program very succinctly," the official said.

Legislation Opposed

USDA officials noted that three bills before Congress this session would have resolved this dilemma by mandating an extension of the commodity program to all state and local penal institutions, regardless of their rehabilitative nature or other characteristics.

USDA opposed all three bills, however, and they got nowhere. One official said the Department decided that making large numbers of local institutions eligible would make the program difficult to administer.

CNI Weekly Report
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2029 K St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

Nonprofit Organization
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Newspaper

PARADE'S SPECIAL

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

EDITED by LLOYD SHEARER

BECAUSE OF VOLUME OF MAIL RECEIVED, PARADE REGRETS IT CANNOT ANSWER QUERIES.

LOYALTY AND CONNALLY

Anyone who has ever worked for Lyndon Johnson knows that loyalty has always been his magnificent obsession.

"I can damn near forgive anyone anything," Mr. Johnson once told Intelligence Report, "but not disloyalty."

It is interesting to note that while Lyndon Johnson is supporting McGovern, many members of his former entourage are not.

Take John Connally, for example. Connally, of course, is Lyndon Johnson's prime political protégé. Connally owes much of his wealth and political power to his friendship with Johnson, and he would be the last to deny it. But Connally is his own man, which is why he heads "Democrats for Nixon," an organization which Johnson naturally refuses to join.

The following Democrats, however, all prominent members in the Johnson Administration, are committed to Richard Nixon: George Christian, President Johnson's Press Secretary; Leonard Marks, Johnson's attorney for his broadcasting interests and former head of the U.S. Information Agency; C. R. Smith and John T. Connor, both Secretaries of Commerce during the Johnson regime; Farris Bryant, former director of Office of Emergency Preparedness; Larry Temple, Johnson's special counsel; William McLean, Texas campaign manager for Johnson-Humphrey in the 1964 campaign, and Angier Biddle Duke, Chief of Protocol under Johnson.

These Democrats prefer Nixon to McGovern, and Johnson has made no attempt to sway them.

JOHN CONNALLY AND MRS. CONNALLY

Should Nixon win reelection, what will John Connally garner in addition to personal satisfaction? Connally has already been offered, according to one of his most trusted intimates, the position of Defense Secretary, but he has turned it down.

"What he will not turn down," this same source maintains, "is the Secretary of State job in the new Cabinet, but only if he has some assurance that Henry Kissinger is not going to hang around indefinitely. John Connally's ego is much larger than William Rogers'. Big John is not one to bask in reflected light or reflected glory. He's going to be the power and the glory, or no game."

As for Henry Kissinger, far and away the best of all Nixon's appointments, the odds are 50 to one that he will be out of the federal government by 1974. No man has given more of himself to the Nixon cause than Kid Kissinger. The President should mint some sort of special medal for Henry--if only for the new air mileage records he has established in the course of duty.

EPIDEMIC WARNING

Venereal disease in the United States has reached epidemic proportions.

In the San Francisco area for every 100,000 people, 2200 suffer from gonorrhea or syphilis. In Washington, D.C., the reported rate is 1600 per 100,000. In Chicago, Baltimore, and Dallas, it is more than 1000 per 100,000. And these are just the reported statistics. Public health officials believe the true figures are five times as high.

In Connecticut, Gov. Thomas Meskill's task force recommends that routine blood tests for syphilis be performed on all hospital and clinic patients.

Until 1969 all hospitals in the U.S. were required to conduct blood tests for syphilis on every patient. But then the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals decided to drop the requirement, citing costs and the low number of cases detected.

According to the American Social Health Associaton, using 1971 statistics, the following U.S. cities are afflicted with the highest syphilis and gonorrhea rates:

SYPHILIS

1. Newark, N.J.
2. Augusta, Ga.
3. Atlanta, Ga.
4. San Francisco, Calif.
5. Washington, D.C.
6. Hartford, Conn.
7. Dallas, Tex.
8. Shreveport, La.
9. New York, N.Y.
10. Paterson, N.J.

GONORRHEA

1. Atlanta, Ga.
2. San Francisco, Calif.
3. Berkeley, Calif.
4. Durham, N.C.
5. Charlotte, N.C.
6. Memphis, Tenn.
7. Washington, D.C.
8. Hartford, Conn.
9. New Haven, Conn.
10. Norfolk, Va.

SRC REFERRAL SLIP

TO: RA

Date: 11/14/72

FROM: RV

FOR YOUR	PLEASE
Information_____	Note & Return____
Approval_____	See Me_____
Comment_____	Respond_____

Lynn Bowker asked that I pass attached on to you.

In Mississippi—

Politics And Health Aid For The Poor

By A. B. ALBRITTON

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 12. — Gov. Bill Waller, with his head down like a charging bull, has apparently set about to prove the entire purpose of the Office of Economic Opportunity is all wrong.

The governor, by his veto of two OEO programs designed to give medical care to poor Mississippi blacks, has questioned the entire philosophy behind federal aid to the needy.

The Mound Bayou Community Hospital and Health Center and the Jackson-Hinds Comprehensive Health Center have been the victims of the governor's disagreement with federal policy.

A. B. Albritton

WHEN THE OFFICE of Economic Opportunity was established in the Lyndon Johnson administration, the problem reluctant Southern governors were sure to cause was obviously considered.

The governors were given veto power over OEO programs established on their home grounds. Most governors seemed satisifed with their newly found power and their sudden ability to announce new multi-million dollar grants for their people.

The initial programs funded by OEO had another purpose, too.

In addition to providing adequate health care for the first time to poor people who desperately needed help, the program put hundreds of poor blacks to work as well.

Where else could a poor black man find work in Mound Bayou? Now he can earn a decent living by driving a taxi to bring sick people into the hospital.

The millions of new tax dollars pumped into towns and cities by the big OEO projects didn't hurt the economy either.

Governor Waller's statement of a few days ago gets to the heart of the problem. Asked how he felt about the possibility that 136 employes of the Hinds County OEO project might lose their jobs, Mr. Waller replied: "I feel no remorse whatsoever about these people having to look for jobs."

THE GOVERNOR's CRITICISM of the OEO projects has been ill defined and appears politically motivated.

He has repeatedly said that salaries in the program are too high and that too much of the programs' budget is going to pay people rather than treat the sick.

It simply stands to reason that any time a business operation renders service rather than goods, the major portion of costs to the business will come in salaries and overhead.

For example: A typical doctor's office in Mississippi may have two physicians, two nurses, receptionist, bookkeeper and a janitor.

Those people have to be paid plus the rent and that's where most of the money goes.

What the entire dispute over Mississippi health care seems to revolve around is patronage.

Mr. Waller wants the federal money to go to existing state health agencies and local hospitals.

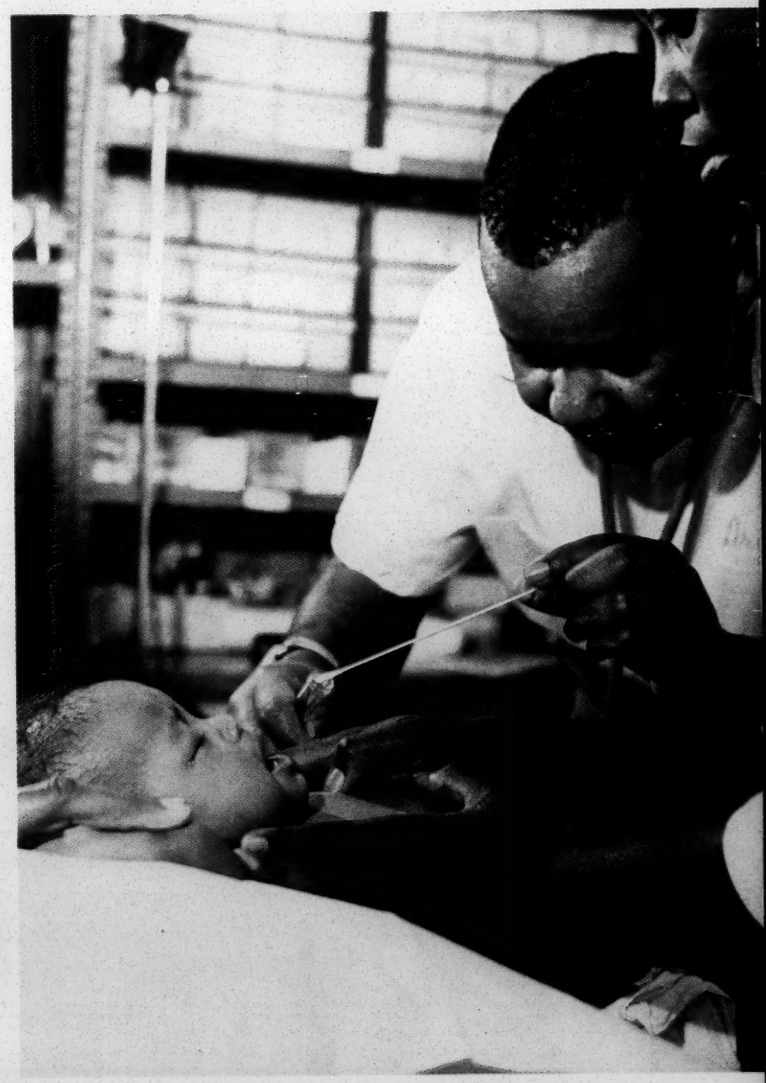
The hospitals and health agencies are overburdened as it is, with problems of their own. They have made no effort to gain OEO funding to begin new projects.

THE DIRECTOR OF the University of Mississippi Medical Center in Jackson puts it clearly: "The University Hospital is not able through its resources to offer the services encompassed in the program of the Jackson-Hinds Comprehensive Health Center."

Apparently, Mr. Waller would like to see all the federal OEO money come to Mississippi in a bushel basket placed on the door mat of his office to be dispensed as he sees fit.

Health care programs simply won't work if they're administered politically.

Perhaps instead of sitting back in his comfortable office charging the Mississippi OEO health care projects are mismanaged, the governor should pay a visit to the centers to talk with a few of the prople who stand in line every day to see a doctor who they hope can ease their pain.



mound bayou community hospital

"An Lac" Orphanage, Inc., 116 Nguyễn Đình Chiểu, Saigon

102 Eames Avenue – Fort Benning, Georgia 31905

Telephone: 404 545-5730

I shall pass through
this world but once.
If therefore,
there be any kindness
I can show,
or any good thing
I can do,
let me do it now;
let me not defer it
or neglect it,
for I shall not pass
this way again.

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Dr. Maurice Wohlgelerther
Mrs. Vern Jones
Rev. William Thompson

December 17, 1970

DEC 23 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We were very, very happy to receive the very generous gift of $1000 from your organization, Southern Regional Council, for medicine and food needs at the orphanage. We presumed it would have to be a one time gift. On receiving your recent letter of December 2d, we are again overwhelmed with the spirit of generosity of your organization. At the present time, we do not have a doctor at the orphanage but have a medical aide man giving medical assistance. We would very deeply appreciate an additional $500 if this is available for food and medical costs. We shall always be able to use any funds your Council may be able to allot us and will use them exactly as you may wish to stipulate.

The purpose of An Lac is to give opportunity for a useful life for children who would otherwise be abandoned in the city streets of Saigon. It does its job well, educating and training the children and developing family values of integrity. With your generous help, it is well on the way to becoming one of the better organizations carrying out this role in Southeast Asia. We are and ever will be deeply appreciative of your help.

Sincerely,

Patrick D. Tisdale

Patrick D. Tisdale, M.D.
Chairman, An Lac Orphanage, Inc.

Clearcopy Union Seal

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

This is to acknowledge receipt of check for $500 as a contribution to An Lac Orphanage, Inc.

Betty Moul Tisdale,
President

December 23, 1970

Dr. Patrick D. Tisdale
Chairman
An Lac Orphanage, Inc.
102 Eames Avenue
Fort Benning, Georgia 31905

Dear Dr. Tisdale:

Enclosed is our check for $500 as a contribution to An Lac Orphanage, Inc.

The stipulations outlined in our earlier grant will apply, of course, to this grant. Also, we will require an accounting of these funds as was so adequately done on the earlier grant. At your convenience, please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed carbon.

These are contributions, as I explained earlier, from our emergency hunger fund, and we have no way of knowing when individuals will cease contributions to it since we do not solicit individual contributions.

It is a real pleasure for us to make this grant, and I hope that you will consider it not as a grant from the SRC - we are the custodians - but rather a grant from decent people who care.

The warmest regards from all of us here to you and Mrs. Tisdale, and to the Children at An Lac.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Enclosure

Clearcopy Union Seal

"An Lac" Orphanage, Inc., 116 Nguyễn Đình Chiểu, Saigon

102 Eames Avenue – Fort Benning, Georgia 31905

Telephone: 404 545-5730

I shall pass through
this world but once.
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Philip Woerner, M.D.
Congressman Ogden R. Reid
Dr. Maurice Wohlgelerther
Mrs. Vern Jones
Rev. William Thompson

December 1970

Dear friend of An Lac:

Have you done your Christmas shopping yet? Each year since 1967, we have offered one special gift. That gift...the smile of faith and trust of a tiny Vietnamese orphan. It's fragile and awfully hard to wrap, but it is like warm sunshine on a December day. Will you help buy this precious gift?

You know about An Lac...you know about our love for Mme. Ngai, the beautiful, courageous lady who has given of herself for thousands of homeless, sick and starving little ones. She is getting older - sixty-seven now - and her health is failing. Along with this burden, our Dr. Wayne McKinny will be leaving this month to return to America for further studies. At the moment, we have no replacement for this dedicated man. He and his wife for the past eighteen months, have cared for the children of An Lac in the true tradition of Dr. Tom Dooley. At times, there were eleven babies, all weighing under three pounds, in their own home being nursed back to life. Without your help in the past to pay his salary, our babies would have died each month.

Our trip back to An Lac this past February gave us great hope for the future of An Lac; we saw many improvements which came from sustaining a certain level of income. No longer will the children go hungry some months because of irregular help. We must always see that $2000 reaches An Lac each month. That's less than $5 per month per child. We are a small organization, no salaries except for the doctor, our office is in our home, we pay for nothing except postage, we beg for paper, printing, volunteer help - every cent of your donation goes to An Lac.

Now that the First Infantry Division has returned home, there is no one left to help An Lac. They used to bring food and medicine, all that is gone...it is up to us now. We must help them if they are to survive. They are very good children who need our help. They know America and love us for giving them the gift of survival. These are our children...we must, with faith in God, share our hearts with them. We are learning the oldest truth of Christianity; that our lives shall be measured by love. Will you help make this a special Christmas again this year? Will you buy a smile for Christmas?

Our children, Patrick, Jr., Danny, Sean, James, Neal.... and Lien and Mai Lara whom we adopted from An Lac this year... join us with Mme. Ngai and the children of An Lac in sending you our best wishes for a Happy and Blessed Holiday Season.

Very sincerely,

Betty and Pat Tisdale

Betty and Pat Tisdale

Mme Ngai, lovingly feeding the toddlers.

Betty helping to feed the little ones

Dr. McKinny and his little ones.

Our "Dolls" are little babies.

Merry Christmas to all our friends.

Pat helping to exercise this 7 year old little girl who has never walked.

Betty and Pat.

Listen to the agony of mankind ...
I who am fed, who never yet went hungry for a day,
I see the dead, the children starved for lack of bread.
I see and try to pray.

Listen to the agony of mankind ...
I who am warm, who never yet have lacked a sheltering home,
In dull alarm, the dispossessed of hut and farm
Aimless and transient roam.

Listen to the agony of mankind ...
I who am strong, with health and love and laughter in my soul,
I see a throng of stunted children reared in wrong
And wish to make them whole.

Listen to the agony of mankind ...
And know full well ... that not until I share their bitter cry,
Their pain and hell, can God within my spirit dwell
And bring America's blessing nigh. —Dr. Tom Dooley

Grant #18

September 13, 1971

Dr. & Mrs. Patrick D. Tisdale
An Lac Orphanage, Inc.
102 Eames Avenue
Fort Benning, Georgia 31905

Dear Dr. & Mrs. Tisdale:

It was my pleasure to see you and your lovable daughter on the Today Show this morning. I hope the response to your needs is overwhelming. And, I was again impressed with how little money goes so far.

We at the Council would like to at least be too of the 400 contributors. Therefore, enclosed is our check for $120.00.

I know you have much more important things to do, but I would be very grateful for a note telling us the response.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Enclosure

The Children's Foundation
1026 Seventeenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Bulletin

Free Lunches For All Needy Children

New School Lunch Law

On May 14 President Nixon signed a new bill into law which should provide, he said, "free or reduced price lunches for every needy child." It was a significant victory for Congressional forces led by Senator George McGovern.

Under the New Law:

-Every needy child must be served a free or reduced price school lunch;

-A needy child is a child from a poverty-level household.

What Schools Must Do:

-Follow a uniform national poverty income standard set by the Secretary of Agriculture;

-Ask only for a personal statement (non-legal affidavit) from parents or heads of households to prove family income;

-Charge no more than 20 cents for a reduced price meal.

Starting January 1, 1971, this new law applies to every school receiving federal funds for child nutrition programs. Since the law says every needy child must be fed, schools participating in feeding programs must report the number of children eligible at least twice a year.

What States Must Do:

The new act also requires each state to:

-Spend state money to support child food programs;

-Extend school lunch service to *every* school within the state;

-Write a statewide plan which shows in detail how the state will feed all school children under the new legislation.

Between now and January 1, 1971 every state and every school district receiving federal funds for child nutrition programs must follow the Department of Agriculture regulations for providing free and reduced price lunches. These regulations make it possible for every school to serve more needy children in the fall.

What You Can Do:

Translate laws into lunch!

-Learn more about the new law and new instructions and explain them to others;

-Form a school lunch committee to improve school feeding programs;

-Write for THE SCHOOL LUNCH BAG, a community action kit prepared by The Children's Foundation, which explains the legislation and regulations and suggests forms of local action.

We may be able to help you make legislation work to feed the hungry children in your community.

Fill in and return this form to the Foundation:

The Children's Foundation
Room 309
1026 Seventeenth Street N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Your Name _____

(Organization) _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

I am interested in THE SCHOOL LUNCH BAG and other information to help the

children of _____ receive
(your community)
the nutrition which is rightfully theirs under the law.

Tell us about the situation in your community:

_____

_____

_____

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(Use other side of this sheet.)

What Can I Do Besides Send Money?

We at the Southern Regional Council are receiving a number of inquiries like that of the above question. This statement is prepared to partially answer those requests. (We regret that we cannot send personal answers to all of the letters received, but hope you will understand.)

While money can be of tremendous help to relieve temporarily some of the need of the tragedy of hunger and inadequate medical care, this tragedy will never be corrected until there is a national commitment to do so. Therefore, in a real sense, citizen concern and activity growing out of concern can be more valuable than a contribution to an emergency fund.

The essence of what one can do is to inform and involve others. The vast majority of persons do not know the extent of this deplorable condition. Many would be concerned, and would act, if they did know. At the end of this statement you will find a short suggested reading list for the national scene.

There is need also to know conditions in your own community. A number of agencies may potentially be helpful. Among those you should consider are: any Office of Economic Opportunity agencies in the community, any public or private human relations agencies, the various religious charities. It

may be particularly helpful to identify the slum areas and determine what agencies you find active there.

After you determine what is going on and what is needed, you can, of course, choose your own priorities. Generally it is most effective through and with a group, church or civic, rather than as an individual.

One of the specifics that deserves attention in every community is the school lunch programs. In most cities and rural areas there is a hot lunch program, and in most instances this program does not reach all of the most needy children. Determine this situation and ways in which the lunch program can be expanded to include all if it does not now do so. Starting, or expanding, a hot breakfast program should also be explored.

In all major cities, and many others, there are numerous, usually small, community centers designed to serve the poor with advice, medical care, a day care center and the like. They always need money, and they always need voluntary help, clothing, food, and other necessities. If there is no effort in your community consider starting one. SRC will be happy to offer you advice on this should you wish it.

Frequently in the process of educating others the most effective means is to identify these community needs and activities

and expose your acquaintances to them. Remember also, to involve a whole group or club, and to keep that involvement on-going represents far more than one person can do. Also, recruit professional assistance for local programs and agencies, lawyers, doctors, nurses especially.

There is, of course, the whole area of potential legislation and political leadership. But, as a tax-exempt agency SRC cannot comment on that area.

While there are limitations on our ability to respond we will be happy to receive inquiries about possible specific programs or problems and will answer them to the extent possible.

For general reading we suggest the following:

<u>Still Hungry in America</u>, by Robert Coles & Al Clayton
Published by The World Publishing Company

<u>The American Serfs</u>, by Paul Good
Published by Putnam's Sons

<u>Let Them Eat Promises</u>, by Nick Kotz
Published by Prentice Hall, Inc.

ABOUT THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AND THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR HUNGRY AMERICANS

Largely growing out of a public service ad in Time Magazine of July 20, we are receiving a large number of requests for information about the Council (SRC) and the advisory committee.

SRC is an agency formed in 1944 for the purposes of developing the Southern region generally and more specifically to achieve integration and desirable race relations. The Council consists of 100 distinguished Southerners from all walks of life. Offices are maintained in Atlanta with a staff of about 30 persons. On the staff are a distinguished number of journalists, editors, researchers, an architect, an urban planner, a manpower specialists, a community organizer and the like. There is a budget of approximately $1,000,000, most of which comes from foundations. SRC does not solicit individual contributions for its own program.

Much of the Council's work is done through publications, a monthly newspaper, South Today, a quarterly magazine, New South and periodic special reports and studies issued in pamphlet form. It is in this area that we have attempted to call national attention to the disgrace of hunger in America. In 1967 we published a special report, Hungry Children, the report of five distinguished physicians who went to rural Mississippi to examine children in poverty.

Thereafter we devoted a full issue of New South, using pictures in that publication for the first time, documenting hunger throughout the region. The text of that issue, by Paul Good, was later issued as a book entitled American Serfs, published by Putnam's in 1968. Later the photographs, by Al Clayton, were used in the book Still Hungry in America, with text by Dr. Robert Coles.

Prior to the publication of Still Hungry in America, we decided to establish the Advisory Committee for Hungry Americans. While we do not solicit individual contributions, we felt certain the impact of the book would bring spontaneous contributions and indicated the existence of the Committee so that the publishers would not be flooded with correspondence they would be unable to cope with. The rationale for the Committee was that hunger was a national tragedy, not a regional one, and that emergency funds, if available, should be used nationally. Our knowledge of conditions is limited largely to the South,and we called on others throughout the country to advise us of worthy groups in their regions.

Our method of giving emergency assistance is to locate local groups working directly to bring food and medical care to needy children and to make grants to them for their work. We have pledged that no part of these funds will be taken by SRC for overhead costs. The costs of administering these funds comes from our regular budget. Every dollar received goes directly to worthy local groups who in turn have to pledge that all of the grant they receive will go

directly for food and medicine and none will be used for any other purpose.

As examples of groups who have received modest assistance, there are the following:

The Migrant Education Programs, Idaho Citizens for Migrant Affairs

(A publicly funded program but without assistance for emergency funds for food and medicine for families in need.)

The Sheldon County Community Center

(A citizens program to assist needy children in one of South Carolina's poorest counties. Other SRC funds have been given to assist in installing a kitchen and purchasing a bus for transportation.)

The Community Action Migrant Program, Inc.

(Similar to the first example above, working with migrants in south and central Florida.)

The Clay County Community Development

(A private citizens organization with a broad range of programs including a day care center for needy children in the County and in West Point. From other funds SRC has assisted in the building of a community center and later in providing funds for extensive rebuilding after it was badly damaged by arson.)

The Inner City Apostolate, San Antonio

(Local efforts directed in part by Father Ralph Ruiz with poor Mexican American families.)

Enclosed is a copy of the form letter to persons making contributions as well as a brief personal reply if your letter requested it. We hope you will understand that the volume of responses prohibits personal replies in each instance.

Finally, we want to emphasize again that while emergency funds are badly needed, and can be used to alleviate a minute part of the vast hunger and suffereing in our affluent society, there is no answer to this tragedy until there is a full national commitment to develope adequate national programs to see that none suffer in this country. We believe fate will not treat kindly a society that allows many of its children to suffer, go hungry, and frequently be damaged for life.

Thank you for your interest and concern.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

Southern [illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] A 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

In reference to your request for information about SRC and/or the Advisory Committee for Hungry Americans:

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Make file "Special Studies & Reports - 1966" file this in it in ~~Pamphlet Section~~ "~~Studies~~" Reports section

Issue it as: In Their Own Words

November 7, 1966

Mr. Mark A. Chesler
Project Director
Institute for Social Research
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Dear Mark:

Thank you for the great wealth of material and information in your letter of October 31st.

Here are our reactions.

We do want to publish the full three-part series as a pamphlet. The first portion is a good introduction and summary, and the other sectinns compliment it. Would you please do such editing as you wish to protect the identity of the children? (We also feel that parts 2 and 3 could have some slight elimination of duplication and literal responses -- for instance, incomplete sentences that add nothing -- that might be edited out.)

We must pay you a modest author's research fee, and will make an independent judgment on it unless we hear from you further as to your opinion of fair remuneration.

We can support your proposed research; interviewing white teachers of Negro students in newly

desegregated schools. While not essential to the grant, we would like to have an opportunity to publish these results also. Is this feasible? Let us know when you need the $825.00 and it will be sent. For internal budget purposes we would like to make the grant before the end of the year.

The idea of comparisons of ideological extremists -- North and South -- is intriguing and after the first of the year I would like to explore it further with you.

Our check for $75.00 to cover secretarial costs is enclosed. We can honor further commitments for final typing of your manuscript, if necessary.

We have just compiled welfare statistics on the southern states and will be issuing a special report shortly. The tables are being sent to you separately and the report will be sent when it is available.

Finally, we would like to get your pamphlet out as soon as possible, and will anxiously await your edited manuscript.

We, and I especially, are grateful for this cooperation and hope we can continue working together indefinitely.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure

ISR

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH / THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN / ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

October 31, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is the manuscript which summarizes and quotes from the taped sessions with desegregators. I am also enclosing transcripts of the second and third tape sessions.

I didn't know what length would be most appropriate for your various publishing interests, so I did what I thought would be relative justice to the tapes. Feel free to suggest revisions or cuts, depending upon how you think to use it. A number of my colleagues who have read the tape transcripts found them to be very exciting documents in themselves. That suggests to me the possibility of a monograph or pamphlet that might include this summary as a lead article to the full tapes. If we were to try that the tapes would have to be re-edited to be sure to exclude any personal, local or state identifying characteristics - not a big job. What do you think?

I am sorry to be so late in getting this to you, but the tapes took longer to process than I thought. I mentioned earlier that no honorarium was necessary for the article or the tapes. I still feel the same way, but would appreciate it if you could share with my project some of the costs of extra secretarial and duplicating services. I estimate it running from $50 to $75; but whether you can share this or not does not affect your use of this article and/or tapes. I wouldn't even suggest this except that we have already almost exceeded the budget of our small O/E grant, and still have work to do.

This financial vacuum brings me back to an item we discussed in earlier letters, namely those of April 12 and 21. At that time you suggested that the Council might be able to provide modest financial support to a project such as the one we are doing. At that time I declined this suggestion in anticipation of receipt of a federal grant. Our costs are about to exceed this grant, and I wonder if you are still open to considerations of funding a portion of our program of study.

The place we are most seriously in trouble has to do with our attempts to interview some 40 to 50 white teachers who have been teaching these Negro desegregators for the past one to three years. We plan to go back to these teachers later this school year - December or January - and spend about an hour and a half with them. We will ask questions of the type suggested in the student and parent interviews, but of course geared to the peculiar problems and attitudes relevant to the white teacher now dealing with Negro youngsters. We would also want to uncover (and later publicize) any classroom strategies that teachers used that both students and teachers felt were helpful. We have these teachers' names and locations from the Negro youngsters' interviews, and have made arrangements with persons at Auburn University to do the interviewing. We already have, of course, data from students on the ways in which they view their teacher; the comparison perceptions should be most illuminating. On a separate sheet I have estimated the costs of this sub-project.

I thought this sub-project might be of particular interest to you because of our earlier conversation about the white parents who are sending their children to private schools now. These teachers reactions to this proposition might give us some insight into these "racial dropouts."

By the way, I have talked briefly with Irwin Katz and he has expressed interest in the study of such white parents. Do you remain interested? It seems to me that what we would need is some assurance that a list of names exists. Then we would have to frame a proposal for funding. I probably can easily arrange for interviewers. Both Irwin and I have done enough studies of whites' attitudes on racial and ethnic prejudice to feel confortable undertaking such a program of research. Tumin's work on "hard core resistors" is about the only comparable data I know of, and this falls short of getting the cream of the activists.

I am enclosing a pair of papers we did relevant to ideological extremists in the North. The internal psychological and external cultural issues should be quite different in the south, particularly the rural south; but the comparisons would be very exciting to make.

I'll be looking forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Mark

Mark A. Chesler
Project Director

MAC/col
ENC.

P.S. A colleague has asked whether SRC has public or informed information &/or records on welfare programs & funds in Alabama. Can you help? M.

PROPOSED SUB-PROJECT: INTERVIEWING WHITE TEACHERS OF

NEGRO STUDENTS IN NEWLY DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Fee for Interviewer	
(1 1/2 hour interview plus 1/2 hour to go over it) 2 hours at 3.00/hour for 50 interviews	300
Travel expenses (inclucing overnight accomodations)	
(based on expenses incurred for interviewing of students, @ $6/per)	300
Duplicating questionnaires	40
Supplies	10
A trip to Alabama for me to train interviewers	150
Phone and postage	25
	825

"What happened after you desegregated the white school?"

Mark A. Chesler[1]
The University of Michigan

> Everytime I get talking about my experience at the white school something happens to me. I can't really express myself and I can't really tell what happens. It's like I was kind of in a trance, I was just walking around from day to day and doing what I thought I was supposed to do and trying not to do what I wasn't supposed to do.
>
> Sometimes you can say things here and you don't mean it to be a particular insult, but you don't want to step on anybody's toes, so you just have to be careful of what you say and how you say it.

These comments reflect some Negro students' reactions to their experiences in newly desegregated white schools in the deep South. It is clear that placing Negro youngsters into "white" schools is only the first - and in many ways the easiest - phase of the school desegregation process. In many cases, real discomfort, overt discrimination, intimidation and insight only begins when young Negroes enter Southern white schools. Physical proximity in the classroom only sets the stage for young people of both races to cut through or restore myths, to learn about or hide from each other, to cooperate in friendship or separate in hostility. The hope that social interaction leads to growth is dependent upon the youngsters, their teachers, principals and communities.

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1. The author is a Project Director, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, The University of Michigan. These recordings were made while he was a Visiting Instructor at Tuskegee Institute, 1966. Appreciation is extended to Eric Krystall, Barbara Oppenheimer, and Marvin Burns for assistance in their collection and to Franklin Neff for critical comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

This report records the comments of 20 Negro teenagers who were among the first members of their race to attend previously all-white public schools in the deep South. These youngsters and their experiences are not necessarily typical of the South and the desegregation process. They come from three small rural communities in the black belt South; the most hard core areas of white resistance.[2] Several hours of tape recorded conversation have been abstracted with brief comments, and these direct words of Negro youngsters highlight some of the problems beyond desegregation - beyond the physical introduction of Negro students into previously all-white schools.

Several major themes stand out in these students' reflections and responses to our questions. The character of their teachers and principals seem to be the most important elements in their early adjustment to the white school, and vice versa. The reactions of white peers, and the lack of development of positive relations across racial lines, seems to be a most pervasive issue in these rural communities. It is through experiences with their young white classmates that Negro students have now learned some of the practical realities of ideas of inter-racial harmony, trust and progress. Then, too, these youngsters had to deal with their "back-home" relations, with the Negro community's reaction to such pioneering efforts. These seem to be some of the most critical general issues documented by Negro "desegregators," and it is their feelings and perceptions about the school desegregation process, told in their own words, to which we turn for information.

---

2. A more representative interview study of several hundred such youngsters, their families, and a control sample of non-desegregating Negroes is currently in progress.

The school staff

The adult whites with whom these Negro students had the greatest degree of contact were their teachers. More than police, vigilantes or roughnecks, who did call upon some of these youngsters, teachers met with them daily in relatively peaceful circumstances. As adult authority, as knowledge transmitter, as arbiter of classroom process, and as legitimate cultural representative, the teacher is in a position of considerable power and influence. He can encourage classroom norms of openness or resistance, of collaboration or isolation. In many ways the white teacher acts as a role model, often emulated by white students. How was this complex and influential role handled?

Teachers apparently defined their goals and designed their classroom approaches in a variety of ways. In some cases it appeared that teachers almost deliberately misunderstood or underestimated the potential problems facing youngsters attempting to bridge the cultural gap between the races.

> We were not accustomed to saying "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" and she wouldn't realize that we couldn't do it overnight. If we made one mistake in English and said "yeah," she would write on a little piece of paper and say, "I am going to have you all put out of school for insubordination." It seemed as if all she did the whole time was to just wait for us to say "yes" so she could make a big thing out of it. It seems like if you say "yes" one time, she won't miss it. She will ask you right away, "What's that you say?" She will ask you questions to try to make you say "yes ma'am." She got fed up at me because I got tired of her trying to make me say "yes ma'am" and I started saying, "I think so," or "I don't really think so," or something like that just to keep from saying ma'am," because I figured she was doing it on purpose.

> I felt at first that they would expect us to say "yassum" and "noum." It was the idea that I just didn't want to say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" to a white woman. I found that this was the way they expected any of their students to address them.

> One teacher, he felt that we were just trying to start things. But we were just trying to get things straight as far as biology was concerned. We ended up arguing most of the time instead of getting much biology done. It was kind of difficult.
>
> I forgot I was supposed to say "yes ma'am" to her and was saying "yeah, sure," and so on. She said, "Have you forgotten about saying "yes ma'am?" I said, "no, ma'am, I haven't." She said, "Now let's not forget that." She works around to try to get the opinion of most of the Negroes concerning race. Then she will tell you her opinion and ask you whether you shouldn't feel the same way. Most of the time you don't.

In a number of classrooms, however, it became more apparent that misunderstanding could not possibly be the case. There are many examples here where teachers were seen as abdicating part of their impartial classroom management role, deliberately colluding with white students in isolating or pressuring Negro youngsters, or sometimes taking the lead in such discriminatory treatment.

> Some of the teachers will try to be funny. When they get to a word like Negro, they call it Nigger or else try to make fun.
>
> When we got in there they started throwing rocks and crayons at us. I told the teacher and she went back there, and they all started laughing, and she was laughing with them. And then they went outside and they brought more rocks and they started throwing them.
>
> Our home economics teacher would have the new machines on one side of the room and the old on the other side, and would put us into groups to let us use the old machines and the white girls use the new ones. And in cooking she would always give out the recipes and stuff and we would always get the small amount. And she would separate us into three groups so that the three Negro girls were in the same group together.
>
> The class was sort of divided up into groups. The Negroes sit on one side and the white students sit on the other side. She would teach the Negroes like on one half of the class and then she would go over to the white kids. If we came to anything about communism or something relating to civil rights, she would bring up King's name and say something like, "In a little time our freedom will be gone." their freedom, the whites. She feels that just because she is a teacher she can talk about anything.

In history class it was very bad. There were always conversations going on between the teacher and the students about the Governor and integration and the President and the federal government and all such that. They were talking against the federal government because the government was for integration and like they were talking against integration because they don't see any sense to it. And the teacher was always saying some kind of wise crack just to hurt your feelings and like that. He was always praising the Governor. The students acted the same as the teacher did in their class, you know, there was always something that they could say and try and hurt my feelings.

My history teacher would call on me to read mostly all the time, and because I couldn't read very well the children would laugh. The teacher would go out of the class almost every day so the kids could call on me and have fun on me. Every time I would call on someone to read the class would laugh. One of the other problems was my English teacher; he would make jokes up about me and some of the other Negro students said that he made jokes up about them.

Our teacher was always calling on us when we wouldn't have our hands up, and when we did have our hands up she wouldn't call on us; when we'd take them down that's when she would call on us. And then one morning in our first period class, Science, my friend was at his desk, and she called him up in front of the class, trying to embarrass him. He had soap on his face that couldn't come off good and she told him that he had soap on his face and that he hadn't washed his face. Well they'd make remarks about him and laugh at him.

If I had a test or something, six-week test or something like that, she would get some of the dumbest children to grade my paper and they would put anything down. And when the children made a mistake she said that she couldn't do anything about it, so I just left them alone until the next day. They kept giving me F's on my paper when I made a B or something like that.

When these youngsters were asked to compare their white teachers with the Negro teachers they knew, there was considerable variation in reactions. Some felt the white teachers were intellectually superior, some not; some felt the white teachers were superior managers, some not. But almost all felt there were important differences, especially in the fairness of the teachers to them.

The Negro college is not a very good school for teachers. The white teachers have more opportunities and have more challenge than the teachers in the Negro college could have. And the school of the teacher makes a lot of difference.

I gather that the teachers at the Negro school are more experienced but they are not up to date. Two or three years ago, when they were in college they were, but now there are new techniques. Most of the teachers at the white school, well, they are fresh out of college and they know more and learn more by the modern way. Whereas, the students at the Negro school are sort of . . . like, old fashioned. The teachers there have been out of school for quite some time. Some of them don't bother about going back. Here you can learn more because in the classroom you can get more over to the students when you can teach them individually. So therefore, well, both teachers have faults. One such as inexperience and the other who didn't know much about the modern way of work. But basically both teachers are trying to help.

They're not teaching a lot of the time. They're often doing their monthly report instead of teaching us. And as far as incidents are concerned here, if something happens in the classroom most time it goes unnoticed unless the white students get the worse end of it. But at the old school incidents are always given the best consideration and both parties usually go to the office and get it settled. But the teachers at the white school see it different, and only the Negroes go to the office if the white person gets hurt bad enough to report it.

I think the teachers at the new school are worse than the ones at the Negro school because they don't give you exactly what you make. At the Negro school they don't give you exactly what you make either, but they're worse here. If you make a good grade they'll give you a bad grade and if you make a bad grade then they still give it to you. But they also make it lower and they don't treat you equally. When something happens they put it all on us and they don't do anything about it. They do stay in their room longer but when something happens they still don't know about it because they don't try to find out about anything. At the old school the teachers stayed out of the room more, but still if you tell them about something they do something about it. But here they just don't treat us equally because we are Negroes and the other children are white.

In addition to the direct influence of the teachers, the school principal was often singled out for attention. More than the teachers, the

Southern principal is in a particularly vulnerable role vis-a-vis the school staff and the local community. In order to maintain an orderly school system he may have to defend racial desegregation against considerable white and perhaps even Negro resistance. If he disapproves strongly, he must try to resist desegregation without openly threatening or obviously endangering the lives of Negro and white youngsters. These role demands must be met regardless of his views; and when the system changes he must still represent it or resign. Furthermore, he must keep his teaching staff in relatively good order and humor, and support their efforts as far as he can without causing what he sees to be direct harm to youngsters of either race. In these turbulent situations he also has some special direct responsibility for creating a school atmosphere that either supports or denies standards of fair play, justice and peace. How were principals seen to perform these various and stressful roles?

Often these Negro youngsters showed remarkable acuity and insight into the principals' behavior and role conflict; at times they manifested criticism and impatience. When helpful things were done, they were often noted and appreciated; and when harmful or unhelpful stances were taken they were decried. Consider:

> The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have many friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.

> I also heard that all the children had to do was get used to you and they would get better, but toward the end of the school term instead of getting better they was getting worse. I would say that the reason for this was because at the beginning of the school term the principal was really rough and tight on them, but he begun to slack up on them and they began to get like they was the year before.

I went and reported it to the principal and he said, like the Governor said a long time ago, "Do it like you do it with a mug, you let it dry and it will shake off better." He always had some slogan like that to say in every situation.

[These two girls] came into the bathroom and said, "Two of the Negroes in the hall were trying to fight and we told the principal about it but you know he didn't do anything about it, because they are privileged characters. I don't care, if I could paint my face black so I could be a privileged character too." Then they started talking, "You know we'll be going to the Negro schools this year" and the other girl said, "Yeah and I'm going to get myself one of those Negro boyfriends too." They didn't know I was there.

See if something happened during the school hour a group of them would go to the office and tell him something, tell something was stolen and try to trip us all up. He didn't know what to believe most times so he just never paid any attention.

The principal got a refrigerator and put it in there for us. He went and got drinks for us also. He would ask us in the morning what we would like to have and would go out of his way to get it for us. He was pretty nice.

It's tough on the principal, although I really can't say why I think that. The girl cheerleaders say that the only thing he thinks about is sex going on in the school, but he hasn't said anything to me about that. I can't see he does that. They say that he's mean and forces things on them they don't want to do. Maybe we think differently because he does the things I want him to do and not what they want him to do. They want to get rid of him and talk about it a lot.

The atmosphere this year is very different from last year, I guess, because of the change in principals. Last year we didn't have as many students come up to us and talk. It wasn't the matter of having so many friends but they wouldn't approach you in any way. I guess this year the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one did. You who came in this year are fortunate because he will talk to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another.

Relations with white classmates

In addition to the classroom and building management personnel, the new Negro student learned from his constant interaction with white peers in the classroom. Educational research has demonstrated how important peer influences and associations are for student learning, and recent laboratory research has emphasized some of the important threat and reward influences of white peers upon Negro youngsters' learning performance. But academic lessons are only one part of the total learning that goes on in the classroom. What do Negro youngsters learn about their white peers; what do they learn about their friendship, their fears, their abilities and their potential for working together?

First; let us examine views of the way white students received and interacted with their new Negro classmates; and the ways these young Negroes felt about these reactions.

> [Kids with] real BB guns would stand around the bus and aim at us and threaten us. Boys would ride around on motorcycles and throw rocks at us from the outside. The elementary kids would throw rotten eggs at us. The police would ignore them.
>
> You also get used to things written on the bathroom walls, a lot of stuff. But this is something you have to take. When you come to think about it, when kids call you a name you laugh and joke it off. When you get down there, it's a little different because it's white people.
>
> Really I didn't know how I would take being called a Nigger because I had never been called a Nigger before. I just didn't know how I would take it. I couldn't tell anybody I wouldn't hit anybody when they called me Nigger. But after I got over there and had been called a Nigger about a thousand times during the first six-week period I'd feel a burning inside, and after the third six-week period I'd get over this burning inside, but really a Nigger still seems kind of like insulting to me.

Sometimes we be going down the hall and if any of the white students was standing in the hall and they see us coming they say here come a black Nigger, you better stand back or something. They would get back up against the wall. In the morning sometime we'd be standing by our locker and they would get off the bus and come in and try to walk close up by the wall or something pretending that they didn't want to get close to touch us or anything.

For the most part those children over there want to be friendly, some of them do, but their parents tell them what to do and what not to do and all. You can tell that some of them want to say something to you but they are scared that if they say something to you then the other one is going to call them Nigger lover and all that kind of junk. They just go back and tell 'em and so they just don't want to get involved.

During the athletic season, I found myself not acting myself. They expected a whole lot out of me. They expected me to be different. I had to go along with their crude jokes. They were no good but I laughed anyway. They would run things in the ground but I would keep laughing. Lately I have decided that I really shouldn't try to act different from what I really am. I have decided that I don't have to prove anything to anybody. I lost a few friends by doing that but I've gotten fed up with it. When I first came into the situation I wanted to be friendly. I guess anybody wants to be friends with everybody. We got along okay. We joked about the white and Negro relationship. This was good and okay, but I just got tired of it.

After you go back and look at both sides of the story, you can't blame them really because after all you don't want people to say, "Oh no, I am scared to touch her because her black might rub off on me." If you were in their situation, you might feel the same way. You have to understand that they're not going to fall in love with you overnight. Nobody likes for his friends to turn their backs on him and laugh at him and all of that. More than likely that would be what would happen.

And when we'd be in Physical Education class the coach wouldn't be there, he had boys lead the class. We would be playing football. Every day they'd tell the boys to try to hurt us and knock us down and they would do it. One of them would pretend to act nice and tell them not to do it, but he didn't mean it anyway and this other one would tell them to keep on.

It turned out with three of the characters that were white in the book being played by three Negro girls. There was a scene in the opening part of the play where we had two uncles and the uncles were white boys. When they came in we were supposed to hug them.

When we wrote this script, nobody knew who was going to play who so we wrote it just like it was supposed to be written. When the boys found out that we were supposed to hug them, they weren't happy about it; they were pretty upset. One boy said, "I just can't do that." Well we laughed about it but they were pretty serious. I kept getting the impression that it was because of what would happen when their friends saw them do this, or when their fathers or their relatives saw them.

I was kind of shocked when two white boys and myself were backstage in the wings together and one of them had a gun that we were to use in the play. He said, "If I had to shoot all the Negroes in the school, I would shoot you last." I said, "Why?" He said, "I like you because you know how to cope with our white jokes."

This is the first thing that comes over them, intermarriage. Well it takes two to marry somebody. Nobody wants to marry them; you just want to be their friends, that's all.

They have been led to believe that the Negro thinks about one thing, sex.

No, no, I don't think that. They know that they think about getting married. They are afraid that they may find a Negro that they like, not necessarily that a Negro likes them. Maybe they already got a crush on them. I just believe that they are afraid. If they were not afraid of us, maybe they could stand us a little better. But when you have a guilty conscience yourself, things get down on you a little worse.

These perceptions only begin to hint at the distance that typically separates Negro and white youngsters in many desegregated schools. They exemplify a range of experiences, from physical violence and threats to name calling, and from awkward joking and teasing to overt friendliness. The complicity of teachers in maintaining old patterns is again manifest. In some cases it seems that time and contact has decreased the social distance; in other cases contacts have made Negro youngsters wiser and warier. We were interested in knowing whether Negro students' perceptions of the intelligence and decorum of white youngsters had changed as a result of their contact.

After I got there I wasn't a bit surprised at the attitude of the students there because it had been said before that these kids are absolutely wild. They wouldn't listen to the principal and wouldn't mind the teachers and I wasn't a bit surprised. I was kind of prepared for some of the incidents that happened.

Some people think that white people are higher class than Negroes, but from the way the children did behave they are lower class people than the Negro. We went in English class one day and everybody sat down and when the teacher went out of the room some of the students had spit in the vacant seats that nobody sits in. And they put chewing gum all over the desks. I mean you didn't find too much chewing gum over at the Negro schools; they threw it out the window or trash can. But over there you find the desk packed with chewing gum and stuff like that.

Before we started school our principal at the Negro school told us to be quiet on the bus, "You should hear how quiet the white children are on the bus and everything." You can't hear anything on that bus, you know, from the time you get on the bus to when you get off.

I was really surprised as I went to the white school. They say, "Oh, the Negroes are so dumb," but I really found out that the Negroes are not really dumb at all. If they really had the chance and opportunities they would be a lot smarter than the white children because the white children who went to that school ever since the first grade I had caught up with in the first six weeks I went there. Now I was kind of backward on some subjects, like math, because the only time I took that I was in seventh grade and I had a hard time with math. But in all my other subjects I caught up with most of the white children and passed them in the first six weeks. They really get hot with you when you get ahead of them and I really had lots of trouble with that because I was smarter than most of them, most of the other children in my room, especially in the tenth grade. I don't know about the other grades, but I do feel that the white race is not smarter than the Negro. If the Negro kids had the opportunity and would get down to it and work for it, the Negro race could get up with the white race anytime.

There is just one thing I would like to say. We have a lot of dumb people in our class - you know, dumb, white people. It's true! They want to graduate, but they don't want to do anything.

Well, before I went to the white school I always did think that the white person was smarter than we are. I used to think that they were just born smarter, just because they were white,

> but I found out this year that this isn't true. There were a lot of them who had more trouble than I had in getting their lesson and they had been in this school and in this situation, maybe not in the same situation, but they had been around their friends and their teachers for eleven years before then. Some of them couldn't do half as good as I could, and I don't see how some of them even graduated. They failed some subjects and took-an extra subject, and make D's in that subject and they still passed. I just don't understand it. I think that maybe the reason we think that we aren't as smart as they are is because they've made us feel like we don't know anything.
>
> I feel that they made us feel that we don't know anything because they always keep us in jobs like in the kitchen or in the yard or on the farms. They never have made us feel like we should be anything; never made me feel like anything.

It is clear that there have been instances where interracial classroom contact has permitted Negroes to break down some of their traditional myths about the superiority of white people. They now see some of the differences among young whites, and can even account for some of their prior assumptions. What about the other learnings about white people that have occurred? Does it appear that desegregating classrooms has led to cross-racial friendships? Has it led to greater Negro receptivity to white advances, and vice versa? Has it increased interracial trust?

> I wouldn't invite a white person to my house unless I trusted them a lot because I wouldn't just invite anybody to my house. They could just be setting a trap by setting a bomb in the house or something, but if it was someone that I knew well and trusted a lot, I would.

> Well, I trust white people less, because since I've been around them I am more familiar with them and their ways. The only thing I knew about white people was when they came around they would be friendly and all that. When I started school some of those people who I thought would be friendly looked like they were my worst enemies. Everytime they smiled in your face they were just trying to get some information, that's all; and when they get that they are gone and they are just like any other white person. Therefore, I trust them less.

Like in our class, you see the same people every day and they have gotten used to the fact that they have got to talk to us. We have a nice conversation. We laugh at their jokes and everything and then if you see them on the street, the same person that you have been joking around with all day will look the other way and they won't speak. That kind of thing bothers you. They will talk to you when you are by yourself or with just a few people, but if you are in a group with some of their other friends around, they don't know you at all. That kind of thing makes you distrust their friendship at all.

Sunday we stopped in at the dairy farm and two of the white boys that went to school last year drove up there and they went in. We was standing up there to the window getting waited on and they looked over and waved to us. That's the way they are when they out of school; when they are in school they act all different.

I don't trust white people either because you may think that they are being friendly but come to think of it they are not. In other words, when you get around them they'll be friendly, but if a white person is with me and then we see a group of other white people and they see him with me, they will call him a Nigger lover. So you be thinking that he'd be a friend and the white people get mad; so he just quit being friends. Sometimes he'd be friendly and sometimes he won't.

They all seem to be afraid of what someone else might think. They can't seem to think for themselves. They can't even follow their own moral right. They are always afraid of what someone else might think. There are very few incidences of violence, killings, etc., but they are afraid to take me home after practice. They say, "Somebody might shoot me." "Take you home in broad daylight, you must be kidding." Sometimes they will take me home and sometimes they will make up excuses. They are just afraid. They are afraid of nothing; there's nothing to be afraid of. Sometimes I invite them to come over, but they think that the Negroes just hate white people; they think they will come over here and get killed. I try to explain to them that there are so many white people over here now that it's a thing that is accepted. One man is just another man that you pass on the street. They can't seem to understand that. The white people who associate with us here are what they refer to as "Nigger lovers."

I feel that we have given the wrong impression that our relationship with the white kids at the high school is entirely a hostile one. This is wrong although sometimes we talk that way. We have conversations and all and often the boys talk about girls. But the thing is that sometimes you may say something and you don't know who you can trust, even those who look like they're being sincere. You don't know whether you can trust them or if they'll say something behind your back.

The Negro community

A number of critical issues developed in the Negro communities when youngsters decided to desegregate white schools. Some Negro community leaders feared white retaliation, and some deplored any desegregation efforts at all. Others encouraged these transfers and went out of their way to support them. When young Negro students changed to white schools they often left behind their old school and neighborhood peer groups. Were they able to go back? Did old friends still receive them openly? Or did going to a white school mean isolation from friends as well as traditions of the past? With regard to the Negro communities' reactions:

> In our community all of them were very encouraging. We had been having small mass meetings around our community to try and encourage people to try to enroll students in this school because you could get a better education there. Everyone was very glad that I was chosen to go there and they was trying to encourage me as much as possible to continue.
>
> Well, the Negro people in my community didn't seem as if they were at all for it. They would say that we aren't ready to be with the white people yet; "We should stay and try and get ourselves together first before we try and get with somebody else;" integrate the Negro first is what they were saying. But here in this town there were a lot of people who gave me a lot of encouragement and the encouragement enabled me to go on and graduate.
>
> People in my neighborhood didn't like my going to school because they said that I was just trying to be popular and the white school wasn't any better than the Negro school. They said that the Negro school was the newest school. They said that our house was going to be burned and the Klu-Klux-Klan was going to get us and lots of people was going to get killed. They wasn't going and didn't want those people coming in their neighborhood. Our house did get burned, and when it did people said, "That's what I told you was going to happen."
>
> Well the colored people in my community, well some of the colored anyway, the Uncle Toms, would tell me to stay in my place and that they weren't going to sit near us over there and get throwed at and called Nigger.

> The way I see it is that people want things to happen but they are waiting for somebody else to do it. They will not realize that those who do something have to sacrifice. They don't realize that those who first went down had to sacrifice. They didn't have all the opportunities and all the extra-curricular activities that the Negro school had, like ball games, etc. Another thing a lot of kids came up to me and told me they would like to come but they would like to be on the basketball team. But we don't have a football or basketball team. They are just plain scared and they don't want to give up anything.

Friends appeared and disappeared throughout the semester. The crucible of change fragmented many superficial relationships, but it also seemed to anneal and highlight others. Some Negro peers were jealous, others threatened; some came and asked what was going on, others projected their fears and attacked. This seemed to be one of the areas of greatest surprise and hurt for the desegregating students.

> And when I'd come home from school the children would come up to me and ask me, "Well, who did you get into a fight with today?" "What white girl did you beat up?" "And who's your white boyfriend?" They never did try to help us; all they did was try to get funny.

> I noticed that some of the kids at the Negro school would say that we were stuck up. I asked one person why did she think this and she said that because they expect so much out of us, that we are supposed to be smart and have our names on the honor roll and everything. It seems as if they are the first to say you won't speak to them anymore. But they won't give you a chance. They turn away or make some snide remark and that discourages you. They say, "You think you are so big or so important that you can't be around your old friends anymore."

> It's the same way with some of your friends who go to the Negro school. Some people think that because you want to go to an integrated school that you want to be white. I have heard a lot of people say this. When you get into a discussion with someone who is not going to an integrated school, or a heated argument when they can't think of anything else to say, they are going to bring up, "You think you are so good because you go to an integrated school; you think you are white." I found that you are not going to ever get around this. This is one of the things that you are going to have to accept!

She told her friend, "Guess what, I am over to the 'big Niggers' house." I was wondering how could she say 'big Niggers.' Just because I went to the white school didn't mean that we were "big Niggers.' She got the impression that we were "big Niggers' and had a lot of money and everything which we don't.

I didn't really lose any friends. The people who were not my friends but acted close to me soon stopped speaking. This year it was pretty bad during basketball season. A group of girls said that we thought we were white. They said that we come to their basketball games and sit up and try to act intelligent because we thought we were white. It was just that group of people because our friends are still our friends and close friends and they don't think that way.

And what of the future?

In reflecting about their experiences, these youngsters indicate something of what we may expect about the future of change in the South. As classrooms and schools change, other major institutions will be forced to keep pace. In the face of these prospects and current debates over civil rights activity and strategy it is illuminating to inquire into these youngsters' feelings about the future. It appears that many of these young Negroes will be followed by more of their race in the school desegregation process. What would be likely to happen if more young Negroes joined them?

To make the school a better place I think it will take courageous Negro students and some large Negro boys that are big and that has lots of courage, and an integrated faculty, and that's about all I think it would take.

I think the situation would be better if more Negro students went because a lot of the students just pick on you because they think they can get by with it. I don't think a student would hit a Negro student if he thought somebody was behind him to give him just that much more. He wouldn't do it even if he thought somebody was behind him that would see him and tell the student who it was.

> They would be afraid to bother you if they knew somebody else was with you, if they knew somebody else was with you and on your side and would help you if you needed that help. But like it is now with so many whites, they can just pick on you and there are not enough Negroes to do them enough harm back.
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> I wish I was going back; I just want some of them to pick at me like they did last year so I can get them back. When we have about an equal number of students we'll see if we can get in a fight over there. We will have the same number in our color as they got in their color so we probably have a better chance of fighting if they're looking for a fight this year then I'm going to fight.
>
> You have to be in an area where you can be accepted together. It's not like that down here. That's what's wrong, and it'll take time, a long time, to change.

A long, long time indeed. Will we find new means besides getting bigger Negroes and bigger whites? We do not know, but it is our hope that this sort of constant public examination of the deeds and doings of change may help us learn how to shorten that time, how to make it more peaceful and less painful. Clearly, changes in schools will not come about without change in other social institutions; just as clearly school change sets the pace and tone for community change. One thing that is clear is -that we need to develop, experiment with, and document new change strategies. We need to develop new support systems in Negro and white communities; new ways of encouraging white and Negro youngsters to face one another squarely and without fear of external sanctions. We need to find new ways to help the principal deal with changing school-community and teacher-pupil relations. Finally we need to develop new ways of helping teachers cope with their own ambivalences, with Negro

reluctance and white resistance; teachers need new designs to explore the never-never land of contact between students. The barriers to growth explored in this paper need to be turned into facilitators of justice, peace and progress. The development of such strategies picks up the task of change where the physical desegregation of educational facilities lets off.

July 11, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Pat Watters

INFORMATION: PRESENT AND A THOUGHT FOR THE FUTURE

The information end of Southern Regional Council has pretty well defined functions, and the people involved (including the research staff) are fulfilling them. We put out a quarterly magazine; we process special reports, including some of those developed by the special projects like Mr. Smith's; we deal with the press in a highly desirable way -- publicizing our own materials, passing on stories we feel are important, and answering their needs for information.

Thinking about how this is done gives awareness of the extraordinary flexibility of the operation. To a degree salubriously greater than in most organizations, people fit jobs to themselves, rather than fitting themselves to jobs. For example, Bob Anderson does not keep himself rigidly to the more than demanding mechanical aspects of editing and handling printing of the magazine and reports. He gets out and covers stories; he works patiently with the rest of the staff on development of ideas and projects. Doris Reed

doesn't just clip newspapers. If a reporter comes in wanting to know contacts in Vine City, for example, he talks to her. Or she writes one of the round-up reports for NEW SOUTH. And so it goes. Nobody keeps to a rigid job-sheet schedule.

And yet we tend to think of function and people as though there were hard-and-fast job requirements. When there is a vacancy, we look for an "Editor," or a "Researcher." And, as is illustrated in the absence for about a year now of anybody called "Research Director," we often don't find what we are looking for. Yet jobs get done; functions are carried out. We need to be aware of the flexibility of the operation back here; we need to nurture it; we need to recognize and encourage the enormous creativity of all the people involved, and allow it freer range. And compensate them more adequately. Secondly, we ought to accept for the good thing it is this flexibility, and, instead of looking for people to fit titles, we ought to grab onto whatever creative people come our way and let them fit the functioning of the operation to their skills and talent.

So I wouldn't recommend hiring somebody for this or that. I would say that we could do a better job with more people -- if they were the right kind of people. The scope of our work and the size of the rest of the staff has grown. The actual size of the information and research staff has grown smaller.

If the Southern Regional Council is to continue on its present scale or a larger one, and if we are to continue to rely on information and research as among our most important functions, we need to consider the implications of this imbalance. If we are to cut back in size of staff and scope of work, we ought to again consider the implications of cutting back on the backbone.

Having said all this, I will just put down what seem to me to be some opportunities that might be fulfilled -- either by the creative reaching out of present staff, or by the addition of some more creative people.

We need more contacts in the region with the writing, the research, and the thinking that is going on. This might be done systematically -- with talent-search type trips to universities and civil rights offices and cotton fields. Or it might be done (and probably more effectively) by everyone in all departments keeping an eye out for what we need. Or it might result merely from the hiring of somebody who has contacts out there already that we don't know about, or have time to find.

We cannot, of course, keep a finger on the pulse of the region, with awareness of all its minute variations. But we can know more about what is going on, and who is doing what. We tend to rely on the same people, over and over again, for example, to do our research and writing. And the number of

these old reliables diminishes yearly.

I have set out to travel about the region as much as I can this summer -- mostly to get some sounding on what the white folks have been up to these past few years while everyone has been mostly concerned with the Negroes. Ed Stanfield's suggestion for research assistants in the Human Relations Councils could prove tremendously effective in enhancing our grasp of what is going on. A suggestion: who gets into those jobs is of paramount importance. My guess would be that our best hope would be bright (and I mean really bright) kids just out of good (and I mean really good) colleges. The excellent record of the Southern Courier along these lines is worth noting.

But for all of this, we are by nature -- even if we should double or triple in size -- not equipped to be comprehensive in our knowledge or coverage of the South. What we have been able to do (and need to do more) is to know enough to be able to seize upon the key issues and problems and to do publications work on them creatively and effectively -- that is with a view to results. This requires among other things an interplay with the best minds in the region and the nation mulling over the same matters. And it requires alertness and creativity on the part of the staff. And that gets back to my first and main point--that we nurture the creativity we have and give it freer range; that we get, if possible, more of it in the form of more people, and that we encourage it in all the ways we can.

Fire - Sub Projects - "Labor Educ"

MS - file

MEMO

TO: PAUL ANTHONY
FROM: EMORY VIA
DATE: JUNE 15, 1966

RE: POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT CONFERENCES

What I did not say about Hollis Bach's program with the Post Office Department to help train their people about the ins and outs of fairness in employment and about minority group problems is that there is a good likelihood that the program will need outside support. By this I mean moral support, not financial.

Because of the kind of indepent operation that the Post Office is and because of its various ties to elected leadership there is always some uncertainty about how steadfast a new program will be. It is even possible that some of the participants in Bach's programs might on their own initiative write critically to congressmen about the effort.

My own feeling is that even though the training programs were only two days long they were serious and worthwhile. A number of the participants expressed on the side that they thought the exposure and interchange was useful.

I go this far into detail because I think support from us -- even informally in conversations with others -- would be both welcome and useful. Enough said.

File Labor Project

LABOR PROGRAM

January - June 1966

Emory F. Via, Director

Joan C. Browning, Administrative Secretary

Most of the work of the Labor Program falls into three broad categories: labor education, consultation and liasion, and employment problems. This report will attempt to summarize the activities which have taken place in each of these areas without detailing the on-going process of administration, preparation, informal materials development, and the interaction with the continuing programs of the Council.

Labor Education.

The Program's involvement in education activities has varied from participations of one day to one month in duration, and from an intense exploration of civil rights problems confronting Southern unions to a rather tangential handling of such problems as they relate to the day-to-day concerns of a union.

In January the Director spent one month heading the National Institute of Labor Education's Southern Union Staff Institute. This Institute was held at the University of Georgia in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education. It was a useful and intensive educational experience providing tool courses, courses in social and economic understanding, and a fairly concentrated dose of subjects related to racial relations and civil rights.

The Virginia AFL-CIO conducted a week end education conference in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Education Department. The Director of the Labor Program taught four classes and made one general presentation to the entire group. The Tri-State School, sponsored by the state AFL-CIOs in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina in cooperation with the national AFL-CIO Education Department, provided another opportunity for teaching a class and holding a general session on the changing South.

The Labor Program participated in two conferences sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. One of these was held in Atlanta for the Union's regional organizing staff and the other at Daytona Beach for local union leadership from throughout the region.

Two further week end institutes were worked out cooperatively with the Labor Program and the Education Department of the United Steelworkers of America and their District 36-G (Gulf Coast) Education Coordinator. One conference was held in Tampa, Florida, and the other in New Orleans. In each case the Program provided approximately one-half of the instruction.

The Director also taught in a one week summer school for members of the United Rubber Workers of American who held a regional program at the Blue Ridge Assembly grounds at Black Mountain, North Carolina.

The Program participated in a one day regional meeting of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta.

The Director has taken several opportunities to explore with institutions of higher learning the possibility of their developing some continuing interest in the area of labor education. This activity has been confined primarily to two states to date. Two Georgia institutions have been approached through members of the faculty and administration who were interested in such possibilities. These moves have been made in consultation with appropriate persons within the labor movement. This effort must be recognized as little more than an attmmpt to stimulate a beginning interest. Potentially it is a useful way to expand labor education opportunities within the region.

Consultation and Liasion.

On a number of items which might be included under this heading the Labor Program has worked cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Such items include assistance with a proposed program for the installation of the regional Equal Employment Opportunities Commission director, a conference sponsored by the Southern Student Organizing Committee held in Durham on "Students and Labor" in which both the Labor Program Director and the head of the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department participated. Assistance was offered in settling problems which had arisen between a local civil rights group and a union engaged in an organizing campaign. An assessment ~~and then an exploration of~~ Alabama of the impact of the primary election on the Alabama labor movement in regards to racial relations. Both of these latter two activities were in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

During the period of this report the Labor Program has had an opportunity to work with several Councils on Human Relations on a variety or problems. This activity has included work with state councils in Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama, and local

Councils in Atlanta and Palm Beach. Somewhat similar work has been done in cooperation with the Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P., Operation Breadbasket, and the American Friends Service Committee.

The Director spoke to a Southern Student Organizing Committee conference in Atlanta, to an American Friends Service Committee staff and advisory group, to the Daytona Beach Forum, and to the orientation conference for "Operation Speed-Up" sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

The Director was asked to serve on the Task Force on Economic Security for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights". This entailed several Task Force meetings in Washington and ultimately meant that the Director was involved as the spokesman for a panel appearing before four workshops at the White House Conference itself.

A few days were profitably spent in mediating between the union staff involved in organizing migrant laborers and an agency with which SRC has frequently cooperated over differences that had arisen regarding approaches to migrant labor problems. This was an interesting and informative interlude. The outcome at this point seems to be a healthy one.

A few days were spent in Detroit attending conferences of the University Labor Education Association, the AFL-CIO Labor Educators, and Local 189 (Workers Education Local) of the American Federation of Teachers. This time was largely devoted to promotion and contact work and has led to further programs.

A regional conference sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor in cooperation with SRC and a few other agencies involved the Labor Program directly. This conference was aimed at reaching civil rights and other groups who have contact with disadvantaged persons in terms of the program offerings of the Department of Labor. It was an effort on the Department's part to bridge the gap between their program proposals and policies and actually reaching the people who should be affected by those programs.

Employment Problems.

Although the Labor Program is not specifically committed to working in the area of employment discrimination, it is difficult, and unwise, to side-step these problems altogether. During the course of the past few months we have participated in a national apprenticeship study (our part was limited to the metropolitan Atlanta area) and have worked cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in exploring and

promoting the idea of an apprenticeship information center. Similarly, with the Civil Rights Department, we have been able to give some assistance in a study which they are doing cooperatively with other organizations regarding discriminatory practices in employment services. Both of our programs have worked cooperatively with the Atlanta Council on Human Relations in their interest to report the difficulties encountered in getting reliable information about apprenticeship and other training programs in the Atlanta metropolitan area.

From time to time employment requests come to the Council and are chanelled through the Labor Program. These range from individuals seeking employment to companies seeking individuals in a variety of classifications. In some cases we are able to handle such requests fairly directly, but usually they are referred to other agencies such as the Urban League, Operation Breadbasket, or one of the vocational schools. The Labor Program has involved the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department Southern Office in discussions with persons working with the Vine City Council in Atlanta regarding employment and training opportunities for disadvantaged youth.

The Director was asked to participate in a training program of Post Office Department personnel staff from throughout the region to discuss the problems of minority groups as they relate to employment both outside and inside the federal service.

The Program has been concerned with developing some of the background materials and locating outside staff for the conduct of an unemployment study. Unfortunately this project has not been brought to fulfillment.

In Conclusion.

It is envisioned that the main lines of the Labor Program's work will continue to be in the three areas outlined above. Increasingly, the formal program will involve labor education activities. Some of these will be developed at the Labor Program's initiative and others will continue to be those developed by the labor movement with the Program being simply a participant. The liasion and consultation work will continue and is a natural outgrowth of the Program's contact with unions and governmental and private agencies. Our concern with employment opportunities will not diminish but is likely to find expression largely in stimulating interest in public policy and in making referrals to those groups most actively involved in this work. At this point it seems fair to say that the activities of the Labor Program continue to grow and the prospects for the immediate future are good that its services will not only be needed but sought after.

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6 Mos. Report

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Labor Project Report -- January-June, 1967

Emory F. Via, Director

The six months period just ended was a time of slightly different emphases than during previous periods for the Labor Project. Substantially more time was spent on two special projects related to equal opportunity in employment and, of necessity, less time was given to labor education activities. This does not reflect a change in the basic orientation of the Labor Project, but a happenstance of timing and the Council's interest in responding to an opportunity to meet special needs.

The report will reflect the Project's activities in labor education, liason and consultation, and employment opportunity.

LABOR EDUCATION

The project director has taught in two week-long educational institutes during the report period. These have been with the Tri-State Labor School (AFL-CIO sponsorship in the states of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina) and in a regional United Rubber Workers School. Four classes were held in two different localities with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Two weekend institutes were planned and conducted in joint sponsorship with the Arkansas State AFL-CIO.

Although the specific subject matter varies from one institute to another, an opportunity is provided to discuss with the union group the changing South, and the union's relation to civil rights or particular problems in the community or state. For example, in teaching local union administration it is pertinent to get into the union's relation to the community and its problems as well as to the specific responsibilities of the union to its own members. In either case such a discussion is likely to touch racial relations. Frequently, the main presentation by the project director is under a very general heading such as "The South Today." In such cases, worker interests can be related to the changes taking place in the economy, in politics and in social relations. Relevant factual information is brought

into the sessions. Such information may vary from facts and figures on the educational standing of the various southern states, to data reflecting the economic condition of states or regions, to a consideration of special reports such as the recently published "Hungry Children," to a careful reading of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Our effort has been to get union members to think, to accept the significance of important social developments and to begin to view the changes about them in a new perspective. It is hoped that they can begin to shake away from a negative and antagonistic view of civil rights progress and find an understanding that can hold some promise of a South of decency, equality and mutual progress. This result, happily, is sometimes achieved. More frequently another important goal is attained: working whites discover that there is a reasoned and reasonable "other view" of events in the South and Nation. They may discover that the Supreme Court is not always villainous, that the Constitution and democracy have a certain compatibility and that Negro gains do not necessarily mean white losses. Simple lessons, but it is often the first exposure to such an approach for many in a society where few efforts are made to reach working whites. (A major focus, even though most of the groups are integrated). It is true that those who attend the sessions already have come through a process of "natural selection" -- they usually represent some level of local union leadership. Most of them still work in factories or at a trade. Overwhelmingly, their general response has been a positive one.

In the Arkansas institutes, local labor leaders from eastern Arkansas were brought together with local civil rights leaders from their own communities. The subjects discussed ranged from perspectives on the changing South and East Arkansas through a consideration of tax and consumer problems, to the problems and possibilities of unions and Negro action groups cooperating locally and in the state.

A further labor education activity has been the distribution of selected materials to appropriate persons within unions, human relations councils, or other groups. Occasionally materials have been

sent to human relations councils and others where it might be suggestive of common interests and joint programs with unions. Our materials distribution provides specific information, the knowledge that a particular item is available for wider distribution, and continuing contact with those with whom we work. The most frequent targets for materials are the various State AFL-CIO bodies in the South and the state councils on human relations. The education or civil rights directors of national unions or their regional counterparts hear from us with some regularity. The same is true for regional directors of national unions.

Among the materials that have been distributed are the following:

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Beyond these general distributions and the supplying of specific materials either on request or as a need is seen, the program developed a major special purpose material of its own. A "Minimum Wage Campaign Kit" was produced to be used by unions, human relations

councils and others to assist in understanding and enforcing the law. The kit was designed specifically to assist low wage workers and to offer one tangible way for interested groups to more effectively relate to low income persons in their communities. It was hoped that such projects might prove to be the occasion for joint activity between one or more unions and one or more groups interested in civil rights. Approximately 1,800 of the kits have been distributed to date. In addition, a special minimum wage pamphlet for popular distribution, "More Money for You", has had a distribution of over 6,000.

Liason and Consultation

Although the work of the Project which comes under this heading is of great importance, it frequently is of a nebulous character. Activities here vary from on-the-spot advice to mediating differences between groups that should be working with each other. This is also that portion of our work where the Project reaches beyond its more immediate clientele to other/private and public agencies. Some of the activities have included working on an employment conference with the Virginia Council on Human Relations and a minimum wage workshop with the Alabama Council on Human Relations, participating in a VISTA orientation program, leading a discussion with the national community services conference of the American Friends Service Committee, taking part in a Miles College manpower conference, working with the regional offices of the Urban League, relating to student groups interested in civil rights and organized labor, and serving as a consultant to a conference sponsored by the EEOC and the University of Michigan for key staff and policy people of the state agencies working on fair employment.

Participation in regional and national conferences where the topics are closely related to the work of the Project has been another portion of "liason and consultation" as has the contact with representatives of the regional and national press with a special interest in employment or unions.

An important part of the Project's activities has been the continued close cooperation with the Southern office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

Employment Opportunities

Two projects have dominated the time devoted to SRC's interest in furthering equal employment opportunity. Each has been an inter-agency undertaking in which the Labor Project was a prime mover.

In Atlanta several agencies joined together to launch a concerted effort to urge Negro youths to enter the skilled trades and bring pressure to bear on those responsible for recruiting and hiring to insure that jobs would in fact be open. This joint effort in recent weeks has focused primarily on the recruitment of potential apprentices and providing them with prepratory training for the testing and interviewing process for apprentices. Gradually, the staff function for this project has been assumed by the Labor Education Advancement Project of the Atlanta Urban League. SRC's Labor Project has provided a substantial portion of the initiative (though most certainly shared with others), factual material and consultative help. Beyond this, we have helped push the project along by bringing in outside consultants from the Joint Apprenticeship Project of the Workers Defense League and the Randolph Institute in New York. Their visit, at our suggestion and with our financial assistance, led to a very helpful and practical re-energizing of the local efforts, including a valuable demonstration with local recruits of the training process. It is our hope, and that of other agencies, that what is learned in the process in Atlanta can be used elsewhere.

The second employment project joins SRC with five other agencies in an effort to increase the employment of Negroes in the textile industry in terms of both numbers and quality of jobs. We have worked closely with the relevant federal agencies in developing our plans and have consulted with them, and supported and prodded their own efforts to develop what appears to be a most significant undertaking in the employment opportunity field. Our group has played an important

role in encouraging the government agencies to cooperate with each other in this joint undertaking. We work on the national and regional level in developing ideas, securing administrative support, and assisting in community contacts with the government agencies.

The private agencies, with SRC again as one of the chief initiators, have secured special funding to allow us to have a full-time staff person as an action arm in South Carolina (not yet in the field). Such a person will be in touch with public and private agencies within the state that relate to training or recruitment that might affect textile employment; he will secure the cooperation of local organizations in motivating and recruiting Negro workers for employment in the textile industry; he will maintain contact with the field operations of the federal agencies. Our aim is to show what a collaborative project with a developed strategy can accomplish in a one-year period. We hope that the project will introduce large numbers of Negro employees into entry level jobs and will achieve a substantial sprinkling of Negroes into clerical, technical and managerial positions. Further, it is our aim to encourage, through consultation, watch-dogging and administrative pressure, the on-going agencies such as local employment service offices and training programs to establish reasonable routines to insure that adequate recruitment of Negroes for employment of all kinds becomes a fact.

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Labor Program → file Emory Via, Director

The labor program has shown steady growth during the first quarter. The efforts of the director have been split between program development and promotion, execution, and research.

As a part of program development, the director attended meetings of university and union labor educators in Detroit the last of March.

Two research related projects are under way. One is an attempt to develop a pamphlet on hidden unemployment and underemployment. Materials have been collected and negotiations started with a research-writer. The labor program is also participating in a national study of apprenticeship programs as they relate to minority groups. Our responsibility is limited to the Atlanta metropolitan area.

~~The director of~~ The ~~labor~~ program assisted in ~~some of~~ making ~~the~~ arrangements for a conference and installation of the new EEOC regional director. An interesting attempt by the regional staff of the U. S. Labor Department to expand its effectiveness in reaching disadvantaged persons, led to a cooperative effort with the Council and other agencies. ~~The labor program~~ We made a significant contribution to the planning, promotion and execution of the conference on March 23, with assistance from other members of the SRC staff.

The labor program has worked cooperatively with the Southern office of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department. On several occasions we have successfully involved union leaders in programs sponsored by SRC and other agencies.

The director of the labor program has participated in a staff training program for the southeastern representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in a regional meeting of the American Federation of Teachers, and in a month-long Southern Union Staff Training Institute.

The Southern Staff Institute was sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education. Emory Via served as director of the Institute held from January 9 - February 4

at the University of Georgia. The Institute was attended by twenty-one full-time union leaders from twelve states and fourteen international unions. It, of course, is rare to get working adults together for a full month of concentrated study. It seems to have been a most successful undertaking. One interesting by-product of the Institute was the bringing of Roy Wilkins to the campus to speak to an audience of students, faculty, and a few townspeople. It was the first time that a major, national civil rights personality had addressed a public meeting on the campus.

In recent weeks the labor program director has been serving on the Economic Security task force convened to assist in planning the White House civil rights conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

See Labor Project

LPA
MS-file

THE LABOR PROGRAM
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Brief Background

Funding and Staff. During the spring of 1965 the National Institute of Labor Education and the Southern Regional Council cooperated in seeking foundation funds for sponsoring educational programs with intermediate union leaders in the South. A proposal went from the National Institute of Labor Education, with SRC as the cooperating and executing agent, to the Taconic Foundation. On August 2, 1965 SRC received a grant of $30,000.00 for the performance of this program over a two year period from Taconic. Subsequently, on November 9, 1965, further monies were allocated by the Ford Foundation for a similar program as a part of an over-all project grant to the SRC. The basis of the proposal to Ford for union educational work was similar to that embodied in the original NILE proposal.

What was Proposed. In general terms, it was proposed that human relations institutes -- short run labor education programs -- would be run with intermediate union leadership in the Southern states. The allocated funds were primarily for administrative and promotional costs. Other costs were to come from the labor movement, fees charged, or other sources. Further provision was made for materials preparation and for speaker training programs.

The Program in Operation

Staff. The program is under the direction of Emory F. Via who is on leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers. Mr. Via served as labor consultant to the

Council in 1957 and 1958. Miss Joan Browning serves as administrative secretary to the Labor Program and performs some research and related duties. A list of ad hoc teachers suitable for use in the Program's activities is being developed. The SRC staff and research materials are available to the Labor Program.

Advisory Committee. An advisory committee is being established. It will consist in the first instance of the members of the Council who are labor connected, a representative from NILE, and the head of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office. The committee may be expanded to include others who can serve effectively the needs of the program. Such expansion will come through consultation with the Committee and the approval of the Council's director. The labor connected members of the Council are:

William Becker, President, Arkansas AFL-CIO,

Hank Brown, President, Texas AFL-CIO,

Claude Ramsay, President, Mississippi AFL-CIO,

Paul Christopher, Director, Region VIII, AFL-CIO, and

James Youngdahl, labor attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas.

To this group would be added Joe Mire, Executive Director, NILE, and E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office.

Program Promotion. The first line of approach to program is through the various state labor bodies. The attempt is to sound out their interest in sponsoring an institute of human relations, to get their suggestions of local labor bodies who have needs or interests that might be served by an institute, to get suggestions of local or regional unions that might be receptive to the institute idea. Each of these groups will also be solicited for the kinds of problems which they feel they face with which the project might offer assistance. Similarly, they will be asked for important

happenings involving racial relations, negative or positive, which might be suitable for case studies.

Beyond the above, contact will be maintained with national union offices. Special attention will be paid to those with education and civil rights programs. Close relations will be maintained with the Education and Civil Rights Departments of the national AFL-CIO.

Program Content. In general, the subjects covered by the various activities of the Labor Program will contain some mixture of the following areas: background and perspectives on the South; civil rights laws; civil rights movement; union and community racial relations; understanding the nature of prejudice and concepts of "race"; Southern economic, social, and political developments; Southern union history; and regional problems and prospects for organized labor.

Instruction will be geared to the level of understanding and experience of those participating in a given program. Among the primary purposes of the program are the following: to create new understandings; to shore up the good positions held by many Southern unionists; to explore and demonstrate techniques for the solution of problems; to assist unions and their leaders to come more fully into a constructive, contemporary democratic society. Informed and sensitive instructors will make the judgment as to when to rely on simple facts, human interest interpretations, the requirements of self interest, coaxing, or forthright challenge.

Program Format. The educational approaches used by the Labor Program are varied. A main emphasis is placed upon developing one to five day ~~human relations institutes~~ (perhaps usually going by some other name). In the main these institutes will concentrate

almost exclusively on the kinds of subjects detailed in the preceding section. But we will attempt some general interest institutes into which the human relations content is introduced as an integral part. Such institutes may be either residential or non-residential, drawing from a local area.

The program utilizes activities sponsored by the labor movement, or others, where our interests can be built beneficially into what has already been planned. Two such examples come readily to mind. One is participation in a week long staff training program for the regional I.L.G.W.U. in January, and the other is teaching in a summer school such as the Kentucky Labor School scheduled in July. Other programs of this sort include participation in the Fisk Race Relations Institute in July and in weekend educational conferences such as those to be sponsored by the Virginia AFL-CIO in March and April.

In some instances speaking engagements will be considered a part of the overall program. This would be true, for example, in the scheduled regional meeting (under local sponsorship) of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta in March.

The Labor Program will assist, where feasible, in relating unions and civil rights groups to each other. This process is underway. The activities which support such an effort may be as varied as the recent assistance to a union and a local N.A.A.C.P. branch in finding a workable solution to a mutual problem, to relating to student groups or to working with local or state councils on human relations. Specifically, on this latter point work has been done with the Atlanta, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama Councils.

Programs run by government and related agencies provide a further way of involving union leaders in existing programs. Such

activities at times can be encouraged by the Labor Program. They can prove to be a valuable means of educating through information and exposure. Conferences in the fall in Atlanta and Savannah relating to Title VII provided a beginning opportunity for such activity. A workshop session in Atlanta in January with national and regional staff from the EEOC was also useful in this regard. In these particular efforts, and others, the Labor Program has cooperated with the southern office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Later in March a regional program by the Labor Department will explain the training, enforcement, and technical programs of the Department as they relate to disadvantaged persons. The program will be attended by civil rights workers, representatives from disadvantaged groups, and trade unionists. It will provide an opportunity for questions and ctiticism in extended workshop sessions. The conference has been developed in cooperation with the Labor Program.

Functions sponsored by other agencies at times provide a good opportunity for expanding the experience or information of local or regional labor leadership. The same is true of activities sponsored by the Council or one of its other projects. For instance, in February seventeen regional labor leaders attended a lunch featuring Attorney General Katzenbach in a speech on voter registration and participation. The labor leaders not only heard the speech in a Southern setting but had an opportunity to meet with local and regional civil rights leaders and others concerned about voting rights.

The development of materials will come as a natural outgrowth of program activity. The various educational efforts will make the need for certain kinds of materials quite apparent. And the pursuit of program and program resource people will lead to useful materials

which can be edited for our use. We are currently seeking such materials. In some cases we will be able to use materials in programs and give them pre-publication test. Possible case study situations are being collected. Several ideas for publications are now in hand; one is in manuscript form. On a modest scale we have already distributed some of the Council's materials which seemed to have special relevance to a given selection of labor leaders. This activity will continue to expand.

In many instances the training of speakers should be a by-product of much else that is done through the LaborProgram. In some cases it may be advisable to make speaker training a formal adjunct to another program. Some of the materials prepared under the program's auspices will be especially aimed at persons who are potential speakers. We are currently considering a proposal to run a pilot teachers of stewards training program in which about one third of the material to be covered would be directly related to the interests of the Labor Program. It could be that this form of teaching within the context of on-going union activity will have more meaning and get a better response than more direct approaches. Similar teaching and training situations will be tried experimentally.

SRC-NILE Relations

The Council has appreciated the opportunity to work cooperatively with NILE on this and other programs and hopes that such cooperation willcbe expanded in the future where it is to the mutual benefit of both organizations. It is mindful of the need and propriety of continuing contact with NILE regarding the human relations institutes and related programs for the two years of the Taconic grant. As agreed between SRC and NILE and stated in the request to Taconic,

the direction of the program and its day-to-day decisions will be in the hands of the SRC Labor Program. NILE will be used consultatively and may be involved in relations with national unions and in materials preparation where these activities are appropriate.

The Council will pay to NILE $1,844.00 for each of the two years of the program's operation under the Taconic grant. The total for the two year period will be $3,688.00 which was the amount agreed upon between NILE's Executive Director and the Director of the SRC Labor Program. as appropriate for covering NILE's overhead costs in the development of the program. The SRC will not make a similar tap on the available funds. Services performed by NILE which go beyond what it deems a part of its overhead operation will be compensated by the project on a fee-for-services-rendered basis to be worked out in each case between the parties where such services are requested by the Labor Program Director.

EV
MJ-file

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

1911 F STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TELEPHONE: 737-1366

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JAMES E. WOLFE

Dear Paul,

July 7, 66

Thanks for your letter of July 5th.

I'll be glad to serve on your Advisory Committee for the Labor Program.

Good wishes!

Sincerely yours

Joe

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

REGION NO. 8. PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, DIRECTOR
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE
524-7481-2

EV

July 8, 1966

WMJ - note & file

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In reply to yours of July 5 I shall be glad to serve on the Advisory Committee to the Council's Labor Program.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO Region VIII Director

PRC:lr
oeiu 144 afl-cio

Mississippi AFL-CIO

FORMERLY: MISSISSIPPI LABOR COUNCIL AFL-CIO

133 SOUTH LAMAR STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201

PHONE 355-1754

July 11, 1966

Recd 7/13/66

EV
MJ

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I will be happy to serve on your Labor Advisory Committee, per your request of July 5, 1966.

Sincerely,

Claude

Claude Ramsay
President

CR/dm
opeiu 204
afl-cio

Arkansas State AFL-CIO

1408 REBSAMEN PARK ROAD
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS MOhawk 3-4164

J. BILL BECKER
President
GEORGE H. ELLISON
Vice-President
E. J. JACOBS
Secretary-Treasurer

July 11, 1966

Read 7/13/66

EV
MJ

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of July 5th asking me to serve on the Advisory Committee to the Council's Labor Program. I would be most happy to do so and would consider it a privilege.

MJ - note
EV - answer?

I regret to advise you that I will be unable to attend your 1966 Annual Meeting in Atlanta on November 16, 17, and 18. I have a previous commitment that I cannot possibly break.

If you are planning that the Advisory Committee will meet during this period, you might want to find someone else to serve on the Committee since I will be unable to be there. With this reservation I would be glad to accept the appointment.

Always with a good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Bill Becker

J. Bill Becker
President

JBB:jm
opeiu 105, afl-cio

McMATH, LEATHERMAN, WOODS & YOUNGDAHL
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW
711 WEST THIRD STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201

SIDNEY S. McMATH
LELAND F. LEATHERMAN
HENRY WOODS
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

JOHN P. SIZEMORE
SILAS H. BREWER, JR.

AREA CODE 501
FRANKLIN 6-3021

July 11, 1966

Read 7/13/66

EV
MJ

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In response to your letter of July 5, 1966, I would be pleased to serve on the Advisory Committee to the Council's Labor Program.

I will look forward to receiving further information on this.

Sincerely,

James E. Youngdahl

JEY:ghw

opeiu105aflcio

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

EVV
MJ

July 14, 1966

File: Sec Projects
(Make folder: "Advisory Cte to the Labor Educ. Project)

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I would be happy to serve on the Advisory Committee to Southern Regional Council's Labor Program.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Don

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

DG:ppo

opeiu #2 afl-cio

Same letter to: John Wheeler, Durham; Ed Bishop, Chapel Hill, N.C.; Sam Cook, Durham; Vivian Henderson, Atlanta; Marian Wright, Jackson, Miss.; Charles Morgan, Atlanta; Carl Holman, Washington; James Dabbs, South Carolina; C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Ala.; John Ehle, Winston-Salem, N.C.; and ~~Pete McKnight~~ Pete McKnight, Charlotte, N.C. Jim Prathro 8/25/67

August 10, 1967

Mr. Joel Fleishman
Yale Summer High School
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Joel:

George Esser and I would like to invite you to a small meeting co-sponsored by the North Carolina Fund and SRC to be held in Atlanta on September 14th and 15th.

The purpose of the meeting is to assemble a small number of thoughtful people -- not more than 20 -- to determine where we are at this moment in the South and the nation and, if possible, to determine what should be done about it. We have no illusions about the complexity of this purpose, but we feel there is an urgent need to try. We regret the necessity for setting such an early date but, here again, we feel the seriousness of the situation makes this imperative.

The meeting will be held at the Biltmore Hotel, beginning at 9:30 a.m. on September 14th

and ending during the afternoon of the 15th. We hope it will be possible for you to come in on the evening of the 13th. We will be happy to make reservations for you at the hotel and will, of course, be responsible for your travel expenses.

We hope you agree with us on the need for such a meeting and share our sense of urgency.

Please let us know at your earliest convenience whether or not you can attend.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

9/9

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

POST OFFICE BOX 687 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 682-5785

August 1, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Pressure is definitely being put on the Fund by sundry persons and agencies in this State, and most notably Representative Gardner, a Republican, and a Raleigh television station. Fortunately my executive committee was in session when Gardner loosed his charges, all of them based on hearsay, distortion, and without any efforts to get the facts. My response this week will be a positive review of the Fund's program.

The events of the past few weeks convince me that we must more ahead quickly with our joint efforts. After some careful thought, we conclude that a brainstorming session of two full days with a carefully prepared moderator will probably be more useful at this time than a meeting based on a very carefully prepared agenda. I have tentatively reserved the weeks we mentioned on the phone, but I tend to think that the earlier will be the best (September 14-15).

We tend to think that the group should be no larger than 20, and that emphasis should be placed on perceptive observers who will be keen to the problems and to new ways of approaching problems. I am attaching a list to which I have no deep committment. These are merely types of people who we think, from our experience, would be useful in a meeting such as this.

I will be at the office Wednesday and most of Thusday. After you receive this letter, you may want to call me. If I am not in, why don't you talk to Lucy?

Incidentally, Voter Education and allied activities are the real target here.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

rl
Attachment

22

Travel Costs

SUGGESTED PARTICIPANTS FOR A CONFERENCE ON THE SOUTH

SRC
VEJ
PWWESS

From The North Carolina Fund

George H. Esser, Jr.
Nathan Garrett
John Strange
John Wheeler - Board
Wallace Murchison - Board

From North Carolina

Joel Fleishman - By way of Yale University
Jim Prothro - UNC
Watts Hill, Jr. - Durham insurance executive and Chairman, Board of Higher Education
Ed Bishop - Vice President, UNC, and Executive Director, Commission on Rural Poverty
Dr. Sam Cook - Duke University

From the newspaper world

Jim Batten - Formerly Charlotte Observer and now Knight Papers Bureau in Washington
Willie Morris - Editor of Harpers
Tom Wicker - North Carolina native and New York Times staff
David Cooper - Raleigh representative of Winston-Salem Journal

Others

Vivian Henderson - SRC
Marion Wright - Mississippi SRC → 548½ N. Farrish
Andy Carr - Clarksdale, Mississippi
Charles Counts - Gainesville, Georgia
Charles Weltner
Charles Morgan SRC
Warren Wickersham - Lawyer in Washington (Florida, Duke, Yale Law School)
Floyd Sherrod - Liaison from Labor Department to Congress (was aide to Sparkman)

Carl Kalman SRC
Tom Pettigrew SRC
John Hiffin
James Dabbs
E. H. Hamilton
T. Wilkins
B. Jordan

John Eckle
Pete McKnight
Charlotte News & others

yes

(14) ~~Pat McKnight~~ ✓
Ed, Charlotte Observer

(8) ~~V. Henderson~~ 14th
Pres. Clark College

(12) ~~Chas. Morgan~~, Southern
Sec'y ACLU

(4) ~~J. Esser~~, N.C. Fund

(6) ~~M. Garrett~~, NC Fund

(15) ~~John Strange~~, NC Fund

(1) ~~P Anthony~~, SCLC — (1)

(10) ~~V. Sudan~~ SCLC

(11) ~~E. Stanfield~~ SCLC

(3) ~~J.M. Dabbs~~, ✓ ?, SCLC, Mayor, S.C.

(9) ~~C. Hulman~~, ~~Dep~~ Gov, CCR

(5) ~~Jack Hershman~~, Asst V Cr. Gale Fund

(18) M. Wright, ✓ atty, ~~Jud.~~ N.C.

(17) J. Wilkins, ?, SCLC

(2) ~~Sam Cook~~, Prof. Pol. Sci Duke
Rese. in Soc. Sci Univ. of N.C.

(13) ~~Jim Forman~~ — ✓ ?, SCLC

(16) Wheeler, ~~(1)~~ (7) ~~Gomillion~~ — ?, SCLC

No

Tom Pettigrew

All this Corresp. should be filed in your SRC - N.C. Fund folder

The Charlotte Observer

P. O. BOX 2138 · CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28201 · TELEPHONE 704 375-8885

August 14, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have changed my plane reservations and will arrive in Atlanta from Miami, where Knight directors meet on Wednesday, September 13, on EAL Flight 120 at 5:50 p.m.

I have booked myself out of Atlanta on EAL Flight 622 at 3:10 p.m., Friday, September 15.

I look forward to the meeting and the discussion.

Sincerely,

Pete

C. A. McKnight

cc: Mr. George Esser

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

STAFF DIRECTOR

August 15, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your invitation to attend a small meeting co-sponsored by the North Carolina Fund and SRC, to be held in Atlanta on September 14th and 15th.

I will be happy to participate in this meeting, and appreciate your offer to make reservations for me at the hotel. You will receive a letter from me in the next week or two giving you a specific travel schedule for my hotel reservation.

Thank you again, for inviting me.

Sincerely,

M. Carl Holman
gha

M. Carl Holman
Deputy

August 16, 1967

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I am very delighted to know you can make the meeting on September 14th and 15th. Considering the short notice, I am also relieved.

I, too, am very uncertain as to what we can do, but feel that because there does exist so much uncertainty is all the more reason to try.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN CHURCHMEN

1207 EIGHTEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212
TELEPHONE: AC 615/298-2644

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS PRESIDENT
G. MURRAY BRANCH VICE-PRESIDENT
W. E. HINES SECRETARY-TREASURER

Mayesville, South Carolina 29104
August 15, 1967

Mr.Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Countil, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I shall manage to attend the meeting you and Paul Esser are calling in Atlanta for September 14 and 15. I have no clear ideas of what should be done, but it should be worth while to get together and try to hammer out something. I shall plan to arrive at the Biltmore the evening of September 13. Please make a reservation for me.

Kindest regards.

J. M. Dabbs

DIRECTOR: WILL D. CAMPBELL PROGRAM DIRECTOR: J. ANDREW LIPSCOMB

~~ACA~~ SRC - NCF confer. 9/14-15/67

Mr. Dabbs.

Make reservation at
Biltmore Hotel

2 nites - Sept. 13 + 14

August 18, 1967

Mr. M. Carl Holman
Deputy Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Carl:

Delighted you can be with us on September 14th and 15th. A room will be reserved for you at the Biltmore for the nights of the 13th and 14th. If we can do anything else, let us know.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

August 21, 1967

Miss Marian E. Wright
538½ N. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202

Dear Marian:

Delighted to know you can be with us on September 14th and 15th. We shall reserve a room for you at the Biltmore for the nights of the 13th and 14th. A few more details will follow, but the meeting should end no later than mid-afternoon on the 15th.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MARIAN E. WRIGHT
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW

MARIAN E. WRIGHT
PAUL A. BREST
IRIS BREST

538½ N. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202
Area Code 601 948-7301

August 18, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Will be able to attend the September 14-15th meeting at the Billmore Hotel.

Hope all goes well with you.

Sincerely yours,

Marian E. Wright

MEW:pbm

Dictated but not read

August 21, 1967

Miss Josephine Wilkins
The Atlanta Biltmore
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Josephine:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter of invitation. Because I hadn't reached you by phone, a letter has not gone out to you.

Delighted to know you can attend.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

August 21, 1967

Mr. George Esser
North Carolina Fund
P. O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina

Dear George:

This will give you a quick follow-up on the responses to date concerning our meeting. So far, things are better than we have any right to expect on such short notice. Of those invited only one has been unable to be here and that's Tom Pettigrew of Harvard; and, of course, the one I had high on the list.

Those who will attend are: Pete McKnight, Vivian Henderson, Charles Morgan, James Dabbs, Joel Fleishman, Miss Marian E. Wright, and Josephine Wilkins. Also, of course, me, Vernon Jordan, and Ed Stanfield. Counting you, Nathan, and John Strange, this gives us a total of 14.

We have yet to hear from John Wheeler, Ed Bishop, Sam Cook, C. G. Gomillion, and John Ehle. Perhaps in about a week we should confer on who else, if anyone, should be invited and what should go into a final communication to those that are coming.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

YALE UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST
JOEL L. FLEISHMAN
Associate Provost for
Urban Studies and Programs

1984 YALE STATION
493 COLLEGE STREET
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520
AREA CODE 203—787-3131 EXT. 2962

Friday, August 25 (1967)

Dear Paul

Many thanks for your quick note and for the reservation. It's not that I have an overwhelming desire to go first class so much as it is my thirst for the all-encompassing view of Atlanta which its balconies afford.

I thought the enclosed would be of interest to you.

Dinner the evening of the 13th would be great. Let's plan on about eight p.m. unless I let you know differently. I'll probably fly in that afternoon.

All best.

Cordially,

Joel

See SRC - N.C. Fund Conference folder on PA's desk.

August 18, 1967

Mr. Joel L. Fleishman
Director
Yale Summer High School
2115 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Joel:

Delighted to know you will be with us on September 14th and 15th.

Might know you would want to go first class. A room has been reserved for you at the Regency for the nights of September 13th and 14th. What about dinner that evening.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

YALE SUMMER HIGH SCHOOL

An Upward Bound Program — Supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity and by the National Science Foundation

2115 Yale Station New Haven, Connecticut 06520

JOEL L. FLEISHMAN, *Director* Area code 203, 787-3131—Ext. 2962

Wednesday, August 16

Dear Paul –

It was great hearing from you, and I hope you'll forgive the informality of this response, which I scribble in the interests of speed.

Of course I'll come, and look forward very much to doing there. It will be good to see you again. Save me a dance.

I'll arrive the late afternoon of the 13th. Can I stay at the Regency Hyatt? I'll be glad to pay the difference?

All best.

Ever Dick

August 30, 1967

Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
Department of Political Science
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina 27706

Dear Dr. Cook:

We are pleased and honored that you and Sylvia can attend the meeting. A room will be reserved for you at the Biltmore for the evening of the 13th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POSTAL CODE 27706
TELEPHONE 919-684-8111

August 28, 1967

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Anthony:

I am happy to say that I will be able to attend the meeting co-sponsored by SRC and the Fund to be held in Atlanta September 14 and 15.

I would appreciate very much your making reservations for Sylvia and myself. We expect to arrive early evening of the 13th.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Sam

Samuel DuBois Cook

MEMORANDUM August 30, 1967

To: Jim Wood

From: Paul Anthony

This is just to put into writing the arrangements to date about our meeting at the Biltmore Hotel on September 14th and 15th.

Presumably, those staying at the hotel will arrive on the evening of the 13th. If necessary, we will guarantee rooms, though we may waste a few that way. To date, 18 people will be attending. The number will fluctuate slightly, but this is probably about as good a figure as possible for meals. We will plan to have lunch and dinner together on the 14th, and dinner on the 15th.

lunch

To date, we will need eight (8) single rooms and one twin bedroom (the latter for Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Cook of Durham). If we can determine by the end of the week where we will be meeting, this would be helpful. I would like on Thursday to send the final notice to this group, <u>but certainly to do so no later than Friday</u>.

- o -

August 30, 1967

Mr. C. E. Bishop
Vice President
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Mr. Bishop:

Certainly I understand the problem relative to attending a two-day meeting on such short notice. Your proposal on coming, if you can, is fine with us. And, we shall be very appreciative of your participation if you find it possible.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
General Administration
CHAPEL HILL 27514

C. E. BISHOP
Vice President

August 29, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is in response to your letter of August 10, inviting me to attend a meeting co-sponsored by the North Carolina Fund and SRC, to be held in Atlanta on September 14 - 15.

There is some doubt about my schedule at the present time, but I certainly will be pleased to attend this meeting if it is at all possible.

As I explained to Mr. Esser some time ago, we are working on our Report to the President in order to get it to the printer, and I must maintain flexibility until this is done.

I shall make every effort to arrange my commitments in order to participate in this meeting, and shall advise you at a later date, if this meets with your approval.

With kindest wishes.

Cordially,

C. E. Bishop

C. E. Bishop

CEB:kkc

See
~~[illegible]~~
NS 7. Sec conf.

September 1, 1967

Miss Josephine Wilkins
Biltmore Hotel
817 W. Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30383

Dear Miss Wilkins:

Thank you so much for your assistance yesterday in planning the hotel accommodations on the joint meeting with the North Carolina Fund.

Yours very truly,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA 27515

September 6, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Dr. Prothro asked that I write that he would be happy to attend the September 14th and 15th meeting at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta. He will arrive the afternoon of September 13th. Please make reservations for him.

Dr. Prothro is at present out of town at a Political Science meeting, therefore, I am writing on his behalf.

Sincerely,

Linda Beam

(Mrs.) Linda Beam
Secretary to Dr. Prothro

308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088
September 6, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of August 10, inviting me to "a small meeting co-sponsored by the North Carolina Fund and SRC to be held in Atlanta on September 14th and 15th". If it is not too late, I accept the invitation, and shall endeavor to arrive in time for the Thursday morning session. It will hardly be possible for me to reach there on the evening of the 13th. (I left the state immediately after the end of the Summer School, and have just returned.)

Hotel accommodations for the night of the 14th.

Sincerely,

Charles

C. G. Gomillion

MEMORANDUM September 8, 1967

To: Participants in the NCP-SRC Conference, September 14 - 15, 1967

From: Paul Anthony
Executive Director

- o -

This is merely to serve as a final reminder of our meeting on September 14 - 15, and to express our appreciation for your willingness to attend.

Attached is a list of those who will be present.

The meeting will begin at 9:30 a.m. on September 14th and will end no later than mid-afternoon on the 15th. All working sessions will be held in Room 1010 of the Biltmore Hotel. Reservations have been made at the Biltmore Hotel for those requesting them.

We look forward to seeing you.

- o -

NCF-SRC CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

~~Atl~~ Biltmore Hotel
Atl. Ga
Sept. 14-15/1967

1. Paul Anthony
   Executive Director
   Southern Regional Council
   Atlanta, Georgia

2. Samuel DuBois Cook
   Professor of Political Science
   Duke University
   Durham, North Carolina

(1) 3. James McBride Dabbs
   Member, Southern Regional Council
   Mayesville, South Carolina

4. George Esser
   Executive Director
(2) North Carolina Fund
   Durham, North Carolina

5. Joel Fleishman
   Assistant to the President
   Yale University
   New Haven, Connecticut

6. Nathan Garrett
   Staff
(3) North Carolina Fund
   Durham, North Carolina

7. C. G. Gomillion
   Member, Southern Regional Council
   Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

14th only

8. Vivian Henderson
   President
   Clark College
   Atlanta, Georgia

9. Carl Holman
   Staff Director
   Commission on Civil Rights
   Washington, D. C.

NCF-SRC CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS - continued

10. Vernon Jordan
    Director, Voter Education Project
    Southern Regional Council
    Atlanta, Georgia

11. C. A. McKnight
    Editor
    The Charlotte Observer
    Charlotte, North Carolina

12. Charles Morgan, Director
    Southern Office, ACLU
    Atlanta, Georgia

13. James Prothro
    Institute for Research in Social Science
    University of North Carolina
    Chapel Hill, North Carolina

14. Edwin Stanfield
    Director of Field Activities
    S. R. C.
    Atlanta, Georgia

15. John Strange
    North Carolina Fund
    Durham, North Carolina

16. ~~John H. Wheeler~~
    ~~President~~
    ~~Southern Regional Council~~
    ~~Durham, North Carolina~~

17. Marian E. Wright (Miss)
    Attorney
    Jackson, Mississippi

18. Josephine Wilkins (Miss)
    Member
    Southern Regional Council
    Atlanta, Georgia

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POSTAL CODE 27706
TELEPHONE 919-684-8111

September 11, 1967

Dr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We have just moved and are in process of getting set. Hundreds of things, as you know, must be done.

It looks from here, therefore, that I will be unable to attend your meeting this week. Naturally, I regret very much this development, since I want to be present.

I have just returned from the American Political Science Association meeting in Chicago.

I took great delight, three weeks ago, in telling Harrar, Thompson, Black, and others of the Rockefeller Foundation of the great job you and SRC are doing--and particularly your imaginative and vigorous leadership. They were pleased.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Sam

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

STAFF DIRECTOR

September 11, 1967

AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I regret very much to inform you that I will not be able to participate in the NCF-SRC Conference on September 14-15. In addition to the Hatcher problem I referred to, we are in the midst of planning for a National Conference on Race and Education here in Washington, to be held on November 16, 17, and 18, for which I am serving as Director. Several meetings have been scheduled for approximately the same time as the NCF-SRC Conference.

Although I am very unhappy about missing the Atlanta sessions, I feel that I must be present at the Commission meetings.

Sincerely yours,

M. Carl Holman

M. Carl Holman
Deputy

Sept. 14th mtg

file →

16 attending

Mr. Billy Barnes
NC Fund
Durham, N.C.

NCF-SRC CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia
Sept. 14-15, 1967

9:30 AM
adj. 12 - for lunch
reconvene 2 pm

1. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia
present

2. C. E. Bishop
Vice-President
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

3. Samuel DuBois Cook
Professor of Political Science
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

4. James McBride Dabbs
Member, Southern Regional Council
Mayesville, South Carolina
present

5. George Esser
Executive Director
North Carolina Fund
Durham, North Carolina
present

6. Joel Fleishman
Assistant to the President
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut
present

7. Nathan Garrett
Staff
North Carolina Fund
Durham, North Carolina
present

8. C. G. Gomillion
Member, Southern Regional Council
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
present (called away early due to wife's illness)

9. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia
present

NCF-SRC CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS - (Continued)

10. Carl Holman
Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

11. Vernon Jordan
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia
present

12. C. A. McKnight
Editor
The Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina
present

13. Charles Morgan, Director
Southern Office, ACLU
Atlanta, Georgia
present

14. James Prothro
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
present

15. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia
present

16. John Strange
North Carolina Fund
Durham, North Carolina
present

17. John H. Wheeler
President
Southern Regional Council
Durham, North Carolina

18. Josephine Wilkins (Miss)
Member
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia
present

19. Marian E. Wright (Miss)
Attorney
Jackson, Mississippi
present

September 19, 1967

Miss Marian E. Wright
538½ N. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202

Dear Marian:

Thank you so much for taking the time to be with us last week and for your substantial contributions to the meeting.

Believe it or not, I wish you were one of our bosses!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 19, 1967

Mr. Charles Morgan
Southeastern Regional Office
American Civil Liberties Union
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Chuck:

Thank you sincerely for the two days of your time which you gave to the meeting last week. Thank you also for the contributions which you made to it.

I cannot stress too much how I appreciate your interest and support.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 19, 1967

Dr. James Prothro
Institute for Research in Social
Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear James:

Thank you so much for your participation in our meeting last week and your contributions to it.

I very much appreciated having an opportunity to work with you.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 19, 1967

Mr. C. A. McKnight
The Charlotte Observer
P. O. Box 2138
Charlotte, North Carolina 28201

Dear Pete:

Enclosed is our check for your expenses. Thank you sincerely for keeping them so modest.

It was good having an opportunity to work with you Thursday, and I very much appreciate your taking the time to come.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

The Charlotte Observer

P. O. BOX 2138 · CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28201 · TELEPHONE 704 | 375-8885

September 18, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I thoroughly enjoyed the Thursday session and look forward to reading your summary.

I enclose my expense account. I had no travel expenses since I merely stopped off in Atlanta on my return from corporation meetings in Miami.

Sincerely,

Pete

C. A. McKnight

September 19, 1967

Mr. M. Carl Holman
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
800 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

While I certainly understand why you could not attend our meeting last week, we regret not having had you and we missed your contributions.

Incidentally, I am writing to Clarence Hunter today about your request for In Their Own Words.

Hope to see you soon.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 19, 1967

Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vivian:

Thank you so much for your participation in last week's meeting. I think it was a good and helpful experience in spite of some of the leadership. And, I sincerely appreciate your giving your time for this interest.

Incidentally, I hope you know how grateful I am for your willingness to serve on the SRC Executive Committee and for taking a substantial role in its leadership.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 19, 1967

Mr. Joel Fleishman
Assistant to the President
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Joel:

Thank you so much for your participation in the meeting last week and for taking the time to come.

My only regret is that we did not have more of an opportunity to visit together.

One of these days!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 19, 1967

Mr. John Ehle
438 South Main Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear John:

We certainly understand why you could not make the meeting last week and appreciate your going to the effort to keep us informed from such a distance. We did, however, miss you and your contributions.

If we ever get anything in writing about the deliberations, we will, of course, share them with you.

Hope it was a good trip and it is good to have you back home.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 19, 1967

Mr. James M. Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

This is to thank you again for your participation in the meeting last week, and particularly for your substantial contributions to it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 19, 1967

Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
Professor of Political Science
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Sam:

I certainly understand why you could not make the meeting last week. We did miss seeing you and Sylvia. Also, we missed your contributions to the meeting. Up until the end it was a fairly good meeting, but it could have been better. If ever we get anything written on what was said, I will share it with you.

Incidentally, at the recent meeting of the Nominating Committee your name was proposed for membership in the Council and it will go before the full Council in November. I trust you have no objections to this, and I look forward to having you as one of the "bosses."

Not so incidentally, I certainly appreciate your good words with the Rockefeller people. Needless to say, this kind of thing is help of a value beyond the staff's ability, and I really appreciate your doing it and thinking of it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Sec-Ncf Stly.

September 26, 1967

Mr. Joel Fleishman
Associate Provost for Urban Studies
and Programs
Yale University
1984 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Joel:

Our efficiency here has overcome me! I meant to write you when your expense check was sent.

But just a note to express my sincere appreciation for your participation in the meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

YALE UNIVERSITY
ASSOCIATE PROVOST FOR URBAN STUDIES AND PROGRAMS

1984 Yale Station
493 College Street
New Haven, Conn. 06520

Area Code 203
787-3131, ext. 2962

To:

From:

Paul —

That was a good meeting and I enjoyed participating in it, though I doubt I was worth as much as it cost you.

I'll be happy to comment free on whatever document emerges.

It was great seeing you & I look forward to another opportunity soon. Next time, dinner.

I hope you're well.

All best, Tom

Date:

TELEPHONE NUMBERS FOR PA:

VIVIAN HENDERSON:
Office: 524-7762
Home: 758-1201
(Out of town until Sun. Aug. 14th)

Miss MARION A. WRIGHT
(Jackson, Miss)
Office: 948-7301
Home: 362-4583

CHAS. MORGAN
Office: 523-2721
Home: 237-9332

CARL HOFMAN (Wash.)
Office: 382-8821

DR. TOM PETTIGREW (Harvard)
Office: 868-7600 (This is switchboard number)

JAMES M. DABBS - Mayesville, S. C.
Home: 469-3321 (AC: 919)

C. G. GOMILLION (Tuskegee, Ala.)
Office: 727-2000, ext. 283

Josephine WILKINS
Tr. 5-3461

TELEPHONE NUMBERS FOR PA:

VIVIAN HENDERSON:
Office: 524-7762
Home: 758-1201
(Out of town until Sun. Aug. 14th)

Miss MARION A. WRIGHT
(Jackson, Miss)
Office: 948-7301 → 601-948-7301
Home: 362-4583

CHAS. MORGAN
Office: 523-2721 after Sept 1 -
Home: 237-9332

CARL HOLMAN (Wash.)
Office: 382-8821

DR. TOM PETTIGREW (Harvard) — 617-
Office: 868-7600 (This is switchboard number)

JAMES M. DABBS - Mayesville, S. C.
Home: 469-3321 (AC: 919)

C. G. GOMILLION (Tuskegee, Ala.)
Office: 727-2000, ext. 283

Josephine WILKINS
Tr. 5-3461

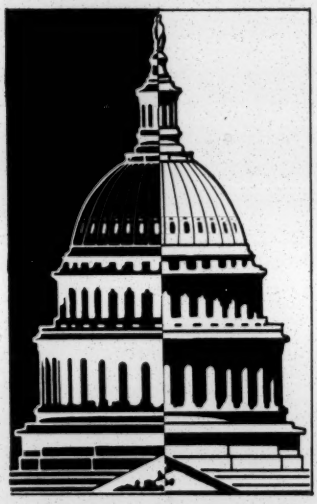
Memo from **MILDRED JOHNSON**

Yes	Reservations	No
1. Dabbs	Biltmore 13 + 14	
2. Fleishman	Regency 13 + 14	
3. Holman	Biltmore 13 + 14	
4. C. Inargan		

Call Raymond Wheeler

*"It is time NOW . . ."**

Operation Opportunity



some questions and answers on the civil rights bill

* "We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for 100 years or more. It is time NOW to write the next chapter—and to write it in the books of law." —

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON, *in an address to a joint session of Congress, 11/27/63*

some questions and answers on the civil rights bill

foreword

FEW PIECES OF LEGISLATION have aroused such high hopes and such deep feelings as the Civil Rights Bill now pending before Congress. Introduced in June, 1963, at the request of President John F. Kennedy, it has engaged the attention of House and Senate for many months and has provoked nation-wide discussion.

This pamphlet has several purposes: to explain the key provisions of the bill; to answer some of the questions that have arisen in regard to it; and to consider the reasons that have impelled a bipartisan group of House Democrats and Republicans to pass the measure by a vote of more than 2 to 1* and millions of Americans to join, through their civic, labor and religious organizations, in unprecedented support of the bill.

Finally, we hope this dialogue will help the uncommitted make up their minds about this vital legislation.

---

*Passed by a vote of 290 to 130, February 10, 1964.

what's in the bill?

THE MAJOR PROVISIONS of the 11 Titles in the bill, whose number is H.R. 7152, are meant to assure all citizens, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin, their equal rights: in voting; in access to hotels, restaurants, theaters and other places of public accommodation and to such other public places as libraries and parks; in education; in Federally-assisted programs; and in employment. To accomplish this, the bill would give the Justice Department additional powers, establish two new agencies—an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and a 6-man Community Relations Service—and extend the life of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission another four years.

Title I Protecting Voting Rights

A young Negro veteran in Jackson Parish, La., was rejected on his first attempt to register to vote because the registrar found an error on his application card. He himself was unable to find it after checking and rechecking and when he got up to leave he inquired, "Ma'am, would you do one thing for me?"

"What is that?"

"Will you tell me the mistake I made?"

"Oh, sure. You underlined 'Mr.' when you should have circled it."

—condensed from the U.S. Civil Rights Commission Report on Voting (1961—Pg. 54) on how immaterial errors are used to disqualify Negro voters.

Summary of Title I To further protect voting rights in Federal elections, it would prohibit: (1) the application of different tests, standards, etc. to white and colored voters and (2) the denial of registration for immaterial errors in applications. It would require all literacy tests to be given in writing or transcribed. To expedite handling of cases filed under the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts, it would authorize the Attorney General or a defendant to ask for trial by a three-judge court, with direct appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. In any such proceeding it establishes a presumption of literacy for those who have completed the sixth grade.

Is there really widespread discrimination against Negro voters?

The difference between white and Negro voter registration in certain states of the Deep South is so enormous, it is hard to account for it on any other basis except racial discrimination. In a government sampling of counties in old Confederate states, it was found that while some counties had more registered white voters than the actual number of white inhabitants, no Negroes were registered. In a typical county of this sort, the white population over 21 totaled 2,624; yet there were 2,810 registered white voters, or 107.1 per cent. No one in the qualified Negro population of 6,085 was registered. In another county, although there were 1,900 white persons over the age of 21, 2,250 or 118.4 were registered voters. None of the 5,122 Negroes of voting age was registered. In still a third county, with a white voting population of 4,116, there were 6,130 registered white voters, or 148.9 per cent. Here only 56, or 6.1 per cent, of the 909 Negroes of voting age were registered voters.

Other recent government samplings revealed that in 100 counties of the Deep South, 89 per cent of all whites of voting age were registered and only 8.3 per cent of the Negroes. In 250 counties of the United States less than 15 per cent of the Negroes of voting age are registered to vote.

Can't this be explained by apathy and indifference on the part of Negroes?

In Belzoni, Miss., the minister who led a Negro voting drive was shot down on the courthouse steps in broad daylight, by men who warned him against carrying on his campaign. In Gadsden County, Fla., 300 Negro teachers were told they would lose their jobs if they tried to vote. In Selma, Ala., last year, hundreds of Negroes ran a gauntlet of armed state troopers and stood in line 8 hours without food or water in an attempt to register. In Fayette County, Tenn., Negroes who registered suffered serious economic retaliation. "Many Negroes lost their jobs," the Civil Rights Commission report for 1961 says. "A list of the 'culprits' was circulated. White merchants quit trading with them. Pressure was brought to prevent suppliers in Memphis from selling to them. Their credit was stopped; their loans called; their mortgages foreclosed. They could not buy the necessities of life. One white banker was quoted as saying, 'My secretary's got the names of the 325 who registered. I tell them, anybody on that list, no need coming into this bank. He'll get no crop loans here. Every store has got that list.' "

Such experiences are commonplace in some regions of this country; they are not exceptional cases. It is true

that even in places where Negroes can register freely, registration is sometimes low and apathy may be part of the reason. But it is only part. Intimidation is sufficiently widespread so that the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, in its 1963 annual report, says it is persuaded that "the right to vote, in large sections of the South is still denied to many citizens, solely because of their race."

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 were meant to protect voting rights. Why is new voting legislation needed?

The previous laws laid the groundwork for correcting some of the denials of voting rights, principally by empowering the Federal government to bring suits against states and registrars who engage in discriminatory practices. Even so, documentary evidence supplied to Congress shows that voting rights are still being circumvented by such methods as giving Negro voters harder literacy tests than whites; by requiring them to interpret difficult constitutional sections; by making applicants calculate their age to the exact day; and by subjecting them to special tests of their "good moral character." In its most recent report, the Civil Rights Commission finds that "after five years of Federal litigation, the conclusion is inevitable that present legal remedies for voter discrimination are inadequate."

To what extent does this provision apply to state and local elections?

Although it is primarily directed against discriminatory practices in Federal elections for President, Vice President, Senators and Representatives, it would include any election held "solely or in part for the purpose" of choosing such candidates. Thus, in some cases it would apply to state and local elections.

What is the constitutional basis for the voting provision?

Section 1 of the 15th Amendment says "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." Section 2 says, "The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." Section 4 of Article One gives Congress the power to make or alter regulations prescribed by the state for the election of Senators and Representatives.

Doesn't the bill interfere with a state's right to set voter qualifications?

No. It merely prohibits states from setting different standards for Negroes and whites voting in Federal elections. *The states would continue to be free to establish any voter qualifications they please so long as they apply them equally to all citizens.*

Why can't the whole matter be left to the states?

The continued failure of the states to protect all citizens equally in their right to vote has made Federal voting legislation necessary. Two members of the Civil Rights Commission, Robert G. Storey, head of the Southwestern Legal Foundation, Dallas, Tex., and Robert S. Rankin, chairman of the Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, N.C., men who have long championed states' rights, observed in the Commission's 1963 report that they have reluctantly come to recognize the need for new Federal voting laws because "the evil of arbitrary disfranchisement has not diminished materially. The responsibility which must march hand-in-hand with states' rights . . . has, as to the right to vote, often been ignored."

Title II — Relief against Discrimination in Places of Public Accommodation

"White people of whatever kind—prostitutes, narcotics pushers, Communists, or bank robbers—are welcome at establishments which will not admit certain of our Federal judges, ambassadors, and countless members of our Armed Forces."

—U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, in testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee, July 1, 1963.

Summary of Title II It would prohibit discrimination in most hotels, motels and other places of lodging; restaurants, cafeterias and other eating places; motion picture houses, theaters, sports arenas, stadia and other places of exhibition and entertainment; gas stations; and such places as specialty shops and barber shops in hotels subject to the section and stores with eating facilities covered by the bill. An aggrieved individual or the U.S. Attorney General would be able to enforce these rights through injunctions or other civil actions. There is a specific exemption for small rooming houses with no more than five rooms to rent and used by the proprietors as their own residences.

Why is the matter of public accommodations such a burning issue to civil rights supporters?

Because no other form of discrimination touches people so directly in every aspect of their daily lives. None is more violative of the human dignity which is every man's birthright. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, in testifying before the Senate Commerce Committee last year, put it this way: "From the time they (Negro Americans) leave home in the morning, enroute

to school or to work, to shopping or to visiting, until they return home at night, humiliation stalks them. Public transportation, eating establishments, hotels, lodging houses, theaters and motels, arenas, stadia, retail stores, markets and various other places and services catering to the general public offer them differentiated service or none at all."

Even a simple vacation trip by car, he pointed out, one of America's great national pleasures, can become a harrowing nightmare if one is colored and ventures into unfamiliar sections of the country. "How far do you drive each day? Where, and under what conditions can you and your family eat? Where can they use a rest room? Can you stop driving after a reasonable day behind the wheel or must you drive until you reach a city where relatives or friends will accommodate you and yours for the night? Will your children be denied a soft drink or an ice cream because they are not white?

"The players in this drama of frustration and indignity are not commas or semi-colons in a legislative thesis; they are *people,* human beings, citizens of the United States of America."

Are Negroes the only ones this provision is meant to help?

While Negro Americans suffer the major disabilities, many religious and national minority groups in this country also encounter discrimination in places offering public services. *This provision would require all Americans to be accorded equal treatment.*

Does the provision apply to doctors' offices?

No. It does not affect doctors. Nor dentists, lawyers or others offering the public professional services.

What about private homeowners?

The bill contains no provisions whatsoever that would affect the sale or rental of private homes.

How would the provision be enforced?

The Attorney General is authorized to undertake the settlement of all complaints by voluntary procedures. But where these fail, he can bring suit. An individual denied services protected by this Title can bring suit in his own name.

Won't this provision provoke irresponsible suits and harassment of businessmen?

The many jurisdictions that already have public accommodations laws have not experienced any rash of suits. Take the District of Columbia for example. It is more than 10

years since the U. S. Supreme Court reinstated an old public accommodations law, yet in a decade, in a city of nearly a million, with a population about 55 per cent Negro, only one complaint out of the relatively few filed has resulted in court action.

As a further deterrent , the courts may allow reasonable attorney's fees as part of the costs, against anyone who brings an irresponsible suit.

Is there any precedent for such legislation?

Abundant precedent. Thirty states and many cities now have laws requiring equal treatment of persons of all races in places of public accommodation. Most of these laws go further than the pending bill in their coverage and enforcement procedures. According to a recent survey, about 70 per cent of our population already lives in states that ban discrimination in places of public accommodation. Restaurants in train and bus stations are prohibited from discriminating by the Interstate Commerce Commission Act.

Wouldn't this provision create tension and unrest?

On the contrary, the greatest tension and unrest is found in those states which deny equal access to places open to the public. The Southern Regional Council, Inc. provides some evidence of this in its summary of the civil rights situation in 1963. It found that "during 1963 an estimated 930 individual public protest demonstrations took place in at least 115 cities in the 11 southern states.

"More than 20,083 of the persons, Negro and white, who have so demonstrated, were arrested.

"Thirty-five known bombings have occurred."

By contrast, states and cities with public accommodation laws have been relatively free of such incidents.

Shouldn't the provision be limited to large concerns, at least in the beginning?

An arbitrary exemption for small businesses would practically nullify the effectiveness of the bill. Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., in testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee, said limiting coverage to businesses with annual sales of $150,000 or more would mean that in 10 cities—Atlanta, Birmingham, Dallas, Houston, Kansas City, Memphis, Miami, New Orleans, Richmond, Va. and St. Louis—at least 56 per cent of the variety stores, 76 per cent of the gas stations, 83 per cent of the eating places and 93 per cent of the drinking places would be excluded. This is discrimination based on size. It is also morally indefensible. It is just as wrong for a citizen to be denied service in a corner diner,

because of his race, religion or national origin, as in a fashionable restaurant. Fairness dictates that all places of public accommodation, large and small, be subject to the law.

Since some opponents of Title II say they would not object if its protections applied just to interstate commerce, how about limiting the guarantee of nondiscrimination to those who are demonstrably interstate travellers?

The vice of such proposals is that they set up new discriminations and introduce new difficulties of enforcement. A person on a long trip within a state gets just as tired and hungry as one travelling through many states. To require a restaurant or hotel to serve one and not the other is clearly discriminatory. And the burden would be on each traveller to prove, somehow, that he was travelling interstate in order to get service.

The Supreme Court has held that Congress is not limited to forbidding discrimination against interstate travellers but can protect local customers as well. The Court has held that Congress may "choose means reasonably adapted to the attainment of the permitted end, even though they involve control of intrastate activities." Courts have also held it is a burden upon interstate commerce if travellers have to carry proof that they are on a trip through more than one state. To paraphrase Rep. Morris Udall (D., Ariz.) when he opposed a similar limit on the protection of Title II, during the recent House debate:

> "From Mississippi to Wisconsin
> You can dine with Howard Johnson.
> But if you're on a county mission,
> You can count on malnutrition."

Doesn't this provision interfere with a businessman's right to choose his customers?

Businessmen are still free to set standards as to whom they will and will not serve—*so long as they apply these standards equally*. A businessman is still free to refuse to serve the drunk, the disorderly and the disreputable. He could still set standards of dress and conduct for persons using his establishment. *But he would have to apply the same standards to all customers and he could not deny service to anyone solely because of race, religion or national origin.*

Doesn't the bill represent an invasion of a businessman's rights of private property and his freedom to conduct his business as he pleases?

In answering this question, the distinguished commentator Walter Lippmann, observed, "property is not absolute but is a system of rights and duties that are determined by society. . . . It is a primitive, naive and false view of

private property to urge that it is not subject to the laws which express the national purpose and the national conscience—among which have been for a hundred years the abolition of slavery and the admission of the Negroes to the rights of American citizenship."

Any businessman serving the public must comply with many Federal laws, local police regulations, health and fire codes on the theory, long upheld by the courts, that his self-interest can be subject to restraint in order to serve the broader public interest. Surely it is in the public interest to see that no person is humiliated or denied public services simply because of the color of his skin or his religion.

Ironically, many Southern states have segregation laws that impose severe restrictions upon businessmen who would like to serve everyone. Yet no opponent of the bill has ever protested that such curbs on whom a proprietor may serve are unwarranted government interference with his right to do business as he pleases.

Since considerable progress has been made in the voluntary desegregation of lunch counters and other places of public accommodation, why is a Federal law necessary?

The law would help encourage voluntary desegregation by setting uniform nation-wide standards and a nation-wide timetable for opening the kinds of places covered by the bill. Businessmen who are afraid to desegregate because it might offend local custom, would be able to say they are required by Federal law to serve everyone. Ivan Allen, Jr., mayor of Atlanta, made substantially these points when he testified before the Senate Commerce Committee in support of a Federal public accommodations law. Failure to pass such a law, he warned, "would amount to an endorsement of private business setting up an entirely new status of discrimination throughout the nation. Cities like Atlanta might slip backward."

He said, "failure by Congress to take definite action at this time is by inference, an endorsement of the right of private business to practice racial discrimination and, in my opinion, would start the same old round of squabbles and demonstrations that we have had in the past."

Is there a constitutional basis for this provision?

A very firm one. It is based on both the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, which authorizes Congress to regulate commerce among the states and the 14th Amendment, which says "no state shall . . . deny to any person . . . the equal protection of the laws" and gives Congress power to enact laws to carry this out.

Numerous court decisions have held that the commerce clause powers are so broad Congress can use them even where particular activities are local, unimportant in size or involve retail trade.

Title III Desegregation of Public Facilities

"It is no longer open to question that a State (or city) may not constitutionally require segregation of public facilities."

—ruling of a three-judge court in New Orleans, enjoining segregation in a municipal auditorium.

Summary of Title III The Attorney General would be empowered to initiate or intervene in suits aimed at desegregating public facilities other than schools—such as parks, libraries, hospitals and playgrounds—where the injured party is unable to pursue the remedy. He would also be authorized to intervene in private actions brought by persons seeking relief from a denial of equal protection of the law because of race, creed, color or national origin.

Why is this provision needed?

Although many courts have held it is unconstitutional to segregate public facilities, these decisions are not self-implementing. Violations of court orders continue to be widespread. Public beaches, hospitals, parks, reading rooms and other public facilities are still denied to colored citizens whose taxes help pay for them. This provision would be a new tool for opening these facilities.

Why should the Federal government bring these suits? Why can't an individual sue to protect his own rights?

Many people are financially unable to sue. Others face retaliation from hostile local officials and hostile neighbors if they do. Since the segregation sought to be ended here is imposed by the state and backed by the whole weight of state government, a private citizen faces an unequal struggle. The Federal government, alone, can help balance the scales by its participation.

Then, too, the protection of constitutional rights should not be left to chance nor to the uncertainty of private resources. The public interest is poorly served if private citizens and organizations must vindicate constitutional rights of national significance through litigation in the Federal courts.

Does Title III extend Federal authority into new areas?

No. It merely provides an additional remedy for the assurance of existing constitutional rights. In a long series of cases the courts have established that the right to desegregated public or governmental facilities is protected by the 14th Amendment.

In what kind of private actions would the Attorney General be authorized to intervene?

In actions brought by persons who felt they were being denied the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the Constitution. If this provision had been law in 1963, and a private suit had been brought by one of the injured persons, the government could have intervened and possibly enjoined Police Chief "Bull" Connor in his use of dogs and fire hoses against peaceful demonstrators in Birmingham.

Title IV Desegregaton of Public Education

"(In our school decisions we) never contemplated that the concept of 'deliberate speed' would countenance indefinite delay."
—The U.S. Supreme Court in Watson v. Memphis, May 27, 1963.

Summary of Title IV It authorizes the Attorney General to initiate or intervene in school desegregation cases. It provides for technical assistance, grants and training institutes to help communities prepare for school desegregation. But it exempts from its definition of desegregation, the transportation of students to end racial imbalance.

In view of the Supreme Court school decisions, why is this provision necessary?

Although 10 years have passed since the school decisions, nearly two-thirds of the previously segregated school districts still deny the rights of all children to an unsegregated education. More than 2,000 school districts still require white and Negro children to attend separate schools. Negro children who were just entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court ruling in 1954 are now attending high school, without yet having received the educational opportunity to which they are constitutionally entitled.

What is more, many school districts listed as "inte-

grated" offer only token integration, since an all-white school with a single colored student is classified as a desegregated institution. *At the rate at which school desegregation has proceeded in the past 10 years, it will take more than 100 years to secure compliance with the court's decision.*

Are school districts obliged to accept the financial aid and technical assistance offered by this provision?

No. Such assistance is given *only* if local authorities ask for it. And there are no strings attached.

Won't these provisions put the Federal government in control of public education?

No. The Federal government would have no control whatsoever over the hiring or firing of teachers, the selection of textbooks or the choice of curriculum. Local authorities would continue to remain in complete control of their schools.

Could the government require the reorganization of school districts or the bussing of students to eliminate racial imbalance caused by residential segregation?

The Commissioner of Education cannot compel a local board to do anything it does not wish to do. And in defining "desegregation" the provision specifies that it "shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

Why is it necessary to give the U.S. Attorney General power to initiate school desegregation suits?

Compliance with the Supreme Court school decisions has simply been too slow. The power in this section would enable the Attorney General to implement the law of the land and hasten the enjoyment by all citizens of their constitutional rights.

Isn't the power to initiate school suits an unusually broad grant of authority for the Attorney General?

There is nothing extraordinary about giving the Attorney General such authority. There are now more than 50 statutes, having nothing to do with civil rights, that empower him to seek a court injunction. He can already initiate suits to protect voting rights guaranteed by the 14th and 15th Amendments. It follows he should have the authority to protect other citizenship rights where they are being flagrantly denied.

Title V Commission on Civil Rights

"The outstanding success of the Commission to date proves how valuable it is and indicates that the public interest will be well served by extending its life."

—Former U.S. Attorney General William P. Rogers.

Summary of Title V It would extend the life of the Commission another four years and give it additional duties of investigating vote fraud cases and serving as a national clearing house on civil rights.

What enforcement powers would the Commission have?

None. It is essentially a fact-finding agency. Its studies provide information that Congress as well as many public and private agencies use for intelligent planning in the field of civil rights.

Why is it necessary to extend the life of the Commission four years?

Since the Commission was established in 1957, Congress has had to spend time in almost every session debating the short-term extensions of the agency. The Commission itself has suffered from this situation, since its uncertain future has made it difficult to attract good staff or to plan long-range projects.

Title VI Nondiscrimination in Federally-Assisted Programs

"I will say this—I repeat it, I have said it again and again: wherever Federal funds are expended for anything, I do not see how any American can justify—legally, or logically, or morally—a discrimination in the expenditure of those funds as among our citizens. All are taxed to provide those funds. If there is any benefit to be derived from them, I think they must all share, regardless of such inconsequential factors as race and religion."

—President Dwight D. Eisenhower, press conference, March 19, 1953.

Summary of Title VI It would prohibit discrimination in any program or activity receiving Federal assistance under grant, contract or loan. It directs Federal agencies to establish programs of compliance and would authorize denial of funds to those programs that

discriminate. But any denial is subject to judicial review. A hearing is guaranteed before funds are cut off, and a report to Congress is also required before funds can be denied. Presidential approval is required before any general cut-off of funds is approved.

Why is the provision necessary? What is the principle on which it is based?

Although many court decisions clearly establish that discriminatory use of public funds is unconstitutional, such discriminations still continue. Suits by private taxpayers have no standing in attacking these conditions. The only recourse is Congressional or administrative action.

Since the funds for Federal programs come from taxes paid into the Treasury by all citizens, it seems only fair that all citizens should derive equal benefits from such programs. The purpose of the provision is *not* to cut off assistance. Rather, it is meant to make sure that public funds are not used to subsidize unconstitutional discriminations against any group of citizens.

Does the provision mean that individuals—widows, children of veterans, homeowners, farmers, elderly persons living on social security benefits—will be cut off if their states discriminate in the administration of Federally-supported programs?

No. The bill will not punish innocent beneficiaries of Federal aid for wrongs committed by others. It will not affect the individual farmer or homeowner who borrows money through a government agency. It would affect the distributor of those funds if the distributing agency refused to lend to Negroes but did lend to whites.

What safeguards are there against any agency making arbitrary use of its power to cut off funds?

All agency action is subject to full court review. Each agency is directed to try to seek compliance with its policy through voluntary means before stopping any funds. In addition, it must guarantee a hearing, obtain Presidential approval for a general cut-off of funds and file a report with Congress in all cases. An agency cannot act until 30 days after the report is filed.

Would the provision authorize withdrawal of all Federal assistance from a state that discriminates in a particular Federally-assisted program?

No. Any action a Federal agency takes to see that there is no discrimination in a program it administers applies to that program alone. Aid given under one program could not be cut off because of discrimination in another.

Is there much evidence of Federally-supported discrimination?

There are many glaring examples of the extent to which American taxpayers subsidize racial injustice:

- The Federal government gives more than $1 billion a year in grants-in-aid to 11 Southern states that condone discrimination as a matter of official policy.
- The Federal government pays more than 95 per cent of all National Guard operating funds, yet 11 states still require segregation in their Guard units.
- The Federal government gives the state of Mississippi about $2 million a year for its public schools, yet every public school in the state continues to be segregated 10 years after the Supreme Court school decision.
- The Federal government spent $750 million on research projects in 1960, yet in 7 states 43 per cent of all National Institute of Health grants and 41 per cent of all grants by the Atomic Energy Commission went to public universities and research centers that do not admit Negro students.
- State public employment offices are financed 100 per cent by the Federal government, nevertheless many offices maintain separate buildings, separate waiting rooms and separate job lists.

Title VII Equal Employment Opportunity

"The withholding of jobs and business opportunities from some people does not make more jobs and business opportunities for others. Such a policy merely tends to drag down the whole economic level. . . . Intolerance is a species of boycott and any business or job boycott is a cancer in the economic body of the nation. I repeat, intolerance is destructive; prejudice produces no wealth; discrimination is a fool's economy."

—Eric Johnston, former Chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Summary of Title VII Employers, labor unions and employment agencies whose activities affect interstate commerce would be prohibited from discriminating. Coverage would include employers and unions with 25 or more employees or members. But coverage would apply at first to those with 100 or more employees or members

and drop by stages to 25, after 4 years. An Equal Employment Opportunity Commission would be established to investigate and voluntarily settle complaints. Upon failure to settle, the Commission would be authorized to file suit to enforce non-discrimination. Prohibited discriminations include sex, as well as race, creed, color or national origin. The House excluded from coverage those denied employment because they are atheists or communists.

Are job opportunities for Negroes so far behind those for whites that a Federal law is necessary?

The U.S. Department of Labor finds that Negroes have steadily and consistently fallen behind in terms of employment and that the gap is increasing. Its statistics show, for instance, that while in 1947 the nonwhite unemployment rate was 64 per cent higher than the rate for white workers, in 1952 it was 92 per cent higher; in 1957 it was 105 per cent and in 1962, 124 per cent higher. For Negro men 20 and over, unemployment totalled 11.9 per cent in the first three months of 1963, compared with 5.4 per cent for whites. During the past eight years, unemployment has been twice as heavy among employable Negroes as it has been among whites.

Do other minority groups suffer job discrimination?

While Negroes are the most disadvantaged, discriminations are often just as severe against Jews, Catholics, Indians, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Japanese-Americans and other racial and religious minorities.

Wouldn't an FEPC law give Negroes preferential treatment over whites in hiring and upgrading?

No. Nothing in the bill permits any individual to demand employment simply because of race. It contains no provision requiring an employer to set up a quota system or to maintain any kind of racial or religious "balance." Indeed, preferential treatment of Negroes or any minority group would violate this section. Its whole point is that all workers should be treated equally.

Doesn't the bill give the Federal government control over the employment practices of private businesses?

No. It does not permit the government to control the internal affairs of employers or to tell them whom to hire or fire. Employers are permitted to set any job qualifications

they wish except those of race, religion, creed, national origin or sex, where these are irrelevant.

Does the provision give the government any control over the affairs of unions?

No. It simply bars unions from denying or limiting membership to anyone or keeping them from a job because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. Far from seeing this as a restraint on their freedom, the major labor organizations in this country strongly support the bill as an essential weapon in their efforts to curb the activities of the relatively few unions that still deny opportunities to Negroes and other minorities.

Does the bill give the Commission too much power?

No, the Commission has no powers of enforcement. Its authority extends only to the investigation of complaints and it attempts to settle them by voluntary means. Where voluntary methods fail, enforcement rests exclusively with the Federal courts and an accused party would have full rights of appeal.

Isn't this a radical new proposal?

Such job protection is as old as the Executive order Franklin D. Roosevelt issued in 1941 barring employment discrimination in defense industries and government. FEPC bills have been reported on favorably by Congressional Committees in both the House and Senate in every Congress for the past 20 years. As far back as 1944 the Republican platform specifically endorsed an FEPC and the Democratic platform, as recently as 1960. Unfortunately, no FEPC bill has ever been brought to a vote in the Senate.

Doesn't the provision represent an encroachment of the Federal government upon states' rights?

Where states have effective FEPC laws consistent with this section, those laws would in no way be affected by this legislation. What is more, the Commission is authorized to refrain from taking any action in such states.

Twenty-six states already have laws prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in employment. The bill would simply extend this protection into all 50 states.

What is the economic impact of discrimination?

The cost is staggering. The President's Council of Economic

Advisors, in 1962, calculated that because of racial discrimination, the nation's economy loses between $13 and $17 billion a year in national income and product. If Negro incomes could be raised to a level comparable to that of whites, Negroes would be able to spend almost $12 billion a year more on food, clothing, housing and other consumer products, giving the economy a powerful boost. On the other hand, our inability to use the nation's manpower resources fully has greatly slowed down economic growth. Beyond calculation, is the effect on young people who are discouraged by discrimination from attempting to prepare themselves for useful careers and become dropouts, delinquents and unemployables.

Why is this provision so important?

Unless we can assure employment, many of the other rights it is the intention of this bill to protect would become illusory. It does not help a man to know that all restaurants, theaters and hotels are open to him, if he is unable to earn enough to enjoy them.

Title VIII Registration and Voting Statistics

". . . a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses. . . ."

—Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, 1801.

Summary of Title VIII It directs the Secretary of Commerce to conduct a voting census by race in geographic areas recommended by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

What is the purpose of this provision?

It offers another way of protecting the right to vote from unjust restrictions. The census would provide data that could be used to enforce Section 2 of the 14th Amendment. That provides that where the right to vote in Federal or state elections is denied, the basis of the state's representation in the House of Representatives will be correspondingly reduced. Even if that sanction is not invoked, adopting this provision would help curb abuses.

Title IX Removal Proceedings in Civil Rights Cases

". . . this inability to appeal remand orders has effectively barred citizens from obtaining a redress to their denial of civil rights."

—Rep. William McCulloch (R., O.) and six other Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee, in views on H.R. 7152.

Summary of Title IX The orders of Federal courts sending certain civil rights cases back to state courts are not now reviewable. This would make them reviewable by appeal.

What is the purpose of this provision?

Under Federal law, a case begun in a state court that appears to raise substantial constitutional or Federal questions, may be "removed" to a Federal court. If the judge in the Federal District Court decides, in an "equal protection of the law" case, that removal is improper, the case goes back to the state court. No appeal is allowed from the District Court judge's decision. A number of District Court judges in the South have consistently referred civil rights cases back to hostile state courts. This section would allow appeals from such arbitrary decisions to higher courts.

Title X Establishment of Community Relations Service

". . . the objective of the Community Relations Service is to settle race problems across the conference table if humanly possible. . . ."

—Rep. Wm. J. Randall (D., Mo.) during House debate, Feb. 10, 1964.

Summary of Title X It would establish in the Department of Commerce, a Community Relations Service with personnel limited to six persons.

What is the purpose of the Service?

It would provide assistance to communities trying to resolve disputes relating to discriminatory practices that impair

constitutional rights or may affect interstate commerce. It may offer its services whenever it believes peaceful relations are threatened and may do so on its own motion or at the request of local officials. The provision was suggested by Southern members and added to the bill without objection during the House debate.

Title XI Miscellaneous: Financing, Severability, Preemption

"The struggle of today, is not altogether for today—it is for a vast future also. With a reliance on Providence, all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us."

—Abraham Lincoln, Message to Congress, 1861.

Summary of Title XI It contains a number of customary provisions. One, authorizes appropriations to carry out the purposes of the bill. Another—a "severability clause"—says that if any provision of the act is held invalid, the rest of the act shall not be affected. A fairly standard "preemption" clause, added during floor debate, specifies that nothing in the Act shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress "to occupy the field in which any . . . title operates to the exclusion of State laws on the same subject. . . ."

What effect does this provision have on state laws?

Where adequate state laws exist, offering protections equal to those in the bill, they will remain in effect. The government is expressly forbidden to preempt the field and take it over.

some general observations on civil rights, prejudice and education

"I ask you to look into your hearts—not in search of charity, for the Negro neither wants nor needs condescension—but for the one plain, proud and priceless quality that unites us all as Americans: a sense of justice. In this year of the Emancipation Centennial, justice requires us to insure the blessings of liberty for all Americans and their posterity—not merely for reasons of economic efficiency, world diplomacy and domestic tranquility—but, above all, because it is right."

—John F. Kennedy, Message to Congress, June 19, 1963.

Doesn't this bill attempt the impossible task of trying to abolish prejudice by law?

No. The bill says nothing about prejudice. That is a state of mind and a man has a right to his individual prejudices no matter how wrongly conceived they are. But he has no right, in a democracy, to translate his prejudices into actions that deny or infringe the rights and liberties of others.

Laws cannot and should not dictate a man's private thoughts and wishes. They can and should prevent the harmful consequences of those thoughts and wishes. A man cannot be forced to love his wife and children but laws can compel him to support them if he is able to do so. The 18th Amendment failed because it interfered with the private desire of millions of Americans to have a drink. But laws against drunken driving have proved necessary and effective.

The whole purpose of this bill is not to make bad people good but rather to make good people safe.

Can't the problem of discrimination be handled through education?

That question assumes education and legislation are separate and opposing things. Actually, they complement each other. *The law itself is a powerful instrument for education.* It was necessary to pass laws making school attendance compulsory before our educational system was able to function effectively. After thousands of years it is still necessary to have laws against murder to enforce the ethical teaching of "Thou Shalt Not Kill."

who supports the bill?

Millions of Americans. With a unanimity unique in the history of our country, several millions have joined in support of this legislation through their national religious, civic, labor and fraternal groups. They may and do differ on many issues. They are united, through the LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, in working to persuade the 88th Congress to pass a strong, effective bill. Through more than 80 groups that cooperate in the Conference, they represent an affirmation by the majority of the people in this country of President Johnson's declaration, in his first State of the Union Message, that "as far as the writ of Federal law will run, we must abolish not some but all racial discrimination."

Here is a list of the groups cooperating in the Conference:

cooperating organizations

A. M. E. Zion Church
Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen
American Civil Liberties Union
American Ethical Union
AFL-CIO
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Newspaper Guild
American Veterans Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith Women
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Catholic Interracial Council
Christian Family Movement
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Church of the Brethren Service Commission
Citizens' Lobby for Freedom and Fair Play
Congress of Racial Equality
Council for Christian Social Action—United Church of Christ
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority
Frontiers International
Hadassah
Hotel, Restaurant Employees & Bartenders International Union
Improved Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks of the World
Industrial Union Department, AFL - CIO.
International Ladies Garment Workers Union of America

International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers
Japanese American Citizens League
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish War Veterans
Labor Zionist Organization of America
National Alliance of Postal Employees
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.
National Association of Negro Business & Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
National Association Real Estate Brokers, Inc.
National Baptist Convention, USA
National Bar Association
National Beauty Culturists League, Inc.
National Catholic Social Action Conference
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
National Community Relations Advisory Council
National Council of Catholic Men
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches—Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Farmers Union
National Medical Association
National Newspaper Publishers Association
National Student Christian Federation
National Urban League
Negro American Labor Council
North American Federation of the Third Order of St. Francis
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity
Phi Delta Kappa Sorority
Pioneer Women
Presbyterian Interracial Council
Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
State, County, Municipal Employees
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Textile Workers Union of America
Transport Workers Union of America
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Unitarian Universalist Association—Commission on Religion and Race
Unitarian Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers of America
United Church Women
United Hebrew Trades
United Packinghouse, Food & Allied Workers
United Rubber Workers
United Steelworkers of America
United Synagogue of America
United Transport Service Employees of America
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Workers Defense League
Workmen's Circle
Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority

what you can do to help

By Yourself

If you, alone with your newspaper, are appalled by the pictures and stories of fellow Americans who are beaten, hosed and bitten because they seek only to establish their right to eat in a public place or vote. If you, alone with your conscience, believe all citizens have equal rights which equal laws should protect, or if you regret you are not in the front lines of the civil rights struggle, you have a part to play in the passage of this legislation. H.R. 7152 is now before the U. S. Senate. You can begin tonight to help get the bill passed by writing to your Senators.

☞ *When you write, be specific.* Don't just say you're for civil rights. Urge your Senators to:

(1) support the bill in its present form;

(2) vote against all weakening amendments.

A correct vote on the bill, however, is not enough. Be sure to tell them that if they support the legislation they should stay close to the Senate floor, ready to answer quorum calls, ready to oppose any attempt to set the bill aside and ready to work to bring any filibuster to an end *without compromise.*

Form of Address (when writing to Senators)

The Honorable .....
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Senator:

In Your Community

Each one of us can widen the circle of our efforts. What we can do, friends, neighbors and associates can do.

☞ *In Organizations*—In churches, unions, lodges, sororities, fraternities and civic groups get fellow members to organize "write-in" meetings to start floods of mail toward the Senate. Get them to organize marches to the post office; mass rallies at which letters are the admission price. Get them to hold forums and discussions on civil rights and issue resolutions supporting the bill. Contact other interested organizations and set up state-wide coordinating bodies.

☞ *In churches and synagogues*—All over the country, clergymen are organizing churchmen's committees for civil rights. Speak to your minister, priest or rabbi about organizing one in your community.

In Political Groups

Make politics work for civil rights.

☞ Officials of local and state political parties are an important influence on Congress. Ward leaders, county committeemen, the state leader and the national committeemen and women are often responsible for the nomination of the Senators you are asking to vote our way. Call on these men and women of both parties, and ask them to make public their support of H.R. 7152. Urge them to let Senators know of their support. In all these approaches, designate as your spokesmen persons identified as good Republicans or good Democrats.

☞ Get your state legislature to adopt resolutions memorializing Congress to pass the bill. Statements by mayors and governors also influence Senators.

☞ Visit your Senators when they are home. Many of them get back to their states for weekends. Try to visit them or see that their staff members are informed of your group's interest in the bill.

With Mass Media

Whenever your organize a big distribution of civil rights material or a letter-writing campaign or a special rally or meeting or visit your local political leaders or Senators, let the news media know. Your work is a hundred times more far-reaching if it gets public attention through press, TV and radio.

☞ Send letters to the editors of your state newspapers. Get those who are sympathetic to write supporting editorials and then have your Senators insert them in the Congressional Record.

☞ Try to get your local radio and TV stations to present panel discussions or forums on the civil rights bill.

Whatever you do, remember. We have only a short time in which to accomplish our purpose. *Act and act now.* "Democracy," as Franklin D. Roosevelt once said, "is not a static thing. It is an everlasting march."

If we can be of any help, write or call us:

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Room 314
704-17th Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20006
Phone: 783-8032
Area Code 202

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Room 314, 704-17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005

Phone: 783-8032 Area Code 202

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY

REGARDING:

Re: Budget of Operation Opportunity

DATE

3/26/64

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Correspondence filed under FOUNDATIONS: Taconic.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

"OPERATION OPPORTUNITY"

REGARDING:

A grant of $15,000 to the Council in support of Operation Opportunity.

DATES

4/8/64 and 4/24/64

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Filed under Foundations - Taconic

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

file "Make folder oper. opport"

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM April 30, 1964

TO: Leslie W. Dunbar
Harold Fleming

FROM: Louis L. Mitchell, Jr./slw

SUBJECT: OPERATION OPPORTUNITY - SUMMARY REPORT

GENERAL. Certain observations are necessary at this point in the project. There is wide-spread ignorance and misunderstanding of the Bill in general, and of Title II in particular, on the local level among both white and Negro communities. This has been caused by individual apathy in securing facts and the extensive campaign against passage of the Bill. Preparation for compliance with Title II is severely hampered by this ignorance, and the generally held belief that the Bill will not pass.

However, it is strongly felt that because forces of opposition to the Bill are so committed to defeat passage, there is no solidification of defiance tactics. Were the Bill to pass tomorrow, with the exception of Mississippi and parts of Alabama, there would be general compliance in every city of the South. On the other hand, if delay for voluntary compliance is afforded before Title II can be enforced, there will be confusion and chaos. The single, most serious threat to general compliance will be such a delay.

General compliance will not occur under any voluntary program. Further, a delay will encourage tactics of defiance, and this will become cumulative.

ALABAMA

1. Work for compliance proceeding, or about to proceed in Huntsville, Tri-Cities, Mobile. Mitchell will personally see and speak with white leadership in Birmingham, Montgomery and Tuscaloosa during May. Indications are strong that Huntsville and Tri-Cities will comply across the board, and that all of the lodging places in Mobile will comply, though there may be problems with restaurants. A strong bi-racial commission is working on this in Mobile at the present time. Defiance appears likely in Birmingham and Montgomery and the situation in Tuscaloosa is not clear. A boycott is about to be initiated in Tuscaloosa, but there is at least communication between certain business leaders and the Negro leadership.

ARKANSAS

2. No work at this time.

FLORIDA

3. The situation here is not clear as to compliance, save for areas of South Florida. Work is proceeding for compliance in Daytona and Miami. Much will be possible after the primaries on May 5. Work in Jacksonville has been completely curtailed.

GEORGIA

4. Groups are working for compliance actively in Atlanta and Savannah, and are being planned in Macon, Columbus, Augusta, and Brunswick. Present indications are that Atlanta and Savannah and Brunswick will comply generally. A meeting between Mitchell and the former Mayor of Albany will be held during May.

LOUISIANA

5. Work is proceeding in Baton Rouge and New Orleans, and is planned for Shreveport. The situation in Baton Rouge is not clear. New Orleans already has desegregated hotels, but because of a local ordinance against desegregation in the places where alcohol is sold, any desegregation in the restaurants is precluded. A decision regarding this ordinance is forthcoming from the courts, perhaps before June, and there is strong indication that New Orleans will comply generally. At this time, because of Leander Perez, the new CORE office in New Orleans has decided privately to work outside of Plaqueimine Parish, which may lessen the possibility of chaos in this State - assuming compliance in New Orleans.

MISSISSIPPI

6. No work at this time.

NORTH CAROLINA

7. Coordinated by the American Friends Service Committee, a full-time staff person is spending three weeks in this State working specifically on Compliance. Meetings have been held with groups in hopes for a state-wide conference on compliance. An aide to the Governor has indicated, however, that the Governor's office in no way can become part of the work for compliance because of the gubernatorial primary May 30. The candidate backed by the Administration is the moderate, and his chief opponent is camapigning on a racist platform. Any endorsement or cooperation with private agencies seeking compliance would be associated with favoring the Bill, hence castastrophic politically. On April 29 and 30 planning sessions for state-wide work will be held in Raleigh and Greensboro with NCCJ, NAACP, CORE, human relations agencies, and United Council of Jewish Women, and the city bi-racial commissions. Present information from the major cities in North Carolina indicate across the board compliance.

SOUTH CAROLINA

8. Work for compliance is proceeding in Spartanburg, Columbia, Charleston, Greenville, under Mrs. Alice Spearman and Mr. Courtney Siceloff. Initial information indicates that all accommodations will open in Spartanburg, Greenville without incident. Most restaurants in Columbia will comply, but there is uncertainty as to places of lodging. Charleston is unknown at this time. Contact is being made with board members of South Carolina Restaurant Association for advice and information.

Mitchell has made one trip to Greenville. Contact was made with religious leaders (white), human relations persons, the NAACP, and members of the city bi-racial committee. Cooperation for compliance was secured through these persons, and there seems to be little question that with the exception of one restaurant all will comply immediately. The business community in this city has taken the lead in desegregation, and their drive to make Greenville another Charlotte is the spark which will lead to compliance.

TENNESSEE

9. No work in this state at present. A meeting with leaders and an aide to the Governor will be held in Knoxville on May 1 and will begin in other cities during May.

TEXAS

10. Though indications for compliance in the smaller cities of east Texas are not clear; Dallas-Ft. Worth will comply without question. Gus Falk has been working effectively in east Texas, and a report of his activities will be forthcoming, following the annual AJC meeting in New York.

VIRGINIA

11. Groups are working for compliance in Richmond, Charlottesville, and Danville. Contact has been made available with persons and groups in 25 other Virginia Communities. Mitchell has spoken personally with leaders in Richmond (see attached list) including the Mayor, department store executive, owner of largest hotel, and a sales executive. There appears to be little doubt that Richmond will comply completely. In addition to meeting with a group of representative persons in Charlottesville, Mitchell has spoken with the Mayor and newspaper editor. Indications are strong that Charlottesville will comply. An individual with political contact throughout the state told Mitchell emphatically, that the general feeling throughout Virginia is to comply with the law when it passes. Danville presents a special problem, but it seems certain that when the law passes, compliance will be the norm, with the exception of one major restaurant. The Negro leadership in Danville will test compliance before any demonstration where there is defiance, and even there the indication is that there will be no chaos. A filing of suit without demonstration is planned. The general feeling is not to permit John Carter the opportunity to stimulate defiance of the law.

NOTES

Community surveys have been received from some 45 communities (see attached list) and the brochure concerning Titles II and III are presently being distributed through the SIC.

Enclosures - 2

ANSWERED QUESTIONNAIRES

April 28, 1964
LLM/slw

ALABAMA

Birmingham - 2
Fairfield
Mobile
Montgomery - 2
Tuscaloosa

ARKANSAS

Little Rock - 3

FLORIDA

Jacksonville -
Tampa
Tallahassee - 2

GEORGIA

Thomaston

KENTUCKY

Covington
Geneva
Louisville - 2

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI

Greenville
Gulfport
Hattiesburg
Holly Springs
Jackson - 2
Starkville
Tougaloo

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro
Kinston

SOUTH CAROLINA

Greenville
Maysville
Spartanburg
Sumter

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga
Columbia
Greeneville
Knoxville - 2
Lebanon
Lewisburg
Memphis
Nashville

TEXAS

Beaumont
Corpus Christi
Dallas
Houston
Longview
Marshall
Tyler

VIRGINIA

Dublin
Stounton

GROUP ATTENDING MEETING AT YWCA - RICHMOND, APRIL 21,

The Rev. Richard Eissfeldt, Lutheran Minister, and Chairman of Housing Committee for Richmond Council on Human Relations
Ed Peeples, Professor, Medical College of Virginia (Sociology), and Chairman of College Council on Human Relations
The Rev. Raymond Mitchel, Rector, St. Phillips Episcopal Church, and Richmond City Council Biracial Commission.
C. L. Evans, Professor, Virginia Union University

The Rev. A. P. Ll Prest, Jr., Chaplain, Medical College of Virginia
Henry L. Caravati, Director of Development, Virginia Council on Human Relatio Relations
Davis Yeuell, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education

Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, Pres. Virginia Council on Human Relations; Editor Presbyterian OutLook
Dr. Malcolm Calhoun, Presbyterian Board - Social Christian Relations

Mrs. Janet Ballard, Executive Director, Urban League, Richmond
Lewis Held, Insurance Agent
Irving Held, Insurance Agent
The Rev. Edward Meeks Gregory, Curade, St. Mark's Episvopal Church
Harry L. Cohn, Lawyer

William Miller, Lawyer (VCHR's Legal Attorney)
The Rev. John J. McMahon, President, Richmond Council on Human Relations Director of Charity - Richmond Diocese - Catholic Church
Ed Stanfield, Minister, doing graduate work at Union Presbyterian Seminary
Mrs. Irving Newcome, Council of Church Women
Mrs. W. K. Robinson, Council of Church Women
Myron Miller. Executive Director, Virginia Council of Churches
Fred Warneke, Richmond Diocese-Christian Social Relations-Episcopal Church
Heslip M. Lee, Executive Director, Virginia Council on Human Relations
Lou Mitchell, SRC

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

File "Oper. Opportunity"

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

PA ✓
VJ ✓
MJ - file

MEMORANDUM May 28, 1964

TO: Leslie W. Dunbar
Harold C. Fleming

FROM: Louis L. Mitchell, Jr./slw

SUBJECT: OPERATION OPPORTUNITY - May 1-21.

GENERAL.

Under the proposed enforcement procedures of Title II, as amended, an even greater burden of responsibility falls upon this project. The provision for referral to the Community Relations Service, which would apply to every southern state, promotes potentially extended delay for compliance. This is apparent not only because of the six-month period afforded voluntary efforts for compliance, but also because of the fact the Community Relations Service is unlikely to become a staffed agency during the foreseeable future. As stated in the previous report, delay potential will encourage tactics of defiance and this will become cummulative.

ALABAMA

Mitchell spent 3 days in this state. Lengthly conversations were had with the 2 Episcopal Bishops: John S. Jemison, Jr., investment banker; Mr. B. A. Monaghan, president of Vulcan Materials; Mr. Ira Patton, vice-president, manager, Dinkler-Tutweiler; Mr. Mervin Stearne, banker-stockbroker. An attempt was made to arrange for one or more of these business leaders to call together owners of public accommodations to discuss compliance. Several ways to do this were discussed and resolved by the suggestion that Mitchell arrange for top-level business persons outside of Alabama to speak to the accommodation industry. With the cooperation of the Department of Justice, Mr. Robert Knight of Sherman and Sterling, New York, and Mr. Julius Manager have arranged to visit Birmingham for this purpose.

A one-half hour address concerning compliance with explanation of the Bill, was given to all Episcopal clergy in the state of Alabama by Mitchell. Work, as noted in my previous report, is continuing in Huntsville, Tri-Cities and Mobile.

ARKANSAS

Under the direction of Mr. Griswold, a large public meeting concerning the Civil Rights Bill with particular reference to Title II is planned for May 30 in Little Rock. Work in Fort Smith and Pine Bluff will be underway by June 5 through the ACHR.

On June 16, Mr. Berle I. Bernhard, will hold a meeting of business persons in Little Rock with the cooperation of Mr. Steele Hayes of that city.

FLORIDA

In Daytona Beach, the presidents of three motel associations are being called on by the local Council on Human Relations for general compliance. Daytona Beach has one of the highest concentrations of the motel industry in Florida (55),

and work for compliance here is critical. There are not further reports from Miami, but Mr. Seymour Samet is coordinating the efforts in that city.

GEORGIA

Mitchell has addressed the Episcopal clergy of the Diocese of Atlanta (all of North Georgia), explaining Title II and suggesting ways of effecting compliance.

In Atlanta, Partners for Progress, is proceeding by calling on individual restaurants. A letter recently drafted will precede visitations. Fourteen women are on the visitations committee. Forty-five restaurants have been assigned and 15 reports have been received.

In Columbus, contact has been made with 2 members of the bi-racial committee, and through one of them, discussion concerning compliance will be placed on the agenda. Mr. Jordan addressed the Council on Human Relations on Title II and compliance.

LOUISIANA

Nothing to report at this time.

MISSISSIPPI

Through Jean Fairfax, a meeting concerning compliance is planned for mid-June on the Gulf Coast.

NORTH CAROLINA

Because of the gubernatorial race, no work on compliance has been undertaken. During June, Mr. Bell will begin such efforts as possible. (The primary is May 30).

SOUTH CAROLINA

In a second visitation to that city, Mitchell taped a 15 minute discussion for the NBC-TV Station, concerning compliance. The Executive Director of Chamber of Commerce, who is also chairman for that city's bi-racial committee, was approached by Mitchell and compliance discussed. Every indication is that compliance will be the norm in Greenville.

In Columbia, through Mr. Siceloff, the Mayor and President of AFL-CIO have been contacted. Mayor Bates will take up the matter of compliance with the Committee of 85 as he felt it would be appropriate for Columbia to plan voluntary compliance with Title II. Mr. Young (AFL-CIO) has contacted members of the Committee of 85 to encourage the adoption of the Mayor's recommendation.

The Chamber of Commerce has a program "Citizens' Design for Progress". This is the first bi-racial committee to deal with community problems. (See attached)

Alice Spearman called together a group to discuss what voluntary agencies might do concerning compliance. A faculty member, of the University of South Carolina (law school), is drafting a resolution for persons and groups to sign affirming support for compliance with Title II to be circulated immediately following passage of the Bill.

Mrs. Spearman's group will meet again June 9.

TENNESSEE

Mitchell held a meeting with a group in Knoxville with leaders of United Church Women, United Presbyterians, Committee for Equal Services, Associated Council, Unitarian Church, Council on Human Relations, NCCJ, the Governor's Commission and Chamber of Commerce. Title II was explained, questions were answered, and contact with the Governor's Commission and Chamber of Commerce concerning compliance has been established.

In Chattanooga, a meeting of businessmen is being arranged by a local businessman for Mitchell to address concerning Title II and compliance.

Mr. Jordan addressed a group of students and adults at Lane College, Jackson, concerning Title II and compliance.

TEXAS

Mr. Falk reports there will be definite compliance in Dallas-Ft. Worth, southward and eastward, with question only about Tyler, Longview, Marshall and Kilgore.

VIRGINIA

Nothing to report at this time.

NOTES:

1. Seventy community surveys are now on file.

2. After consultation of Mitchell and Mrs. Vinson of Atlanta, the National Council of Jewish Women, National Conference of Negro Women, National Council of Catholic Women, United Church Women, YWCA, at a meeting in New York; the AAUW and the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights in Washington, work is now proceeding on establishing Partners for Progress groups in 31 southern cities (see attached list). A coordinator for each city will be chosen by May 29, and specific work will begin on June 5. Discussions are proceeding for the President to call together the same women as were called on July 9, 1963, by President Kennedy, with the charge to begin a massive national campaign for compliance. It is felt that this can be a specific project for the Women's Committee and will broaden the scope for work toward compliance in the South.

3. At a meeting in Atlanta of the National Civil Rights leaders, NAACP, SNCC, SCLC, CORE, Urban League, general agreement concerning control testing of compliance was afforded. This will

mean in certain cities where Operation Opportunity can determine commitment for compliance, controlled testing under this commitment will produce compliance and disorder may be averted by massive testing tactics.

4. At the American Jewish Committee's Annual meeting in New York, a workshop was held concerning compliance, and the Partners for Progress program explained.

Enclosures - 2

LIST OF CITIES TO BE COVERED BY WOMENS' GROUPS

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Huntsville
Mobile

ARKANSAS

Little Rock

FLORIDA

Jacksonville
Pensacola
Tampa

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge

MISSISSIPPI

Greenville
Hattiesburg

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Durham
Greensboro
Raleigh
Rocky Mount
Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia
Greenville

TENNESSEE

Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

TEXAS

Dallas

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville
Danville
Lynchburg
Newport News
Norfolk
Roanoke

CITIZENS' DESIGN FOR PROGRESS STUDY SUBJECTS

1. Assumptions
2. Basic Resources and Information
3. Governmental Structure
4. Health and Welfare
5. Education
6. Housing
7. Transportation
8. Community Relations and Attitudes
9. Recreation and Culture
10. Commercial Development
11. Industrial Development
12. Physical Planning
13. Human Element of the Community
14. Implementation of Citizens' Design for Progress Program.

Postage Will Be Paid By Addressee

No Postage Stamp Necessary If mailed in The U. S.

BUSINESS REPLY CARD
First Class Permit No. 65 - Columbia, S C

CITIZENS' DESIGN FOR PROGRESS PROGRAM
Greater Columbia Chamber of Commerce
Post Office Box 1405
Columbia, South Carolina 29202

1. Do you favor the CITIZENS' DESIGN FOR PROGRESS Program? Yes /_/--No /_/

2. Would you be willing to serve on a committee organized for the purpose of studying one of the problem areas? Yes /_/--No /_/

   NOTE: If the answer is "Yes," please place check mark after the study subject(s) you prefer from the list on the back of this card.

3. Do you have anyone in your business organization who can be made available and is qualified to serve on a committee? Yes /_/--No /_/

   NOTE: If your answer is "Yes," you will be contacted for names.

4. Do you know of any person not present today who is capable and would be willing to serve on a committee? If so, please fill out additional card.

YOUR NAME _____
(PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE NO. _____

ATTENDED INITIAL MEETING -- Yes /_/ --- No /_/

/rc

S C R I P T

CITIZENS' DESIGN FOR PROGRESS
Tuesday, May 12, 1964
G. Cameron Todd Presiding

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to voice a special word of appreciation to you for taking your valuable time to be with us today. I sincerely believe that when you leave this building, you will feel amply rewarded for the time you have taken from your busy schedule.

We have invited you today to hear an important story--one that could represent a turning point in metropolitan Columbia's future development. The project is so wide in scope that the Chamber of Commerce is inviting citizens from all walks of life in our community to hear this story.

I would like to give a little of the history of the inception of the project we are proposing and of the efforts that have gone into its study. In the past few years, a large number of our citizens have voiced concern over the lack of organization and system that has been evident in the development and growth of the Columbia area. As a result, the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce discussed this problem on several occasions, and, in February of 1963, decided to appoint a committee to inquire into it and make any recommendations it deemed advisable. This committee has been studying and discussing all facets of this question for the past 15 months and is now ready to make its recommendations known to the public. I can assure you that all who have taken any part in the discussion of the problems you will hear today are completely convinced of the necessity of action in this area of community endeavor; and I can also assure you that the plan you will hear today is brought forth only after much thought and study by some 20 of our most experienced and civic-minded citizens.

Here to discuss the results of their deliberations are Marshall Shearouse and Charlie Knowlton, co-chairmen of this special committee of the Chamber of Commerce to which I have just referred.

Mr. Shearouse and Mr. Knowlton will take their places at the front of the room, and the first two charts will be presented dramatically. Mr. Knowlton will uncover both charts at the same time and he will then point to the chart showing dis-array and confusion and ask the question, "Do we want this type of city in the future?"--or, pointing to the other chart showing orderliness and constructive planning, "Do we want this type of city in the future?"

CHART NO. 1

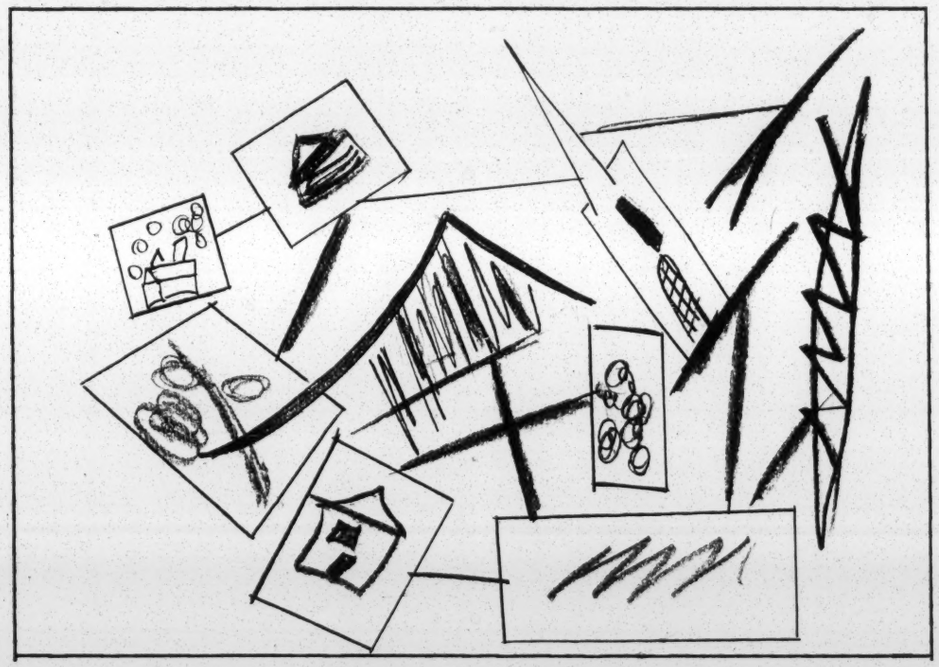
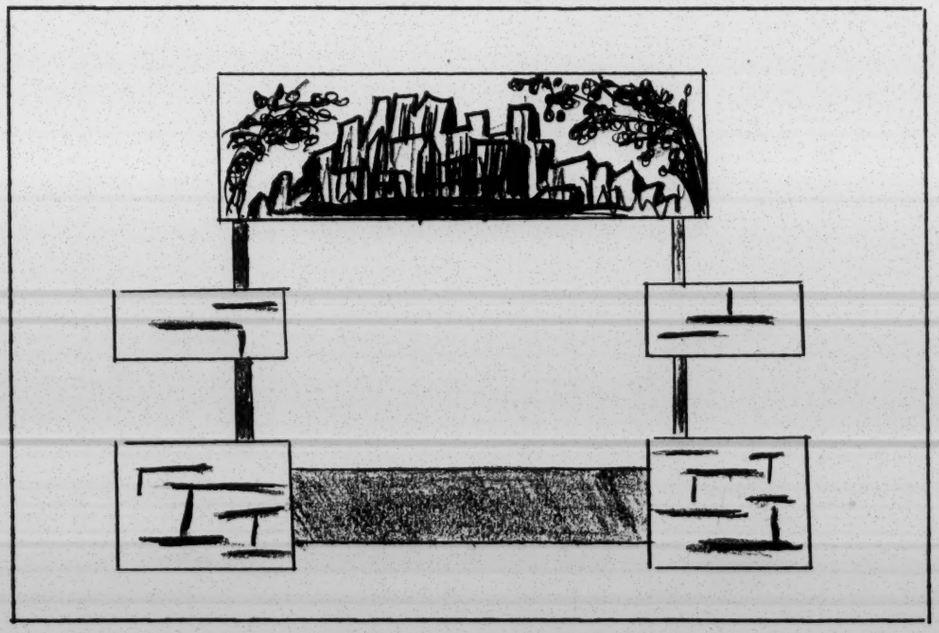


CHART NO. 2



Mr. Shearouse will then take up as follows:

These are rather dramatic presentations that could very well represent the future of our community. All of us who are interested in the welfare of our community are constantly impressed with the unparalleled growth and development that has taken place in the greater Columbia area during recent years. Some of this growth has been planned--much of it is a natural by-product of increased industrial and economic progress.

Regardless of the reason for this growth, it has placed the greater Columbia area at a crossroads. In short, this economic explosion can become a cultivated asset of planned urban prosperity, or bring to the Columbia metropolitan area nightmares of uncontrollable sprawl, traffic congestion, and a multitude of ills suffered by communities that are not preparing to meet tomorrow's problems today.

In order to prepare ourselves and our community to face these problems realistically, the Columbia Chamber of Commerce several months ago formed a committee to study ways and means of community planning. After considering several different methods, we are today recommending a new program, which we are calling CITIZENS' DESIGN FOR PROGRESS.

CHART NO. 3

C I T I Z E N S

D E S I G N

F O R

P R O G R E S S

This program has been used by over 100 other communities, most of which have had outstanding success. It is enthusiastically endorsed by the National Chamber of Commerce, which has sponsored it in several other cities. I would like to add that this program will not supersede the planning objectives of any other civic program that is now in progress. We only hope that we can move ahead together with civic progress, having the backing of all our citizens.

Let me explain that when we refer to Columbia or the Columbia area we are not speaking of the city of Columbia as limited by its boundaries, but of the entire metropolitan area; an area encompassed by a circle with a radius of approximately 12 miles from its center at the Capitol. It is an indefinite area, and can be enlarged or contracted at will.

Now, I would like to present for your consideration a few growth statistics which are applicable to the Columbia area, and which are pertinent to the questions that are facing us.

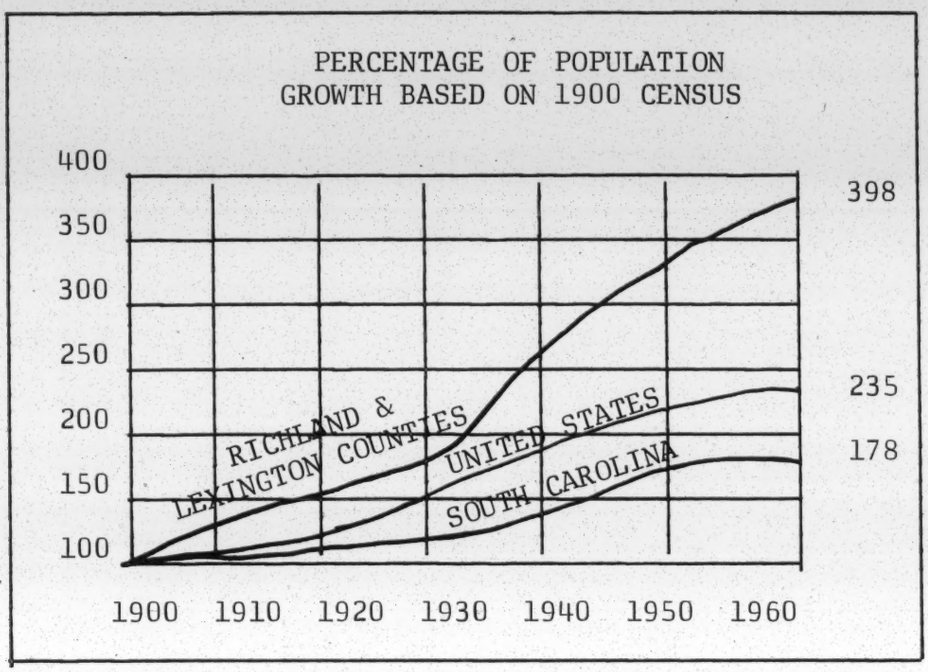
CHART NO. 4

POPULATION GROWTH
1950-1960

Period	Columbia Urban Area	Richland & Lex.Counties	South Carolina
1950	120,808	186,844	2,117,027
1960	162,601	260,828	2,382,594
% Change	35%	39.6%	12.5%

THE GROWTH INCREASE OF RICHLAND AND LEXINGTON COUNTIES REPRESENTS 28% OF THE GROWTH INCREASE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHART NO. 5



Now, let us examine some statistics of the economic and industrial growth of this area:

CHART NO. 6

BANK CLEARINGS & RETAIL SALES
RICHLAND & LEXINGTON COUNTIES
1950-60

<u>Bank Clearings</u>:

1950	$416 million
1960	$1 billion, 83 mill.

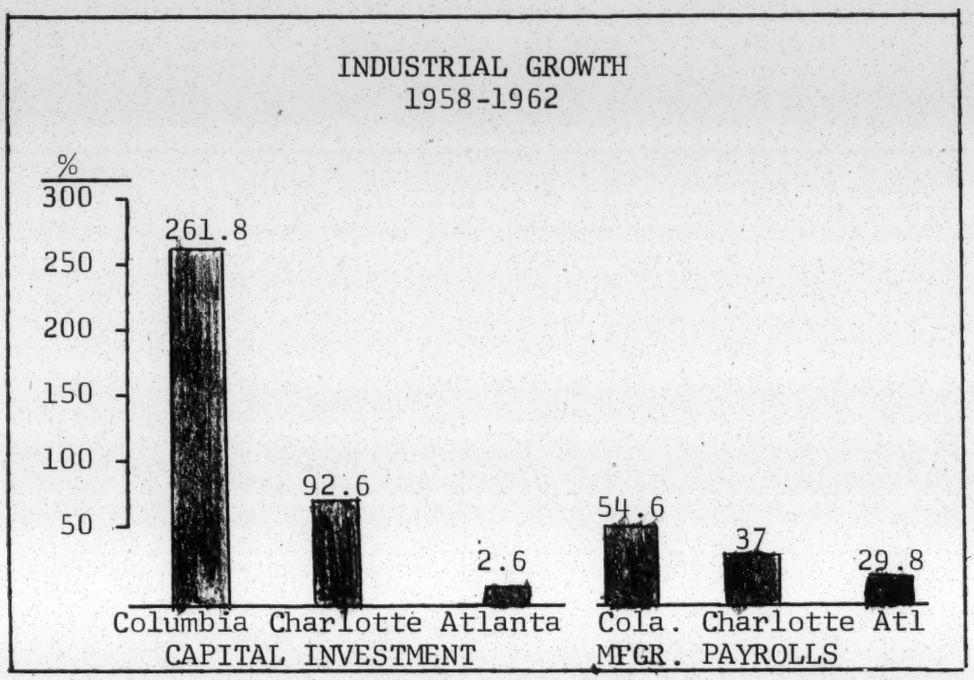
Percent of increase +160.3%

<u>Retail Sales</u>:

1950	$155 million
1960	$248 million

Percent of increase 60.2%

CHART NO. 7



These are just a few of the many sets of statistics that go to prove that the Columbia metropolitan area is one of the fastest growing areas, both in population and in economic potential in the United States.

Now, what about the prospects of future growth? In the Commerce Department Building in Washington, there is a population clock that flashes every 11 seconds, signifying that the net population of the United States has been increased by one. I repeat, this clock flashes every 11 seconds!

This is an increase of 234,000 per month, enough to populate a city more than twice the size of Columbia. In a year, it is enough to build a city to rival Chicago. It has been estimated that if the population continues to increase at its present ratio, the United States will double in size in 40 years. This means, among other things, about 53 million new families, two million new businesses, a doubling of our building capacity, and large increases in production of every conceivable product.

Now, I would like to refer back to Chart No. 5, where we see that the percentage of population increase in the past 60 years has been more than 50% greater in the Columbia area than in the United States; but the amazing

part of it is that, in the last decade, our growth has doubled that of the United States as a whole--39.6%, against 18.5%. If this percentage continues to hold, and we can see no reason for its diminishing, can you visualize what Columbia will look like 40 years from now? There is a strong possibility that it could quadruple its present population to become an area of a million souls. Even in a most pessimistic vein, great changes will certainly occur, not only from this population explosion, but also from technological advances. We can expect much greater speeds and advances in methods of transportation and communication, all of which will tend to concentrate larger proportions of the population in metropolitan areas. Advances in technology can render obsolescent many of our present facilities and structures. Add all of this together and the results will stagger the imagination!

How do you think our people will respond to this changing situation? Will they be overwhelmed, or will they apply logic and constructive ideas to the solutions of problems that will inevitably follow? As I see it, there are four ways to respond to this challenge:

CHART NO. 8

1. Establish special organizations to deal with each major development as it occurs, or is foreseen.

2. To depend on the city, state, or federal government for a solution.

3. To let the Chamber of Commerce handle it.

-OR-

CHART NO. 9

4. To form an organization for study of these problems as a whole; to recommend solutions in order of priority, and, in a concerted effort by all business and civic leaders, implement these conclusions by the impetus of public opinion.

We most certainly favor the latter method. As for the first method, many communities have tried organizing special groups for each special problem. Although excellent work has been done in many cases, they failed to gain a full perspective of all needs and requirements of the community; thus, in many cases, the most pressing problems are not considered first. They find themselves vying with one another for funds and other requirements in efforts to accomplish their own mission. Their efforts are fragmented, and, in most cases, fail to get the complete support of the community as a whole. Here in Columbia, we have had some experiences in this type of project. Within the past few years, bond issues for hospital improvements, a civic center, and a tax increase for school operation have failed to receive community acceptance, in spite of campaigns for these proposals vigorously prosecuted by special committees organized for this purpose alone.

Various organizations, including the city government, have had a number of surveys made; some outstanding firms of consultants have been employed

within the past few years for this purpose. It has been done at considerable expense. On this chart are lists of these studies:

CHART NO. 10

REPORTS, REPORTS

Airport	Fisher
Sewerage	Wideman & Singleton
Medical	Norman
Civic Center	Stapleton
Historical Bldgs.	City
Industrial Park	Little
River	Smith, Hammer
General Economic	Hammer
Seaboard Park	Gould
Parking & Traffic	Smith
Zoo and Park	Perkins
Urban Renewal	Committee
Census Tract	Committee
Comprehensive Plan	Planning Commission
Zoning Ordinance	Zoning Commission

Miscellaneous: Teachers' salaries, street signs, V. A. Hospital, Local Government.

A large amount of valuable data has been collected, and some excellent recommendations have been made. Although undoubtedly of great value, these reports have not aroused any great amount of enthusiasm in the community. I doubt if many of you in this audience have ever heard of these reports. So, as a result of our own experiences, as well as those of other cities, your committee has discarded the idea of considering each problem as a separate entity.

It is not believed that government agencies are equipped to handle these problems, although I am sure that responsible officials are acutely aware of them. There are too many rigidities and restrictions in our local, state, and federal procedures for prompt action. Our officials are bound by legal restrictions, city and county boundaries, budgetary considerations, and sometimes political expediency. Unfortunately, on occasions when one of our public

officials advocates a cause, in the best of faith, many people pass it off as a political gesture. However, we do expect local government agencies and individual officials to help in every way possible to aid in our program.

The Chamber of Commerce does not consider itself equipped, as it is now constituted, to handle this matter, nor is it thought wise to do so. Although it is the principal sponsor, and is giving guidance, office space, and clerical assistance, it is not able alone to undertake a program of this magnitude. It feels that we need a more representative organization than is embraced in the Chamber of Commerce.

So, we propose forming a "committee of the whole," representing all the citizens of the metropolitan area, to grapple with these problems. We propose forming a center of intelligence and a center of leadership for community development. We must marshall all our leadership forces in this community and maintain them at maximum efficiency, all working together, if we expect to accomplish the results that will be needed. We need to tap the vast knowledge and experience that is available in the community, gather this knowledge in one storage area, and evaluate it in the light of community needs and requirements.

Our immediate problem, then, is to develop a common denominator of understanding and agreement among the people of this community. This means that in spite of any differences that may exist, some common ground must be developed so that our people may move together in the cause of progress. If our community can be of one mind and one purpose, there is no limit to what we can accomplish.

To get down to specifics, our planning procedures will be as shown on this chart:

CHART NO. 11

PLANNING PROCEDURES

1. Collect, analyze, and interpret all available data on each subject or problem area.

2. Forecast future developments and requirements pertaining to each subject.

3. Establish goals & objectives of each subject.

4. Development of several alternate plans.

5. Appraisal & evaluation of each plan & final adoption of recommended plan.

6. Placing of plans on all subjects in proper relation to one another to arrive at a priority list.

7. Implementation of priority planning program.

8. Continual study and revision of planning program.

Your committee has divided the various problem areas, as they can be foreseen now, into 14 general groupings. (These subject areas are shown on this chart.)

CHART NO. 12

CITIZENS' DESIGN FOR PROGRESS
STUDY SUBJECTS

1. Assumptions
2. Basic Resources and Information
3. Governmental Structure
4. Health and Welfare
5. Education
6. Housing
7. Transportation
8. Community Relations and Attitudes
9. Recreation and Culture
10. Commercial Development
11. Industrial Development
12. Physical Planning
13. Human Element of the Community
14. Implementation of Citizens' Design for Progress Program.

Now, each of these general subject areas will be broken down into two or more action study areas, and each of these study areas will be assigned to a study committee. Thus, we expect to have working some 60 or 70 committees, each with several members. We will need a large number of volunteers for this important work. Not only do we need you businessmen and civic leaders who are present today, but we would like some of the younger people in the community to be represented also. We need technicians who are capable of digging out facts and information from the vast amount of data that we have collected, so that the committees can have at their disposal the basic information on which to form accurate judgments. Committee reports, when completed, will be given extensive publicity.

A Priorities Committee, formed from some of our most experienced citizens, will study all committee reports, evaluate them, and recommend an order of priority for their implementation. The report of this Priorities Committee will be published in all news media and will be discussed before civic groups, schools, and in large public gatherings. It is believed that we can determine, through this means, what the majority of the people desire and will support. The implementation of these priority projects will be a continuous process; some projects may take years, others short periods of time. As one project is completed, another will be moved into its place.

We have placed a card on each chair in the room. On these cards, we would like each of you to answer the following questions:

1. Do you favor the CITIZENS' DESIGN FOR PROGRESS program?
2. Will you be willing to serve on a "short-term, hard-hitting" committee for working out such a program; and if so, which committee do you prefer.

3. Do you have any person employed by you who can be committed to assist us in this program?

If you know of any other person who is not present today who you feel is competent and willing to serve on one of these committees, please take an extra card at the door and have him fill it out and mail it to the Chamber of Commerce.

We must not consider making "little" plans. "Smallness," will not serve to fire the imagination nor stir men's minds, and their objectives will probably never be realized. We must aim high and plan big. We must eradicate the ugly, the unsightly, the below-standard areas and facilities that now exist. We must plan to prevent the taint and blight that have in the past accompanied large population inflows and industrial developments. We must always have on hand the ability to provide the modern facilities that such an influx will necessitate. We need to build with vision and understanding, so as to give the surroundings of our community dignity and beauty, as well as utility, comfort, and convenience. We must not build for the present, but for the future, so that our children and grandchildren will be proud of their heritage.

Thank you for the earnest attention and consideration you have given me today. I sincerely hope that all of you will give special consideration to our request that you become an active participant in the "CITIZENS' DESIGN FOR PROGRESS" program.

/rc
5 12 64

File "Oper. Opportunity"

June 3, 1964

Mrs. W. B. Harris
Co-Chairman
National Women's Committee
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Harris:

I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum outlining a proposed national program. This memorandum has been informally presented to the White House by the Atlanta Coordinating Committee, an official body of this city created by the Board of Aldermen to act in the area of race relations. The Community Relations Committee of the U. S. Conference of Mayors has discussed the memorandum, and has expressed its strong support of it.

The memorandum proposes a very ambitious plan for establishing a better climate of opinion in this country. I think the proposal is probably correct in believing that only a large and ambitious undertaking can achieve this. Certainly there are many concrete and hard problems that this proposal does not reach, but what it does do is to point toward the kind of public opinion within which these problems can be met and resolved.

I am sure the sponsors of this memorandum would be most pleased to have the encouragement and support of the National Women's Committee.

It occurs to me that you and your associates might wish to examine the memorandum, and to offer any revisions or alternative ideas you might have, or to lend your assistance in obtaining the necessary consideration of it.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Bc: Mr. Cecil Alexander

Enc. 1 - Memo from Cecil Alexander.

July 2, 1964

From: Peggy Roach, NCCW

To: Dr. Pauline Tompkins, AAUW
Miss Helen Raebeck, NCJW
Miss Dorothy Height, NCNW
Miss Carrie Meares, UCW
Miss Ethlyn Christensen, YWCA
Mrs. Judy Wilson, NWCCR
Mr. Art Levin, Potomac Institute
Mr. Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council
Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, Lynchburg, Va.

Subj: Report from Charlottesville, Virginia

I had a report today from Miss Therese Molyneaux (P.O. Box 624, Charlottesville) our "co-coordinator" in Charlottesville (Mrs. Hannon's mother was taken to the hospital in New York and she was called there; Miss Molyneaux is carrying on for the moment).

Miss M. contacted Mrs. Jordon (AAUW) who had to decline invitation to work on project since she is going to Europe; contacted Mrs. Sandusky (UCW) who is interested; there is no YWCA there Miss M. reported; also no NCJW or NCNW but Miss M. has had contacts with the Jewish and Negro community women on the project.

She also contacted Mrs. Foster, past president of Council on Human Relations and Mr. Bristol, current president. She reported all restaurants except one are desegregated, also hospital and bowling alleys. There is at least one Negro salesperson in each store on Main St. Six Negro checkers in Safeway.

In talking with Mr. Bristol and Mr. Cooley, leader in restaurant business in C., they felt the holdouts (restaurant and motel owners, old hotel in center of town which is locally owned (and presently half of it is office space) would voluntarily comply. Suggested women not make visits or start letter-writing campaign. Both men were pleased to know of the women's interest and all will keep in touch with each other.

According to Miss M., Mr. Cooley owns a couple of restaurants in Ch. Three years ago, Negroes from university began integrating; Cooley received threats from patrons and politicians; he talked with university officials and decided to go on accepting Negro students. Today no problems.

There is a Dr. Moller at the University Hospital who has formed a group of religious leaders, clerical and lay, working for further integration in Char. However this group will not meet again until the fall.

July 1, 1964

From: Peggy Roach, NCCW

To: Miss Helen Raebeck, NCJW
Miss Ethlyn Christensen, YWCA
Miss Dorothy Height, NCNW
Miss Carrie Meares, UCW
Dr. Polly Tompkins, AAUW
Mrs. Judy Wilson, NWCCR
Mr. Louis Mitchell, SRC Mr. Art Levin, PI
NCCW

Re: Additional/contacts re compliance project

NCCW Contacts:

Birmingham	Mrs. Edmund Loring, 854 77th Way South, Birmingham
Mobile	Mrs. Stephen Zieman, 55 LeMoyne Place, Mobile
Little Rock	Mrs. Frank Letzig, 4816 Crestwood, Little Rock
Memphis	Mrs. Ray Morton, 168 South Dille Place, Memphis
Richmond	Mrs. Robert Habenicht, 1500 Confederate Avenue, Richmond
Newport News	Mrs. John Fallon, Lynn Drive - Glendale, Newport News

All coordinators have been notified of these contacts, with copy to professional human relations agency coordinator.

July 1, 1964
Compliance Project

CLEARWATER, FLORIDA

Coordinator:	AAUW	Mrs. A.J. Brumbaugh 330 Mehlenbacker Drive Clearwater
Contact	UCW	Mrs. Alan R. Carlson 2161 Burnice Drive

PROFESSIONAL HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCY REPRESENTATIVE

Mr. Irwin Schulman, Director
ADL
330 Seybold Building
Miami, Florida

cc: AAUW
NCCW
NCJW
NCNW
UCW
YWCA
NWCCR
SRC
PI

July 2, 1964

From: Peggy Roach, NCCW

To: National Women's Committee for Civil Rights
Southern Regional Council
Potomac Institute

Subj: Additional contacts from United Church Women

The following names were sent to me and other national organizations. Since your name did not appear on the copy list, I am taking the liberty of keeping you advised of these additional contacts.

United Church Women

Clearwater, Fla.	Mrs. Alan R. Carlson, 2161 Burnice Dr.
Tallahassee, Fla.	Mrs. John T. Sewell, Sr., P.O. Box 707
Augusta, Ga.	Mrs. Madison Woo, 2820 Washington Road
Macon, Ga.	Mrs. John Green, Upper Thomaston Road
Savannah, Ga.	Mrs. J. K. Young, 39 Parkwood Drive
New Orleans, La.	Mrs. S. Vernon Applewhite, 424 Millauden St.

Names have been forwarded to the respective coordinator, with a copy to the professional human relations representative coordinator.

Georgia names were sent to coordinators listed on SRC attendance list of 6/25 with copies to McEvoy and Pauley.

Chas. Wittenstein: Am. Jewish Comm., Atlanta

Atlanta - "We have stimulated virtually every statement - from restaurant associations to grand jury ~~stat~~ presentment - coming out of Atlanta."

Memphis - "Done nothing - been in ~~contact~~ touch with none in Memphis."

316 Hurley Ave.
Newport News, Va. 23601
July 2, 1964

Mrs. Carrie Mears
Operation Opportunity
United Church Women
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Mears,

Tonight is a night of much rejoicing in my heart with the signing of the civil rights bill. I have been much in meditation and prayer and feel a special spiritual kinship with those women I met in Atlanta in Operation Opportunity. Certainly in many places their work won't be easy, as it isn't for any of us, but especially in t ose places where no groundwork has been laid will it be difficult. May God bless us all in this great challenge before us.

Tuesday night, June 30, 9 women met in my home from Hampton and Newport News. Due to the geographical proximity of these two cities on the lower peninsula I thought it wise to include the Hampton organizations also. Mrs. Drucker from the NCJW did not attend the meeting but she was given the information when I met with her Mon. night. I have not received the name of a lady from the NCCW but I decided to go ahead without it. Mrs. E. Alton Parrish from the Newport News AAUW is out of town for a year for special study so I contacted her president, Mrs. M. G. Willey, 5 Warwick Crescent, Newport News, to suggest someone. She was totally unfamiliar with the project but would try and get a person to represent the group. I have not yet received that information. I felt it imperative to call the meeting immediately as the NN Biracial Committee was meeting on Wed. night, July 1 and I thought we would want to talk with them and offer our services, which we did; 5 of us appearing before them.

Those who attended the meeting at my home were as follows:
Mrs. Howard Fawcett, 11 Paddock Dr., NN - UCW & Hpt. AAUW
Mrs. Paul Givens, 307 Ferguson Ave., NN - UCW
Miss Margery Hannah, 2076 Cunningham Dr., Apt. 103, Hpt. - Hpt AAUW
Mrs. W. R. Volckhausen, 20 Mitchell Rd., Hpt. - Hpt. League of Women Voters
Mrs. Phebe H. Taylor, 612 Smith St., Hpt. - NCNW
Mrs. Queene Pankey, 107 Chatham Terrace, Hpt. - NCNW
Mrs. Guy Taylor, 5805 Roanoke Ave., NN - UCW
Miss Clara Boyd Wheeler, 3207 West Ave., NN - YWCA (she is leaving the area & I Have not received the name of another contact from her)
Mrs. Frank Fullman, 316 Hurley Ave., NN - UCW

After briefing them about the meeting in Atlanta and giving out some information I had obtained from Southern Regional Council, we had a lengthy discussion about things we could do. We felt it important first to know where we were at this moment in our communities so we decided to visit the Committees appointed by the Mayors of both cities, Newport News & Hampton, the NN group meeting the next night. All of us hesitated to use the name of our organizations as there hadn't been time for them to approve of our action; however, we did decide to go as interested citizens from several women's organizations of the peninsula. Five attended, 3 White & 2 Negro.

By the way, 4 new members have been added to the Biracial Committee of NN. They are as follows: Mr. John Meadows, 33Stratford Rd, NN - merchant & chrm. of the Peninsual Retail Merchants ASSoc., White: Mr. R. F. Ourednik, 15 Hilton Terrace, NN, White, Personnel Manager of Noland Co.: Mr. P. B. Boone, 1236 - 28th St. NN., Negro; retired shipyard worker: Mrs. L. B. Sale, 1225-20th St., NN, Negro, retired Postoffice employee.

The Newport News Committee had met with the Hpt. group at the June meeting so they are planning on meeting the problems together and have done so in the past.

We found out that in Newport News, most restaurants are open, however, due to disorganization of the Rest. Assoc., leadership had not met with Biracial Committee. Personal work had been done in many cases by members of the Committee and our Mayor, Don Hyatt. 2 Motels, King James in NN & Strawberry Banks in H pt. had not integrated & Hotel Warwick in NN had not integrated overnight facilities but had their dining room. The Chamberlin Hotel & Holiday Inn in Hpt., Howard Johnson's, Hot Shoppes, Peoples, Roses, Grants, & some other had opened. 2 of the swimming pools in NN had had some integration; the fishing & boating pier had also. No bowling alleys in NN had opened their facilities to Negroes, all had in Hpt. Employment in Dept. stores had improved considerably still a long way to go, especially for Negro secretarial help who qualify. Preparation has been made by the police and briefing made to city departments in case of trouble. Our Mayor plans to have the Newport News City Council & manager meet with Hpt. Council & manager soon.

Due to hostile press, most of the meetings have been closed. Our Mayor has met with the editors and the owner, a woman, several times during the year and things have improved. We all have noticed more recognition of Negro students and activities of the Negro organizations including pictures in the newspapers. Our UCW has also had several integrated pictures having to do with our functions during the past year. We feel encouraged.

After asking the Committee & our Mayor, is they thought we could help in any of this, our Mayor said he certainly thought we could have some influence on the owners of the paper, Mrs. Bottom, and the editors. He also suggested that we bisit the restaurants especially the one owned by the chairman of the Rest. Assoc. and speaking to him about voluntarily integrating facilities. Some of the Negro members thought if we could reassure the owners of public facilities that there wouldn't be a great influx of Negroes, it would help. We told them we would be channels of correct information about the civil rights bill into our own organizations and to our friends, plus speaking as much as possible about the advantages to the whole nation that could develop from this bill.

We had noticed an air of suspicion on the part of the Biracial Committee when we came in but there was much warmth and mutual respect when we left. They recognizing that we weren't interested in publicity as such or rocking the boat, so to speak, but to actually help if needed and we becoming aware of some of the thing which they had been doing. All of us recognized that there is still much work to be done but there did not seem to be, as far as anyone there knew, great pockets of resistance. The feeling was that there might be folks who didn't like integrating their facilities but realized it was inevitable and the quieter the better. They are working on integrating the staffs of all our hospitals. All have Negro nurses, but two don't allow Negro Drs. I have been concerned about this for some time. Suits have been instigated in 2 hospitals pertaining to this.

I will try and call another meeting soon of the groups of ladies and we will try and organize definite actions. In the meantime, there will be time for us all to meet with our organizations and get their approval of our project. If it is not forthcoming from any group, I feel the leaders would act as individuals In the meantime, I will try and arrange a meeting with the Hampton Committee on Community Relations. However, I have heard they have disbanded for the summer.

Tomorrow I am going to Richmond so will stop by the Council of Human Relations and get many copies of "Some Questions & Answers on the Civil Rights Bill" & Service for all Citizens" to distribute among our members and to the Biracial Committees of Hpt. & NN.

Please excuse typographical & grammatical errors. Thought you would rather have this quickly than for me to take time to polish it up. If there are any questions, please don't hesitate to inquire. Regards, Mrs. Frank Fullman

copies to: UCW, NY, Southern Regional Council, Va. C on HR, Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman, Pres. Va. UCW & Mrs. V. Marlin Smith, Pres., NN UCW.

September 5, 1963

Mr. Robert C. Cutler, Chairman
Newport News Biracial Committee
19 Douglas Drive, Newport News, Va.

Dear Chairman and members of the Newport News Biracial Committee;

On August 7, 1963 a regular Prayer and Fellowship meeting was held at the YWCA on West Avenue, Newport News, with interested members of the Newport News United Church Women and the Peninsula YWCA in attendance. At that time, we brought together findings of persons and organizations about what facilities in our community were open and available to all persons. Several actions came out of this group, one of which was to present our findings to the Biracial Committee of Newport News. Due to the lateness of the hour and since said committee was meeting that night, these findings were presented that afternoon in a verbal way to Mrs. R. S. Plummer, a member of that committee. Since then, it was deemed advisable to present a written report to various groups of these findings and concerns. Also, a list of the names of the members of the Hampton and Newport News groups have been presented to the military through Capt. Howard Scanland of the Naval Weapons Station of Yorktown.

Our areas of concern are as follows:

Jobs: It was noted that there had been more hiring of Negroes in area department stores, certain super markets and other places. It was reported that the C&P Telephone Company had refused hiring of Negro girls. Also we were quite concerned that Riverside and Mary Immaculate Hospitals did not admit Negro Doctors to their staffs. We were not sure about Bayberry, but did acknowledge that Bayberry took Negro patients. Colored nurses are used in all hospitals, we understand. We did not think there was Negro representation on the Hampton or Newport News Retail Merchants Association or Chamber of Commerce. We were not sure about all unions. We knew that there were Negroes on the policy making body of the PSA. Also that the Musicians Union seemed to be inclusive.

Housing: We found that there is Negro representation on the Redevelopment & Housing and Urban Renewal projects but our concern is the availability of decent housing for those persons displaced and others who might desire better locations. We recognize that the responsibility of keeping neighborhoods in good repair depends not only on the tenant but for the most part on the owners of the buildings.

Public Accommodations: We recognized that some restaurants, motels and hotels had opened their doors to persons of color but we would like to see that all do so. We found that the public libraries have been opened to all people from 2 to 5 years. We wondered if interracial groups could meet in the public school auditoriums? Theaters we understand are open.

Cultural and Recreational Facilities: We understand that persons of the colored race had been able to attend the Peninsula Orchestra presentations last year; also that Little Theater tickets were available to the Negro. Hampton Institute and the Jewish Community Center cultural activities have served interested persons of all races. We wondered about the Community Concert Association. Some Negroes have attended Wedgewood Theater without difficulty. There is room for improvement in the availability of beaches and amusement parks to Negroes; also golfing and tennis.

Schools: We acknowledge that progress is being made in integrating our public schools, however slowly. Also that there is Negro representation on the school boards of Hampton and Newport News.

Citizenship: We discussed the report of a local representative to the President's White House Conference for Women on Civil Rights. It was recognized that our groups had for some time been doing many of the things President Kennedy suggested. We expressed the opinion that steps taken by the local community toward the opening of opportunities to every citizen in all areas of life was best. However, it is also our privilege and duty as citizens of the United States of America to express our views to our Congressmen regarding the basic rights of all citizens, especially where these rights have been denied.

Community Services: It was recognized that there is Negro representation on policy-making groups of some of the agencies of the Peninsula United Fund although there is no Negro representation on the policy level of PUF itself. Recognition was given to the Newport News Police Department for their hiring and advancement policies. However the use of police dogs is deployed. We appreciate the opportunity for integrated fellowship through the Hampton AAUW, the Hampton League of Women Voters, USO, the YWCA, and the United Church Women. It was noted that as of the first of the year, several ministerial associations had united.

Worship: We recognize there is room for improvement in having our churches open to all people. We strongly recommend that groups take and make opportunities of operating their organization, spiritual or business, social or civic, across racial lines so that we may learn to know and understand each other better as individuals and children of God.

We also acknowledged with grateful hearts and appreciation those dedicated citizens, white and colored, male and female, who through the years have been working toward the present good relations between the races in our community.

Since no minutes were taken of the Prayer and Fellowship meeting, this information has been collected and compiled from various notes taken by several attending members of the group by Mrs. Frank Fullman.

MC to:
Members of the Newport News Biracila Committee
Members of the Community Relations Committee of Hampton
President of Peninsula Ministers Association

Racial Pact Ends Protest

Piccadilly Will Serve Negroes When Bill OK'd

By KENT BIFFLE

Demonstrators agreed to stop picketing the Piccadilly Cafeteria Saturday when the firm agreed to begin serving Negroes as soon as the civil rights bill becomes law.

Both sides came away feeling like winners.

L. W. Anderson, attorney for the Piccadilly, wrote City Atty. Henry Kucera to ask that charges stemming from arrests of demonstrators not be prosecuted.

John B. Wilson Jr., attorney for the Congress of Racial Equality, said there were "some 25 arrests" at the cafeteria at 1503 Commerce during the 28 days of picketing that ended Friday.

All the charges accused demonstrators of blocking the entrance to the eating place.

The Rev. Earl E. Allen, pastor of Highland Hills Methodist Church and one of the Negro demonstrators who daily appeared at the Piccadilly, said four persons — himself among them — had posted four $100 cash bonds to be released following arrests at the Piccadilly.

HE PREDICTED Saturday that the bond money will be returned after Anderson's letter is received by the city attorney.

The agreement was signed in Anderson's office Saturday by Wilson, the Rev. Mr. Allen, Anderson and James Ramig, vice-president and manager of Piccadilly Cafeterias of Waco, Inc.

R. L. Lichten, a Dallas aeronautical engineer, was credited with bringing the two parties together for the agreement.

"We don't feel like we've given up anything," Anderson said Saturday. "When the civil rights bill becomes law, we would have to abide by it, anyway."

Wilson said, "I think the Piccadilly should be commended for recognizing that once the law is passed it will be the duty of all citizens to obey it. This agreement will hopefully set a pattern for achieving racial equality throughout the community."

WILSON CREDITED desegregation of three restaurants and eight bowling alleys indirectly to the Piccadilly picketing. "The Piccadilly had become a symbol of segregation here," he said.

The Biracial Committee of the Dallas Citizens Council had attempted to bring the opposing factions into agreement a week ago. Wilson indicated that a similar agreement was discussed then, but it would have called for the end of picketing without publicity on why the demonstrations ceased.

Mr. Allen said the agreement may postpone Dallas visits of integration leader Dr. Martin Luther King and CORE's James Farmer. Both had announced their availability to come to Dallas to help bring about desegregation of the Piccadilly.

R. L. Lichten, the middle man, Page 23.

★

GOV. WALLACE EYES VIRGINIA

RICHMOND, Va. (AP) — Gov. George Wallace of Alabama said Saturday his backers are working to get his name on the Virginia presidential ballot in November.

Wallace said the strategy would be to get enough Southern electoral college votes to force the election into the House of Representatives.

Piccadilly Serves Lone Negro Pastor

By CARL HARRIS

The Piccadilly Cafeteria, which promised Negro groups last week that it would end its segregation policy when the civil rights bill was signed, Thursday night served a lone Negro minister who came to test the pledge.

The Rev. John Bethel, a member of the Congress of Racial Equality and associate pastor of the Boll Street C.M.E. Church here, arrived at the cafeteria about 2½ hours after President Johnson had signed the historic bill at 5 p.m. (Dallas time).

He was served without event.

The downtown cafeteria had been the subject of demonstrations for 28 days last month as Negroes sought vainly to be served. An agreement signed by Negro leaders and the cafeteria management last Saturday ended the demonstrations. The cafeteria promised it would integrate as soon as the civil rights bill was signed. The Negroes promised to halt their demonstrations.

The Rev. Mr. Bethel strode into the cafeteria at 7:40 p.m. He completed the meal alone shortly before 8 p.m.

Said the Negro minister afterward: "Everyone was polite and the food was good."

He said he would continue to eat there "when in the mood."

James Ramig, vice-president and manager of Piccadilly Cafeterias of Waco, Inc., told The News, "It's law now. There's no need to fight it."

He denied reports that he had received instructions from Piccadilly headquarters in Baton Rouge, La., to delay service to Negroes until Friday.

"Our agreement was to serve them when the bill was signed. And we did," Ramig said.

When Mr. Bethel entered the cafeteria, a white waitress walked to the manager's desk in the rear and informed him. Ramig quietly replied, "Thank you."

The Rev. Earl E. Allen, a leader of the demonstrations, said Thursday night that no "organized efforts are planned this week" to further test the bill.

He said that "eating establishments and bowling alleys will be tested first."

June 15.

Negroes Mull Suit

Civil rights leaders Tuesday night opened discussions on plans to file a suit seeking across-the-board integration of Dallas public schools.

The action came at a meeting of the Dallas Coordinating Committee for Civil Rights at Highland Hills Methodist Church.

The Rev. Earl Allen, chairman of the committee and pastor of the host church, said lawyers will explore the possibility of a suit "but it is still in the discussion stage. We are certain that some legal step will be taken."

He said the major grievance is the announced "re-segregating" of two Dallas schools next fall. "We don't think the School Board is in any position to redesignate these schools that were once integrated. We think this is certainly contrary to the (federal) court order (approving stair-step integration of schools)," the Rev. Mr. Allen said.

Dallas desegregated its schools three years ago with no trouble on a court-approved grade-a-year plan. The fourth grade will be integrated next fall.

Civil rights spokesmen said they would try to amend the original court order, alleging noncompliance with the spirit of the law.

Mr. Allen said no more demonstrations are planned until after the Civil Rights Bill is passed. And he said after that, demonstrations will come only after failure to negotiate with operators of public accommodations facilities.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Passage of Civil Rights Bill W

By RICHARD M. MOREHEAD
Austin Bureau of The News

AUSTIN, Texas—State officials will face some prompt problems when the U.S. civil rights bill becomes law.

Foremost will be the question of whether the Texas Legislature shall pass "public accommodations" and "fair employment" laws aimed at preventing discrimination, or will leave these fields entirely to federal policing.

After a brief study of the bill as it passed the U.S. Senate, Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr of Texas observed:

"Issues which this bill presents for consideration of the next Legislature could be the most emotion-packed questions of all. This, on top of Congressional and legislative redistricting, guarantees that the Legislature's next session will be controversial."

The U.S. House of Representatives is expected to accept Senate amendments to the civil rights measure, and President Johnson to sign it into law by the Fourth of July.

WHILE THE FULL effect will not be felt until 1965 or later, perhaps after lengthy litigation, the new federal legislation doubtless will inspire some prompt tests of its provisions.

"The South is soundly beaten, but it will never surrender on this matter of Negro," wrote Arthur DeWitty of Austin in this week's Houston Informer, the state's leading journal for Negroes. "We must now turn and dog its footsteps wherever it goes, keep it on the mind of the Southerner, never let him forget it day or night . . . the minute the President affixes his signature to the bill, then the task of implementation is of great importance . .

"The fence-straddling Negroes, the moderate Negroes, these half-frightened-to-death Negroes should now come out from under the bush and stand up like men. Surely, they ought to know that they need no longer to be afraid of the Big White Wolf; it is time for all of them to come out and stand up for equality and progress . . ."

PARADOXICALLY, state legislators who have been most opposed to racial integration may soon become the chief advocates of state laws governing public accommodations and employment.

Otherwise, the regulation will be left entirely in federal hands, except for such enforcement as may come from city ordinances. The Senate-passed bill would give broad authority to the U.S. attorney general to go into federal courts and seek redress wherever there is a complaint of discrimination.

The accommodations section prohibits discrimination based on race, color, religion or national origin. The employment section prohibits discrimination also on a basis of sex.

Gov. John Connally repeatedly has urged that the states protect their rights by exercising them. Last Thursday, he told the national convention of the Junior Chamber of Commerce in Dallas:

"IT IS NOT enough to condemn federal interference, to demand an end to certain federal programs while remaining blind to the fact that our own failures are the cause of much of the trouble."

While this did not specifically refer to civil rights legislation, it responded to remarks by Alabama Gov. George Wallace that the federal government has become "a judicial oligarchy."

Texas has come much farther in racial desegregation than most formerly segregated states. It has segregation laws still on the books, and vestiges in the state Constitution, but nowhere is an effort made at enforcement in the face of adverse court decisions. Public schools are being desegregated steadily, although sometimes more slowly than Negro leaders desire.

LIKEWISE, there has been gradual improvement in the employment of Negroes in better jobs, both private and public, as members of the race upgrade their qualifications. Partly because of pressure from Washington, the demand for well-educated Negroes to fill professional and skilled jobs has out-run the supply in many instances.

There also has been considerable desegregation of "public accommodations," mostly by voluntary local efforts. Some Texas eating places still refuse to serve Negroes, as do some hotels and motels. An increasing number is open to all races, however.

The new bill applies generally to accommodations which serve the traveling public, although federal courts have extended the "commerce" doctrine to cover many businesses that do not deal directly with interstate travelers.

AS INTERPRETED here, the new bill would permit a Negro to get a court order to get his hair cut in a hotel barber shop, if necessary, but not in a shop down the street which ostensibly seeks only local trade. The hotel would be deemed in interstate commerce, since it deals with the traveling public.

Actually, the legal doctrine of requiring an "innkeeper" to serve all comers is ancient, based on the theory that every traveler deserves a place to lay his weary head, if the inn holds itself out as open to the public.

The bill also covers establishments where a substantial portion of the goods it sells or the entertainment it provides moves in interstate commerce.

But application of the accommodations section will run into some sticky situations. There will be marginal cases to determine what business is "interstate."

ALSO, THE U.S. Supreme Court's latest decisions regarding trespass cases leave unanswered the big question of what right a private property owner has to choose his customers.

The court has ruled on laws and ordinances which require racial separation. But it hasn't gone so far as to take away completely an individual's right—if such "right" exists—to exclude a customer just because he doesn't like his race, religion or looks.

By one interpretation, the Supreme Court might deal more harshly with the South than the North in applying the new bill. Its decisions say that "custom" as well as law may be considered in establishing whether a pattern of discrimination exists. By this, a Negro might claim discrimination in a Mississippi store is by "custom" while no such ground would exist for seeking redress against a Brooklyn merchant who chose to exclude similar customers.

ATTORNEYS HERE who have studied the civil rights bill and court decisions predict that the federal government will step in to prevent any subterfuge efforts to perpetuate racial segregation.

Will Raise Problems in Texas

This would include setting up state "civil rights" commissions which fail to make good-faith efforts to abolish discrimination.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission's authority would be extended broadly into investigating alleged discrimination and attempting to mediate disputes. The bill also provides for setting up "community relations services" to help iron out racial difficulties.

But the main force behind the whole program is the U.S. government's affirmative declaration that where state and local authorities fail to abolish discrimination—in accommodations, employment, schools, voting—the federal government will use its power to do so. The U.S. attorney general will have broad powers to act. State and local communities will have the first chance to satisfy complaints of discrimination.

THEREIN LIES the certainty that the Texas Legislature will be asked to enact accommodations and fair employment laws when it convenes next January.

If there is any complaint of discrimination in voting in Texas, it is unknown here. Likewise, schools have desegregated about as rapidly as the demand arose. The "equal employment opportunity" provisions would not be enforceable until after one year has elapsed, and the application to smaller employers and smaller labor unions is delayed for five years.

Generally, it would outlaw all discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

An aggrieved person could apply to court for relief. A federal judge could decide such complaints without a jury. If he issued an order for compliance, and the employer, storekeeper, or school official fails to follow same, then a criminal contempt case might be filed. The defendant could get a jury trial on the criminal complaint.

CONVICTION WOULD carry sentences up to six months in prison and a fine of $1,000.

The federal act has some exemptions from its antidiscrimination terms, several apparently designed to make enforcement more palatable in the North. It delays the application of "fair employment" to labor unions and small employers, asserts that no quota system of racial employment is required, exempts fraternal organizations and social groups, such as private clubs, and makes clear that the law does not authorize any U.S. official or courts to attempt correction of "racial imbalance" in schools by ordering pupils transported from one neighborhood to another.

Few Dallas Changes Seen After Rights Bill OK'd

6/24/64
DALLAS NEWS

An opinion sampling of Dallas community leaders indicated this weekend that formal passage of a civil rights law will not change Dallas' way of life to much extent.

Civic and government leaders pointed to integration facets already accomplished, to a minimum of racial incidents marred only recently by the city's first "integration" arrest at a downtown cafeteria.

"What effect will passage have upon Dallas?" asked Mayor Erik Jonsson. "I think there would be a common answer from almost anyone in an official capacity, either in Dallas or in Texas.

"IF THE LAW of the land changes, it is our duty to understand it and comply with it. That is what I expect us to do. If there are any changes to be made, we shall have to make them."

For several years an interracial committee of community leaders has met quietly and without fanfare. The city unobtrusively has integrated parks, pools, hotels, food services, theaters, etc., with few exceptions.

"I think the civil rights law passage will go practically unnoticed here, we are so completely integrated now," said Councilman George M. Underwood Jr.

NO CHANGE in city law or City Council conduct is contemplated or has been discussed, Underwood said. "I doubt there will be any awareness of any difference in our lives," he predicted. "Changes are being made smoothly right now."

Said Dr. Luther Holcomb, executive director of the Greater Dallas Council of Churches:

"We are in a period of rapid social change. The passing of the civil rights bill accelerates this transformation; that which has been moral now becomes legal.

"Respect for the law is the only thing that prevents us from becoming an anarchy. We must strive to be responsible citizens, living in a land of law."

ON THE ENFORCEMENT side of the matter, Jim Bowie, first assistant district attorney, said state charges would be filed only if violence erupted. The enforcement of the civil rights law would be a federal government responsibility, he said.

Two civil rights cases involving the downtown cafeteria picketing would be in federal courts now if the law had been passed, Bowie noted. Two state courts are now involved — the new law may mean less work for state courts.

U.S. Atty. Barefoot Sanders anticipated that "detailed instructions" covering enforcement of the law will be forthcoming at the U.S. attorneys' conference July 6 in Washington.

SUITS MAY BE filed with his office, or complainants may appear in person. On local enforcement, he said, "I imagine we will devise methods as we go along."

But the consensus of community leaders is that the transition will produce a minimum of friction here.

"I believe the only thing we can do is go by the letter of the law," said Councilman R. B. Carpenter Jr. "Some more places will have to integrate. But most have already done so. What's left?"

Another Oak Cliff councilman, W. H. (Bill) Roberts, believed that the federal law and the city ordinances "can be melded together to satisfy all of our citizens."

He said, "We have a senior counselor (H. P. Kucera) with many years as municipal attorney. He will guide us in that respect. I just hope we don't have outside influences . . ."

FOR SEVERAL YEARS now, a job opportunity program has spurred the placing of Negroes into better jobs. On a voluntary basis, many Dallas employers have made an active effort to uplift Negro employment standards.

Robert Cullum, Dallas Chamber of Commerce president, was asked for a businessman's viewpoint.

"There is no logical reason why the new legislation should affect the Dallas way of business life," said Cullum.

"For more than five years, our people of both races have cooperated in a well-conceived program not always easily achieved, but always persistently pursued.

"THERE HAVE, of course, been setbacks for both sides from time to time, but progress has been steady. With a handful of exceptions, our business institutions, large and small, have acted positively and with notable statesmanship under local individual sacrifices, with the longer view of what was reasonable and right for the community as a whole."

Cullum praised Negro leaders in Dallas.

"We must give high credit to the good citizenship of our Negro community. They have responded in a fully responsible way to remarkably cohesive and unselfish leadership."

The businessman said Dallas "has a promising situation—we are ahead of the law writers, will attend to life within the full spirit of what the law wants to do."

CULLUM CONCLUDED: "The letter of the law shouldn't make any practical difference if we keep this perspective. If the form and the language gail us, look to the actual difference it makes to our daily lives. The minute number of misguided misfits who parade around here for personal publicity and self aggrandizement might well consider the stakes."

DALLAS 7/8/64

RIGHTS ACT

Compliance Predicted In Dallas

Mayor Erik Jonsson prediced Thursday that Dallas "will abide by both the letter and the spirit" of the new civil rights law.

"We have worked together well as races without a law," he emphasized, "and I certainly see no reason for any change of this attitude."

Jonsson noted that "successful efforts toward understanding and cooperation among the races have been made in the past by a hard working committee."

He was referring to a biracial committee which worked out a plan of gradual integration of hotels, theaters, parks and other phases of community life.

"It has been the history of Dallas that its people follow the rule of law, and I am sure that this will continue to be true under the new civil rights law," Jonsson concluded.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WFTV 9

EDITORIAL

The following WFTV editorial telecast adjacent to our news program is furnished for your information. Permission is granted to reprint with credit.

Broadcast: July 3, 1964
1:30, 6:00 and 11:00 P.M.

This is a WFTV News Editorial in the public interest -- entitled:

A DAY OF REDEDICATION

Tomorrow, the 188th Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, should be a great day of rededication. It is a day when we may appropriately recall with patriotic understanding and appreciation the great principles of our land of liberty.

It is another inspired hour in history like the one 188 years ago, when the God-given talent and instinct of the American people expressed their determination to insure freedom and liberty for all. Thus, on this Fourth of July, as President Johnson stated yesterday, "we eliminate the last vestige of injustice in America."

Just as Americans faced a testing of their good sense and courage almost two centuries ago, President Johnson reminds us that "We have now come to a kind of testing. We must not fail."

In 1776 our forefathers were ready to sacrifice their lives and property for this great principle: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Now comes our Congress and overwhelmingly passes the Civil Rights Bill into law. We are not asked to sacrifice lives and property now but to protect them and to reinstate freedom for all. President Johnson asks only: "Let us close the springs of racial poison. Let us pray for wise and understanding hearts. Let us lay aside irrelevant differences and make our nation whole. Let us hasten that day when our unbounded spirit will be free to do the great works ordained for this nation by the just and wise God who is the father of all."

President Johnson has predicted success of voluntary compliance, "because most Americans are law-abiding citizens who want to do what is right." After signing the bill into law he called for national unity and support. "I urge every public official, every religious leader, every business and professional man, every housewife -- I urge every American -- to join in this effort to bring justice and hope to all our people and peace to our land."

Here is an ideal, a noble mission for every American, for each citizen in each state, for each of us in Central Florida on this Fourth of July, 1964.

Truly, this is an occasion we may call a Day of Rededication to those living principles, recalled again by our Civil Rights Law, which inspired the Declaration of Independence 188 years ago.

# # # # # #

July 7, 1964

Mrs. Susan P. Waters
6802 LaRoche Avenue
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Waters:

Thank you for your memo re: organizational contacts in Savannah on the compliance project.

By way of explanation, we sent the copy of the June 27 memo to the Georgia coordinators for information purposes. There were no Georgia cities on the original list from which the women's organizations worked, and that is why no contact list was furnished to you.

For the National Council of Catholic Women, I suggest you ask Msgr. Toomey when you see him this week to advise you which Catholic women to contact. He will probably suggest Mrs. Dembowski, the Council president, or someone designated by her.

As for the other organizations, I am forwarding a copy of your memo and a copy of this letter to each of them in the hope that they will be able to furnish you with the name of a contact in Savannah.

We are pleased to know there is a group working for compliance in Savannah. It is important that you work with them so that their plans and yours will dovetail and be mutually helpful.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Peggy Roach
Social Action Secretary

FROM: Susan P. Waters, Savannah, Ga. 6802 LaRoche Ave.

TO: NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN

RE: Information Copy, dated June 27th, received July-1,1964

Thank you for the information. Regarding article one, I'm afraid you forgot to encolse the list of contacts in our community. There were no other enclosures either.

Will you please send them at your earliest convenience.

Mrs. Mary Robertson, who was in Atlanta with me, and I have discussed selecting and organizing a group. We came up against an almost impossible situation. Mrs. Pauley had told us of Father Toomey. We contacted him. He is tremendously busy this week with meetings dealing with the Civil Rights situation.

He will not be able to meet with us this week, but we are expecting to have an opportunity to talk with him the first of next week.

There is a group working towards compliance and they seem to be doing a fine job. We do not want to get in the way of these workers.

After our talk with Father Toomey and the receipt of the list of names from you, we will proceed with as much dispatch as possible.

Too bad this is the summer. People are hard to get hold of and I will be out of pocket from July 16th, but we hope out program will be on the road by this time.

COPY; Mrs. Frances Pauley.

JUL 6 - 1964

July 7, 1964
cc: Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Harry Fleischman
Charles Wittenstein
Seymour Samet
Murray Ortof

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Art:

Thanks for your letter of June 23 and the various enclosures which were examined carefully and utilized pursuant to the process for the community compliance program in Dallas. I found the session in Washington on June 18 most interesting and helpful. Periodic meetings of this character when professionals can exchange across-the-board ideas, comments and suggestions of mutual concern, serve a constructive purpose, help to broaden personal horizons and deepen insights on immediate needs and long-range objectives and also act as a catharsis against disappointments and frustrations which we all experience in this type of endeavor.

I am pleased to report that we are making some progress in Dallas and anticipate little difficulty in community acceptance and implementation of the Civil Rights Bill. The following resume will indicate these developments:

1. Demonstrations

Dallas has been relatively free from demonstrations in the desegregation process. Only last week was the first episode experienced in Dallas when a small group of Negroes and whites staged a demonstration at the Piccadilly Cafeteria--the establishment which I indicated in my survey to the Southern Regional Council as the most likely spot to resist orderly desegregation of its facilities. Practically 85 to 90% of the eating establishments had desegregated and we experienced no difficulty in compliance.

The Piccadilly manager took the position that he would not desegregate until the Civil Rights Bill was passed. The committee of 14 tried to reason with the demonstrators who were conducting the demonstration under the joint sponsorship of the Dallas Coordinating Committee for Civil Rights, led by Reverend Earl Allen, a Negro Methodist minister, and members of CORE under the direction of Reynolds, Southern Director of CORE stationed in New Orleans. The Coordinating Committee consists of around 30 to 50 persons and includes no influential citizens. The demonstrations were halted on June 27 when the manager repeated the statement that he would desegregate after the Civil Rights Bill. The committee of 14 met with the leaders of the demonstrators on June 13 and had exacted the same promise from the manager but the demonstrators would not accept this agreement at that time. There were about 20 persons involved in the demonstration. Attached is a newspaper clipping of the announcement of the termination of the demonstrations. It is interesting also to note that the manager kept his word and served a Negro, as per the attached newspaper account, a few hours after the Civil Rights Bill became law.

An anti-semite and a member of the Rockwell group, though in no way connected with the demonstrating group, distributed anti-semitic literature. The Jaycee's had a national convention in Dallas during the period of the demonstration and many of the delegates from Mississippi and Alabama joined in the counter-demonstrating group which paraded opposite the small group of demonstrators. Anti-semitic literature was also distributed at the Jaycee's convention which included a pamphlet issued by the Mississippi Junior Chamber of Commerce entitled Oxford--A Warning For Americans. This was a pamphlet prepared by the Mississippi Jaycee's to present "the facts surrounding the invasion of the state of Mississippi" by federal forces. This pamphlet was also distributed at the Jaycee convention.

2. The School Situation

Several attempts were made to accelerate the desegregation process in the public school system, but each effort met with little success. The school board insisted on following the court decision which supported the stair-step plan. Now that the Civil Rights Bill has been passed, I am sure that changes will be effected in the school board desegregation program.

3. Leadership Support

The newspapers and television have cooperated in presenting statements by prominent citizens urging community acceptance of the Civil Rights Bill without incident. Attached is a newspaper article which appeared in the Dallas News on Sunday, June 28 to this effect. Mayor Erik Jonsson went on television an hour after the signing of the bill by the president and stated that we should follow the law not only by the letter but also in the spirit of its intent. In addition to contacting the community leadership regarding the importance of emphasizing community compliance, I also spoke to a member of the police department and we discussed in general the

restrictions placed upon the police in the new Civil Rights Bill. The officials are aware of these restrictions and I suggested that the Chamber of Commerce notify the businessmen of these limitations.

4. Women's Groups

Following the Atlanta meeting, I met with Mrs. Sulkin and a group of seven women representing those national organizations at the Atlanta meeting on June 25 in my office and we formulated plans to mobilize the women in developing an educational and functional program on community acceptance of and compliance with the provisions of the Civil Rights Bill. We shall meet again on August 10 to pursue our discussion further with the hope of eventually developing plans for the formation of a Federation of Intergroup Relations Agencies (FAIR) which will attract a broad base of community representatives in furthering the program of human and civil rights in the community. Our target undoubtedly will be a change in the school desegregation program.

In summary I believe I can report with confidence that forces have been put into motion in Dallas which will assure a peaceful acceptance though not an altogether smooth one, in implementing the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. Give my regards to the staff.

Cordially,

Gustave F. Falk

GFF:sp

News and Courier Charleston, S. C. 7/27/64

Writer Reportedly Tipped Russell Of Speech Subject

By A Special Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Who told Gov. Donald Russell last December that former Florida Gov. Leroy F. Collins was going to make a Columbia speech with which Russell, who was going to introduce Collins, might disagree?

Walter Brown, prominent Spartanburg broadcasting company official and former Washington correspondent, says, according to Sen. Strom Thurmond, that an Associated Press reporter tipped Russell off to the content of the Collins speech.

Collins, on the other hand, asserted yesterday at a Senate hearing on his nomination to a key civil rights conciliation post that he personally delivered to Russell "at the executive mansion" an advance copy of the speech "because I felt that there were views in it with which he might not agree."

There is no dispute that there were in the Collins' speech views with which Russell did not agree. In introducing Collins, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, at the Columbia Chamber of Commerce's annual dinner, Russell asserted without equivocation that Collins would say some things with which "I will not agree and with which many of you will not agree."

Collins did. It was in that speech on December 3, that the former Florida governor, in the minds of most of those who heard him, sought to pin on southern attitudes the blame for President Kennedy's assassination 11 days earlier and in which, without dispute, he openly attacked elected southern officials as "Claghorns" whose political appeal was calculated to incite "sick minds to violence."

Collins angrily denied the interpretation by Thurmond and a dozen editors that he had sought to blame on the South the Kennedy assassination. He said this interpretation was based on a false Associated Press account of his speech, which AP later admitted voluntarily was erroneous.

7/28/64

Russell Turns Down Bid For Briefings By Collins

By ELAINE SELLERS

Gov. Donald S. Russell has turned town a bid for briefings on the newly-created Community Relations Service of the new civil rights law.

Former Florida Gov. Leroy Collins, whose speech in Columbia last December brought protests from over the state, has been appointed to head the service — subject to Senate confirmation.

Mr. Collins and two other former Southern governors plan a tour of Southern states for private talks with governors on the rights law.

Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges, former governor of North Carolina, and former Tenn. Gov. Buford Ellington make up the other two members of the three-man team. Gov. Ellington is a member of the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations, an advisory group authorized by the new law to work with the Community Relations Service.

Gov. Russell said yesterday he had no present plans to see anyone in connection with the civil rights matter. However, he did indicate he might talk with Secretary of Commerce Hodges, but on what subject is not known.

It was Gov. Russell who introduced former Gov. Leroy Collins at a Greater Columbia Chamber of Commerce banquet last December. In his banquet speech, Mr. Collins said "Dixie battle cries which incite sick souls to violence" fostered President Kennedy's assassination.

He said "it is time the decent people of the South . . .told the bloody-shirt wavers

(See RELATIONS, Page 9-A)

to climb down off the buckboard of bigotry."

Sec. Hodges and Gov. Collins disclosed that Gov. Russell and Ala. Gov. George Wallace had turned down bids for briefing meetings on the law.

Rumors were that Gov. Collins had made plans to talk with three other prominent South Carolinians. However, Clemson University president, Dr. Robert C. Edwards; State Supt. of Education Jesse C. Anderson and Hartsville businessman A. L. M. Wiggins, former undersecretary of the U.S. Treasury, all said they had not been contacted by either Sec. Hodges or Gov. Collins.

The three - man civil rights team has scheduled talks today with Va. Gov. Albertis S. Harrison Jr. in Richmond and later this evening with N. C. Gov. Terry Sanford in Raleigh.

One of President Johnson's first acts on signing the civil rights bill last week was to appoint Mr. Collins director of the Community Relations Service which is being organized in the Commerce Department.

The Community Relations Service was created in the new law to assist communities and individuals in resolving disputes over discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin.

Senate amendments authorize the service to cooperate with public or private agencies, and employes of the service are required to conduct its activities in confidence.

Mr. Collins' appointment to the service has not been confirmed by the Senate yet. Hearings are scheduled this morning by the Senate Commerce Committee to consider Gov. Collins' appointment.

The hearing may slow up Mr. Collins in getting started on his Southern tour. Sen. Strom Thurmond, a member of the commerce committee, is expected to question Gov. Collins about his Columbia speech during the hearings.

Mr. Collins until recently was president of the National Association of Broadcasters.

News and Courier Charleston, S. C. 7/7/64

Negroes Crowd City Playgrounds

Negro youngsters, taking full advantage of the new Civil Rights Law, crowded Charleston city playgrounds formerly reserved for whites yesterday, while Negro playgrounds with identical equipment stood nearly deserted.

Meanwhile, Mayor J. Palmer Gaillard conferred with four Negro leaders for 45 minutes at City Hall yesterday.

Russel Brown, Negro attorney and president of the Charleston chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), said the four delegates had asked the mayor to make a public appeal to merchants seeking their compliance with the civil rights law.

PRIVATE AFFAIR

After the meeting, a private affair in the mayor's office, the Negro group emerged and pronounced the session had been "amicable."

The Negro leader commented: "He (the mayor) said he would inform the public to act in calmness and to comply with the law — not necessarily limited to the civil rights law, but any law."

Mayor Gaillard, asked separately about the closed door session with the Negroes, replied: "They asked me to issue a a statement in regard to the new civil rights law. I told them I felt that that law, as well as all other laws, are expected to be carried out by the people."

DISCUSS HIRING

The NAACP official noted that his group had discussed the city's policy of hiring Negro employes and had sought to gain agreement that the city would employ Negroes in "other than traditional positions."

Further, he quoted Mayor Gaillard as saying that he had no vacancies at the moment in the type positions referred to But Mr. Brown said the mayor had indicated that Negroes would be considered for city positions, particularly the police force, when vacancies opened up.

guests quietly about a year ago, continued its policy.

Downtown motion picture theaters all reported they were admitting Negroes to their ground floor auditoriums, instead of limiting Negro patrons to balconies as had been done previously.

Manager Judson M. McElroy of the Riviera Theater, 227 King St., reported Negro attendance at the theater had increased since enactment of the civil rights law.

Negro youngsters continued to crowd city-owned Hampton Park playground, near The Citadel campus, as they have since Saturday. The youngsters moved in to play on swings, slides, see-saws, and play on two baseball diamonds — formerly used by whites. Jack M. Adams, city athletic director, said that while the Negro youths were attracted to Hampton Park and Moultrie Park playgrounds, "very few" appeared on the six Negro playgrounds in the city.

THEIR OWN DESERTED

The Negro playgrounds, said Mr. Adams, "are sort of deserted." Equipment at one Negro playground, at Shepard Street and Rutledge Avenue, was described by Mr. Adams as being identical to that at Hampton Park playground.

No playground incidents were reported yesterday.

Some 75 persons attended an NAACP mass meeting yesterday morning at Emmanuel AME Church. A mass voter registration drive was announced.

However, county registration officials said that only 32 Negro voters signed up yesterday — first day of the regular three - day registration period for the month of July.

The county registrars signed up 118 new white voters. Registration continues today and Wednesday from 9 a. m. to 5 p. m. at the County Center on Marion Square.

Mayor Gaillard later confirmed this portion of the conversation had taken place and said that when vacancies did occur, Negro applicants would be considered as well as others.

Accompanying the local NAACP head to the meeting with Mayor Gaillard were J. Arthur Brown of Charleston, state president of the NAACP, Mrs. R. L. Fields, state president of the Federated Women of South Carolina; and Mrs. E. W. Frazier, a member of the local chapter of the NAACP.

Integration of Charleston hotels and restaurants continued yesterday. The Civil Rights bill was signed into law last Thursday by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

HOTEL GUESTS

The 40-year-old Fort Sumter Hotel on Charleston's Battery, a summertime stopover for tourist groups, registered the first Negro guests in its history yesterday without incident.

Three Negro men and a Negro woman, passengers on a military flight stopping over here en route to Germany, signed up for rooms at the Fort Sumter Hotel. They also made use of the hotel's dining facilities. The hotel is locally owned by an independent stock company.

The Francis Marion Hotel, which began admitting Negro

News and Courier Charleston, S. C. 1/2/64

Collins' Columbia Speech In December Caused Stir

By A Staff Reporter

Former Florida Gov. Leroy Collins, recently named head of the Community Relations Service, raised quite a stir when he spoke in South Carolina last December.

Collins, introduced by Gov. Donald S. Russell who said yesterday he had no plans to meet Collins in connection with the Civil Rights Law, told some 500 persons attending a Greater Columbia Chamber of Commerce banquet that the assassination of President Kennedy was fostered by "Dixie battle cries which incite sick souls to violence."

He said a climate of violence has been created by "the rabble-rousers' call to 'stand up and fight' " for segregation and states' rights.

Referring to unnamed Southern politicians, Former Gov. Collins asked: "How long are the majority of Southerners going to allow themselves to be caricatured before the nation by these Claghorns? How many Sunday School children have to be dynamited to death? How many Negro leaders have to be shot in the chest? How many Presidents have to be assassinated?"

He said the assassination of President Kennedy and the other "evil happenings" he had cited are "the products of environments where hatred has been preached and lawlessness extolled. . ."

Such actions are repugnant to most Southerners, Collins said, "and it is time the decent people of the South . . . told the bloody-shirt wavers to climb down off the buckboards of bigotry."

Related Story
. . . Page 1-A

Both the public and public office holders reacted to the speech by Mr. Collins. He was speaking as president of the National Association of Broadcasters and several South Carolina radio stations protested the former Florida governor's speech through editorials. Three or four stations withdrew membership from NAB in protest.

A Beaufort grandmother threatened to sue Mr. Collins in behalf of all Claghorns.

Gov. Russell received letters of protest. Gov. Russell explained to one protester: "I indicated clearly my disagreement with Gov. Collins' views in my introduction."

In introducing Mr. Collins, Gov. Russell said: "I do not know whether or not we will agree with his ideas and all of what he has to say, but nevertheless we respect him for his dedication to his ideals and convictions.

Former S. C. Gov. James F. Byrnes rapped the former Florida governor's blast at the South as did U. S. Sen. Strom Thurmond.

Currently, Mr. Collins, as head of the Community Relations Service, is scheduling meetings with Southern governors to discuss the new civil rights law and how it will affect their states and communities. He is expected to begin conferences today.

News and Courier Charleston, S. C. 7/7/64

Racial Clash Threatened At Myrtle Beach

MYRTLE BEACH (UPI) — Police broke up a threatening racial clash at this coastal resort Monday while Negroes continued entering restaurants and motels without opposition.

Asst. Police Chief Hoyt Bellamy said about 10 Negro teenagers swam without incident near the Myrtle Beach pavilion Monday before noon.

The Negroes returned later in the day and apparently tension developed between the Negroes and a group of white teenagers, the chief said.

As both groups neared the boardwalk between the city and the ocean, a policeman began ordering them to disperse.

Other policemen arrived and both groups disbanded without violence, Bellamy said. No arrests were made.

Negroes have been admitted to the Myrtle Beach pavilion and other public and private establishments along the Grand Strand without incident since signing of the civil rights bill Thursday.

In an unrelated incident, rumored as a clash between Negroes and whites Monday, the Negro cook of an Ocean Blvd. restaurant was arrested. Bellamy said the cook was charged with assault and battery with intent to kill for allegedly attacking a white customer.

Bellamy could give no reason for the alleged attack. He said it apparently had no racial overtones and was unrelated to the boardwalk protest.

7/7/64

Negroes Eat At Cafeteria Downtown

Two young Negro women yesterday had lunch at Robertson's Cafeteria on Wentworth Street in downtown Charleston, an official of the firm said last night.

It was the first time Negroes had been served in the previously all-white establishment.

Meanwhile, Negro use of the beach at Sullivan's Island has continued. Between six and ten Negroes reportedly swam there Thursday.

About five used the beach Tuesday for the first time; a group of ten appeared the next day. Police Chief Joe James of Sullivan's Island said yesterday there have been no incidents.

Cases against two youths involved in a racial incident at a Spring Street drive-in Thursday night were continued for 60 days in Municipal Court yesterday.

Arrested on charges of disorderly conduct stemming from a near-fight were Robert Welch, 23, of Lighthouse Point, James Island, and Carl Cockran, a 16-year-old Spring Street Negro.

Municipal Judge Elliott T. Halio warned the two young men to avoid areas where racial tensions may lead to disorder.

7/7/64

Negroes Eat At Restaurant On Folly Beach

Five young Negroes, described by Folly Beach Police Chief Julian Bunch as "in their late teens and early 20s," entered a restaurant at Folly Beach last night and were served food.

"They came onto Folly Beach Plaza property between 8 and 8:30," said Chief Bunch. "They went into an eating establishment to be served. They were served.

7/6/64

News and Courier Charleston, S. C. 7/7/64

Civil Rights Law Is Tested Throughout Southern States

By United Press International

Events reported from Southern states where Negroes have tested the new civil rights law.

ALABAMA: Virtually all restaurants and lunch counters in Montgomery desegregated along with two theaters. Twenty-three motels and hotels in Mobile announced they will accept Negro guests. Many restaurants in Birmingham and Mobile served Negroes.

ARKANSAS: Eight Negroes were served at a Pine Bluff cafe but were roughed up by gang of whites outside. Most downtown restaurants in Little Rock were already integrated.

FLORIDA: Successful Negro tests of restaurants, and a few theaters, in Tampa, Orlando, St. Augustine, Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, Miami, West Palm Beach, Lakeland, Plant City and Tallahassee.

GEORGIA: Restaurants in Albany, Savannah, Thomasville and Warner Robins accepted Negroes for the first time. Swimming pools in Decatur and Savannah desegregated but East Point closed two municipal pools following a brief flareup. Negroes were turned away from restaurants in Perry and a theater in Winder. Whites hurled bricks at Negroes when they emerged from an Americus theater.

LOUISIANA: Successful tests in New Orleans hotels and restaurants, a Baton Rouge hotel lounge and a Lafayette bowling alley and lunch counters. A fight in which two persons were wounded broke out when a pistol was found concealed on one of several Negroes about to enter a nightclub near Lafayette.

MISSISSIPPI: A group of visiting Negro civil rights leaders was registered at three downtown Jackson hotels. The 250-room Robert E. Lee Hotel closed its doors. Two Negroes were admitted to a small-white theater in Greenwood but were chased out minutes later by three white men. Fifty whites and 20 Negroes clashed when the Negroes sought to enter a Laurel hamburger shop.

NORTH CAROLINA: Several restaurants, a hotel and two drug stores in the Williamston-Edenton - Elizabeth City area, scene of racial disorders in the past served Negroes. One theater in Williamsten and a restaurant in Durham closed rather than comply.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Restaurants and hotels in Columbia, Charleston, Greenville, Florence and Allendale served small groups of Negroes. Charleston theaters desegregated.

TENNESSEE: Nashville and Memphis reported new instances of restaurant and theater integration and six Negroes were admitted to a white theater section in Athens. Police had to break up a crowd of whites which gathered outside the Athens theater.

TEXAS: A Dallas cafeteria, a library and theaters in Tyler, a motel and lunch counter in Longview, restaurants in Palestine, a drive-in in Beaumont and restaurants in Austin were among newly-integrated facilities in nine cities. Two Beaumont bowling alleys and two restaurants in Orange turned Negroes away.

News and Courier Charleston, S. C. 7/8/64

The Issue Of 1964

While the platform writers at San Francisco squabble over phrasing a plank on civil rights, race leaders and hoodlums in the streets are showing the public a sample of what to expect from the Negro Revolution. Though they would be the last to admit it, these people are working for Barry Goldwater.

White citizens of the South — white citizens, indeed, in Northern and Western cities—have displayed enormous patience under racial pressure in recent years. They have been subjected to endless talk about justice to the Negro and the white man's guilt for past mistreatment. As a result of this propaganda, lines of racial separation have relaxed in all regions with a minimum of resistance.

Now comes a law carrying the authority of the federal government itself to enforce rules never included among earlier constitutional concepts of Civil Rights. In the name of equality, basic rights of all citizens have been swept away.

But the law is not enough to satisfy the race leaders. Intoxicated with this victory, they are carrying out "tests". These tests are beginning to step on thousands of sensitive toes. In their eagerness to enjoy privileges that they believe they deserve, Negro demonstrators are provoking civil strife.

They have encouraged young people of both races to settle their differences in street fights. Even hamburger stands are no longer safe gathering places for youth. In Charleston, Negro children have deserted their own playgrounds to take over white playgrounds. If these are samples of civil rights in action — and we fear they are relatively mild samples — our country is in for a long, hard struggle.

Should the struggle get really rough, we have no doubt who will win. The Negro population is scarcely more than 10 per cent. If and when white patience runs out —and it is already subject to terrific strain — the newfound freedom will not last long.

Freedom cannot survive when it is abused. Some of the intelligent Negro spokesmen are cautioning extremists against insisting on tight enforcement of the civil rights law. But their voices are lost in the tumult.

Back to San Francisco: The lines of decision are beginning to form for the 1964 election. Whether the Republican platform admits or denies constitutionality of the Civil Rights Law is academic. This is the function for the Supreme Court, and we have no doubt how the court will rule.

The important thing at San Francisco is nomination of a candidate for President. Unless all signs fail, Barry Goldwater will be the nominee He voted against the Civil Rights Bill.

Lyndon B. Johnson is the man who shoved it down the throats of Congress and the country. He is preparing to push it down further and faster. If the people are being made sick, they still have a chance for relief. They can vote for somebody other than Lyndon Johnson.

If ballots are better than bullets, election day next November is the time for decision. This is the great issue of 1964. It is what gives Barry Goldwater better than a forlorn chance for election as President. This is why we say that race demonstrators, by pouring fuel on the smoldering anger of white citizens, are working for Goldwater.

July 8, 1964

The Honorable Luther Hodges
Secretary of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Thank you for your letter of June 30 regarding compliance with the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the establishment of the Community Relations Service and the national citizens advisory committee.

Please be assured of the interest and cooperation of the Nationall Council of Catholic Women.

We feel sure you will be pleased to know our women are currently working on compliance.

On June 25, the National Council of Catholic Women in conjunction with other national women's organizations, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, the American Association of University Women, the United Church Women, the Young Women's Christian Association as well as the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights, held a joint meeting of our women leaders from 25 Southern communities on the subject of compliance. We met in Atlanta under the sponsorship of the Southern Regional Council.

Each woman has accepted the task of coordinator of the compliance project in her own community. She is expected to convene a meeting of representatives of the other organizations in her community to discuss what she learned in Atlanta and to formulate a plan to encourage the voluntary compliance of her community's public accommodations facilities with the new law.

President Johnson sent a telegram to the women commending them for their efforts. The women heard Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta discuss his experiences in the desegregation of public accommodations. They also met with professional agency representatives from the Councils on Human Relations of Georgia, Virginia, Arkansas and South Carolina, as well as staff members of the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute, as the women reviewed the situations in their own communities.

Enclosed for your information is a copy of the memo sent to the coordinators on their return home. Also, we think you will find the enclosed letter from the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights of interest.

When I received your thoughtful letter of June 30, it occurred to me that you might wish to send a similar letter to our women coordinators. It would certainly spur them on to continue the good work they have begun and bring to their minds once more the urgency and importance of their mission.

The news of compliance has been extremely good, and we are trying to encourage the women to keep up their efforts so that a firm pattern of compliance will be established.

We hope you will find this suggestion of interest.

Most sincerely,

Margaret Mealey
Executive Director

COMPLIANCE EFFORT

City	Organization	Coordinator
ALABAMA		
Birmingham	NWCCR	Dr. Louise Branscomb 1225 Greensboro Road
Huntsville	UCW	Mrs. W. Raymond Berry 9614 Todd Mill Road
ARKANSAS		
Little Rock	NWCCR	Mrs. Patrick Murphy 423 Shamrock Drive
FLORIDA		
Clearwater	AAUW	*Mrs. A. J. Brumbaugh 330 Mehlenbacher Drive
Miami	NCCW	*Mrs. Julian Eberle 1019 Mariana Ave., Coral Gables
Pensacola	AAUW	Mrs. Bernard Jacobson 441 Woodbine Dr.
Tallahassee	AAUW	Miss Louise Blackwell Route 3, Box 218
Tampa	NCJW	Mrs. Nathan Marcus 917 Gulf View Ave.
LOUISIANA		
New Orleanss	NWCCR	Mrs. George Dreyfous 1223 Conery St.
NORTH CAROLINA		
Charlotte	UCW	Mrs. William E. Meares 206 Tranquil Ave.
Durham	YWCA	Mrs. Guy Alling 1622 Delaware Ave.
Greensboro	NCJW	Mrs. Harry Isaacson 100 Bachelor Dr.
Winston-Salem	YWCA	Kathleen Carpenter, Exec. Director 1201 Glade St.
SOUTH CAROLINA Charleston	NCCW	Mrs. Charles Gartland P.O. Box 1253, Myrtle Beach
TENNESSEE		
Knoxville	UCW	Mrs. John H. Dougherty 3560 Talahi Dr.
Memphis	YWCA	Mrs. Stanley Ish 1483 S. Parkway East
Nashville	NCJW	Mrs. Irving Hand 203 Ridgefield Ct.

VIRGINIA		
Charlottesville	NCCW	Mrs. Gerard Hannon 108 Northwest Lane, Key West
Danville	NCCW	Miss Margaret Edmunds 133 Westmoreland Court
Newport News	UCW	Mrs. Frank Fullman 316 Hurly Ave.
Richmond	YWCA	Miss Zula Pierce, Exec. Director 6 N. 5th St.
Roanoke	YWCA	Mrs. J. E. Stockman, Exec. Director 605 First St. S.W.
Petersburg		Mrs. Carolyn Worrall 1839 Brandon
GEORGIA		
Macon		Mrs. Frances Piper Bass Road - Hickory Road
Columbus		Mrs. Margaret Belcher 2861 Urban Avenue
Augusta		Miss Johnny Hilber 922 - SFC Building
Savannah		Mrs. Susan Waters 6802 LaRoche Ave.

*Unable to attend meeting in Atlanta

News and Courier Charleston, S.C. 7/8/64

McLeod May Hold Conferences On Civil Rights Law

COLUMBIA — State Atty. Gen. Daniel R. McLeod yesterday revealed that he was considering staging a series of meetings to acquaint officials and businessmen with provisions of the new civil rights act.

Although the idea is under study, no final decision has been reached, Mr. McLeod said. Neither had he made up his mind whether the briefings should be held here or at various locations around the state.

Meanwhile, scores of telephone calls from mayors, police chiefs and businessmen have poured into his office since President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the rights bill into law last week, Mr. McLeod said.

Most of the business inquiries centered around what is and is not covered by the act's public accommodations section, the attorney general said. Municipal and police officials were seeking guidance on their responsibilities under the new law.

"I advised the businessmen to consult their own attorneys and I told the others I wouldn't know what was in the act until I had seen it," the attorney general said. "I requested a copy last Friday but it hasn't arrived yet."

The attorney general said he had not discussed the proposed briefing sessions with any other state official.

No special measures have been taken to head off possible violence as Negroes begin testing their rights under the new law, Mr. McLeod said.

"I know of no major disturbances in this state since the bill became law," he commented.

The News and Courier Charleston, S. C. 7/9/64

Here's What Civil Rights Act Will And Will Not Do

By DAVID BARNETT

[illegible] the Civil Rights Act, signed July 2 by President Johnson, will do and what it will not do:

Voting rights:

The bill prohibits unequal application of voting registration requirements and the denial of the right to vote because of immaterial errors or omissions on records of application.

Literacy tests, where used, must be in writing although the attorney-general can make agreements with state and local authorities that the tests are fairly administered and need not be given in writing.

A sixth-grade education is made a presumption of literacy when there is no proof to the contrary.

Judicial procedures in cases involving voting discrimination are speeded up.

The act does not permit the federal government to interfere in a state's right to fix voter qualifications.

Public accommodations:

Establishes the right of all persons, without regard to race or color, to the full and equal use of a variety of places of business that serve the general public: restaurants, cafeterias, lunch rooms, soda fountains, gasoline stations, motion picture houses, theaters, concert halls, sports arenas or any hotel, motel, or lodging house except owner-occupied units with five or less rooms for rent.

The act also applies to other facilities located within or containing one of the accommodations specifically covered. Example: A department store containing a lunch counter would be covered. So would say facilities located in a hotel.

Not specifically covered: barber shops, general retail stores, bars, bowling alleys.

Specifically exempted: private clubs, except when they serve patrons of covered establishments such as hotels.

The act does NOT permit Uncle Sam to tell doctors, lawyers, bankers or other professional men whom they must serve.

These provisions are enforced by civil suits that could be brought by anyone denied his rights.

The attorney general also is authorized to bring a civil action when he "has reasonable cause to believe" that a person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the act.

In states having public accommodation laws, authorities must first seek compliance through the state law before bringing to bear the federal sanctions.

Desegregation of public facilities:

Upon written complaint of aggrieved individuals, the Justice Department, under the act, can sue to secure desegregation of such state or locally owned public facilities as public beaches, golf courses, parks and playgrounds.

Public education:

It provides financial and technical assistance to schools attempting to carry out desegregation plans, or to deal with problems resulting from desegregation.

The attorney-general is permitted to sue to compel desegregation when the students or the parents involved are unable to bring suit, and when he considers that the suit is important to the orderly progress of desegregation.

The act does not permit the federal government to order "busing" of students to provide racial balance in the schools.

It does NOT permit Uncle Sam to dictate what must be taught in the schools.

It does NOT permit the federal government to force religious schools to hire teachers they do not want.

It does NOT interfere with the job or seniority rights of school teachers.

Civil Rights Commission:

The act extends the life of the Civil Rights Commission, first established in 1957, for four years and gives it authority to serve as a national clearinghouse for information of denials of the equal protection of the laws and to investigate vote frauds.

The act specifically prohibits commission investigations of membership practices of fraternal organizations, college sororities and fraternities, private clubs and religious organizations.

Federally assisted programs:

The act prohibits racial discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal assistance, except insurance and loan guarantee programs.

Example: Requests for federal aid for a new hospital, school, airport or other public facility would be denied if the party making the request refused to observe non-discriminatory requirements.

Federal agencies must first seek voluntary compliance. They must give legislative committees 30 days notice of intent to cut-off the federal funds and any such cut-off is subject to review by the courts.

Equal employment opportunity:

This section goes into effect by stages in five years. It makes it unlawful for employers of more than 25 persons to discriminate in their hiring practices. It forbids discrimination by employment agencies in job referrals, and by labor unions in qualifications for membership or participation in training programs.

It creates a bi-partisan, five-man equal employment opportunity commission to administer the law, investigate charges of discrimination and attempt through conciliation to resolve disputes.

If commission conciliation fails, the individual may after 30 days bring suit to force compliance.

The act does NOT permit Uncle Sam to require an employer or union to hire or accept for membership a quota of employes from any particular minority group.

The act does not permit the federal government to destroy the job seniority rights of either union or nonunion employes.

Authorities must first try to get compliance through the state "route" in states that have fair employment statues. Voting statistics:

The act directs the Census Bureau to gather registration and voting statistics based on race, color and national origins in areas specified by the civil rights commission and to include nationwide statistics on the same basis for the 1970 census.

Judicial procedure:

The act makes possible appeals to higher federal courts of orders of federal district courts sending cases back to state courts.

It also authorizes the attorney-general to intervene in private suits where individuals have alleged denial of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment and where he certified that the case is on "general public importance."

Community relations service:

The act establishes a community relations service in the department of commerce to help communities resolve racial disputes. The service has no powers of compulsion or law enforcement functions.

The act does NOT permit Uncle Sam to tell any home or apartment owner or real estate operator to whom he must sell, rent, lease or otherwise use his real estate.

The act does NOT permit the federal government to tell a bank or other financial institution to whom it may or may not make a loan.

The act does NOT permit the federal government to deny or interfere with an individual's right to receive social security or veteran's benefits.

News and Courier Charleston, S. C. 7/31/64

Right To Protest

To The News and Courier:

Some lawyers already contemplate with the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill has begun quietly, and in most instances, without violence in scattered areas of our state and throughout the South.

This is as it should be 1) because the people of our state and of the South are inherently decent, law-abiding citizens and, 2) because violence or defiance of this law, obnoxious though it be, cited as a means of resistance or protest will in the end prove futile and not in the best interest of our region.

Having said this, let me hasten to add that this does not mean we should not vigorously protest. We owe it to ourselves and to posterity to begin now laying the groundwork that will force the early repeal of this vicious, unconstitutional legislation by using every dignified, honorable, lawful means at our command to protest and express our resentment of this government sanctioned and forced invasion of private property rights and individual liberties.

The public accommodations section of this law is by far the most obnoxious and hits first and most heavily the owners of restaurants, hotels, motels and moving picture theaters. These good people unfortunately by the nature of their businesses bear the responsibility of setting the pattern of resistance or the extent to which intruders and trespassers forced on them will be announced as not welcomed.

[illegible] of these establishments and other places of public accommodation [illegible] their attitude in this respect be known by prominently displaying signs in large, bold letters at the entrance or entrances to their places of business reading: No, gross Not, Welcome. Beneath this heading something like the following can be added: We ask our customers to bear with us. We serve Negroes only because we are forced by the federal government to do so.

These signs will violate the civil or constitutional right of no one, they will violate no law, and in the matter of dignity will be quite a contrast to hoodlums in the streets chanting communist songs taught them by their communist trained leaders.

The use of such signs, in addition to being an effective protest, will serve also to identify for the general public those establishments that resent this invasion of their private property, or by not using the signs to identify those who welcome this excuse to submit without protest.

S. L. GENTRY
(Secretary, Sumter County Citizens Council)
Sumter.

Not For Churches

To The News and Courier:

The National Council of Churches helps finance, recruit and train persons to foment racial turmoil in the South.

Some clergymen of large denominations participate in racial brawls, lobby for or against legislation in the name of their church affiliation. Is this church-state separation?

Social and political questions are matters each individual should decide for themselves. Church officials should [illegible] them.

[illegible] CAMPBELL
[illegible] W.
Atlanta.

7/31/64

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 332-5566

June 9, 1964

SW-
file in
OOPS!

File

AIR MAIL

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Clearing a date for a meeting of peripatetic professionals is a herculean chore comparable to cleaning out the Augean stables. We finally compromised on Friday, June 19, and this is by way of confirming the meeting at the Potomac Institute on "Operation Compliance" (euphe-mystically known as "Operation Opportunity" in southern country).

Attached is a brief resume of the objectives and current status of the operation. We will be meeting to mull over how we can better reach more of the objectives, and what each of us can do to supplement the others' efforts. Some "feds" will be with us part of the day -- Justice, Civil Rights Commission, maybe Commerce -- because of their deep interest in this undertaking.

In order to start the Friday meeting promptly at 9:00 a.m., the out-of-towners will have to arrive here Thursday night. A Dupont Plaza Hotel reservation card is enclosed -- please return mail immediately. Our meeting will end about 4:00 p.m., so you can plan to return home Friday evening if you wish.

This invitation to you to attend this meeting is underlined with a note of urgency -- both as to the importance of the undertaking and the time remaining to accomplish it. I know you will make every effort to be here, and we look forward to your counsel and cooperation.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:vg

STEPHEN R. CURRIER, President
LLOYD K. GARRISON, Treasurer
JOHN G. SIMON, Secretary
PHILIP G. HAMMER, Trustee
ANDREW E. NORMAN, Trustee
HAROLD C. FLEMING, Executive Vice-President
ARTHUR J. LEVIN, Staff Director
MARGARET PRICE, Research Associate

MEMORANDUM June 5, 1964

To: LWD

From: RHA

Re: OPERATION OPPORTUNITY.

Salary 3/15 - 5/31	$ 2,161.45
Travel & Communication	1,228.92
Living Expenses	638.18
Other (Florence Robin)	88.00
	$ 4,116.55

(156.44 telephone April bill)

Salary for June	$ 864.58	
Actual Living	261.75	
Estimated Travel & Communication	700.00	
Other	49.42	
	$1,875.75	1,875.75
		$5, 992.30

Grant	$ 15,000.00
	5,992.30
	$9,007.70

☆ A guide to the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill ☆ what it covers and what it means ☆ how communities have accomplished desegregation ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

SERVICE FOR ALL CITIZENS

"Are we going to say that it is all right for the Negro citizen to go into the bank on Main Street and to deposit his earnings or borrow money, then go to department stores to buy what he needs, to go to the supermarket to purchase food for his family, and so on along Main Street until he comes to a restaurant or hotel . . . (then) are we going to say that it is right and legal for the operators of these businesses, merely as a matter of convenience, to insist that the Negro's citizenship be changed and that, as a second-class citizen he is to be refused service? I submit that it is not right to allow an American's citizenship to be changed merely as a matter of convenience."

IVAN ALLEN, JR.
Mayor of Atlanta, Ga.

Making the Transition

Enactment of a new civil rights law is expected in the near future. Responsible citizens in hundreds of communities will share the task of seeing to it that the law is respected and observed. This is particularly true in the field of public accommodations.

Most places of business that serve the general public will be required under Title II of the law to open their doors to citizens of all races, if they have not already done so. Towns and cities which move quickly to achieve community-wide compliance will avoid the damage to the moral, civic, and economic health of the community which resistance, protest, and conflict invariably cause.

The first step in planning the transition from segregation to desegregation of business places is to understand the provisions and probable effect of the law. The second is to profit from the experiences of other communities which have successfully dealt with public accommodations problems. It is the purpose of this booklet to describe both law and experience for the benefit of citizens who are interested in the peace and prosperity of their communities.

What the Law Will Cover

Although amendments may make some changes in the original language of the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill, it is expected to remain basically as it is. It provides that all persons shall have "full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation . . . without regard to discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin" if the operations of such places affect commerce or if discrimination is imposed by community or State law or custom. The law will cover:

- Hotels, motels, and other places affording lodging to transient guests.
- Eating establishments, including restaurants, lunch counters, soda fountains, cafeterias, and other places serving food to the public.
- Theaters, movie houses, concert halls, sports arenas, stadiums, and other places of public entertainment and exhibition.
- Gasoline station rest rooms and facilities.
- Any other establishment which is located within one of these places and generally serves its patrons (i.e., a barber shop in a hotel), or which houses a

place of public accommodation (i.e., a department store that houses a lunch counter).

Under the law, an establishment's operation affects interstate commerce if it serves or offers to serve interstate travelers, or if a substantial portion of the goods it sells or displays moves in interstate commerce. Such goods may include food, gasoline, soft drinks, tires, film, etc. The law defines interstate commerce as meaning travel, trade, commerce, transportation, or communication among or between States. An additional clause says that all persons must be served in any place of public accommodation if "discrimination or segregation is or purports to be required by any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, rule or order, of a State or any agency or political subdivision thereof."

What the Law Won't Cover

The law will not apply to hotels, motels, or other lodging houses which have five or fewer rooms for rent and in which the proprietor makes his home. Neither will the law apply to:

- Bona fide private clubs; it does not exempt establishments which call themselves private clubs but serve patrons of non-exempt establishments.
- Retail stores, unless they also operate as a restaurant.
- Barber shops, beauty parlors, and other service facilities, unless they are housed in a place covered by the law and are part of the services offered to covered establishments.
- The sale or rental of private homes.
- The professional services of doctors, lawyers, dentists, and others simply because they are licensed by the city, county, or State.

Legal Basis of the Law

The legislation is based on the Commerce Clause of the Constitution of the United States and upon the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Three former Attorneys General, four former presidents of the American Bar Association, and the deans of four leading law schools have studied the legislation and found it constitutional.

Congress already has acted under the Commerce Clause to prohibit racial discrimination in transportation facilities. Court tests have upheld the legislation. Congress also has used the clause as the basis for a number of laws which regulate business. These

include food and drug laws, fair labor standards and minimum wage laws, and laws involving the inspection of meat, poultry, and tobacco. The proposed new law follows closely the laws of some 32 States which require access to places of public accommodation. Court tests have upheld these laws. The use of property is further regulated by city, county, and State under police, fire, health, zoning, building, and other laws, codes, and ordinances enacted to protect the public welfare. Thus, as the *Denver Post* stated in an editorial of January 27, 1964, the new law will "not constitute any radical new precedent in governmental interference."

The law will permit businessmen to continue to establish standards for the dress and conduct of their patrons and to refuse service to disorderly persons. But it will require that all such standards be applied equally to all customers and not be denied to some because of their race, religion, or national origin.

The Fourteenth Amendment provides that ". . . no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The courts have already held that State-supported discrimination, which will be specifically prohibited under the new law, is a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Moral Basis of the Law

Racial problems "have deep roots in Southern soil," President Johnson recently told a breakfast meeting of Georgia legislators. But, he said, "We must protect the constitutional rights of all our citizens, regardless of race, religion, or the color of their skin . . . no one of us is fully free until all of us are fully free."

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, in testimony before the Senate Committee on Commerce last year, said: "Equal access to facilities and accommodations regardless of color or creed is part of every person's basic right in a free democratic nation. The legal claim to be served anywhere in public commerce protects the dignity of the individual, and translates into law the design and spirit of America. To be refused service . . . solely on the basis of race, beliefs, or national origin is to be debased and humiliated as an individual . . ."

The position of the Negro was stated in this man-

ner by Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP: "From the time they (Negro Americans) leave home in the morning, en route to school or to work, to shopping or to visiting, until they return home at night, humiliation stalks them." Describing the problems of a trip by car, he said: "How far do you drive each day? Where, and under what conditions can you and your family eat? Where can they use a rest room? . . . Must you drive until you reach a city where relatives or friends will accommodate you and yours for the night? Will your children be denied a soft drink or an ice cream because they are not white?"

The *Denver Post* editorial of January 27, 1964, stated: "In States where these laws do not exist—and in some States where they do—the evidence is abundant that discrimination and segregation in places of public accommodations are a daily source of humiliation and hardship to American Negroes. Negro vacationists sometimes have to drive hundreds of miles to find a rest room or a night's lodging . . . Negro truck drivers cannot be sent on overnight runs in some sections of the country because of the lack of accommodations . . ."

Economic Aspects of the Law

The *Wall Street Journal* quoted a Birmingham, Ala. restaurant owner in these words: "We're hurt and hurt bad because our business community refused to exercise leadership when it could have saved the situation." The owner said his business had declined by 25 per cent. Greater losses were reported by other businessmen in the city. Concerning the prospects of outside investment, a sales consultant was quoted as saying: "We've become known as a city of reaction, rebellion, and riot, and because of that, we're not gaining industry as fast as we should." Industry's viewpoint was expressed by General Lucius D. Clay, chairman of the board, Continental Can Company: "None of us wants to locate in an area where there is serious risk of conflict between local custom and Federal law. We need the good will of the community, yet we must obey the law."

Malcolm Bryan, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, told a Rotary Club meeting: "A failure in the South to maintain law and order can cost bitterly in the job opportunities and the wealth that we so much need to increase if our citizens are to be well-served. If we behave like a banana repub-

lic, we shall get and deserve the economic rewards characteristic of a banana republic."

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., of Atlanta, told the Senate Commerce Committee that the new law would help encourage voluntary desegregation by setting up uniform nation-wide standards. Businessmen who have been afraid to desegregate for fear of offending local custom will be able to say that they are required by Federal law to serve everyone. Without such a legal standard, he said, "cities like Atlanta might slip backward."

Predicting an upswing in business after passage of the law, Secretary of Labor Wirtz declared: "If Negroes felt as free to travel and explore the country as white families of similar income, the economic stimulus would be very large indeed in the transportation, apparel, travel goods, sports, gifts, and camping goods industries, and in the full range of service industries—hotels, motels, and eating and drinking establishments. As soon as large numbers of families now arbitrarily excluded from local places of amusement and entertainment are welcomed, a succession of important economic results can be confidently predicted. Box office, bowling alley and other recreational activity receipts and first-line employment will rise, followed by expanding demand for the capital, material, tools, and labor to build and run more accommodations."

Wirtz declared that discrimination in places of public accommodation blights development of the Negro's capacity. It limits experience and reduces opportunity, he said. Wirtz said: "Even the best-educated Negro connot contribute to his profession as much as a white man, assuming equal ability and no prejudice, if he cannot attend professional meetings, luncheons and functions on an equal basis. How do Negro parents succeed in raising their children to be studious, ambitious, and forward-looking when so many doors are closed to them?"

How the Law Will Be Enforced

As now written and passed by the House, the bill provides that a person who has been refused service because of his race may bring a lawsuit in a Federal court. Or, the Department of Justice may enter the case and file the suit in the name of the United States. The Department of Justice also could utilize the services of any Federal, State, or local agency to help achieve compliance. If a court finds that the law has

been violated, it will order the offending proprietor to end his discrimination. If he fails to do so, he may be held in contempt of court and will then become subject to fines and other penalties. If the proposed penalty is substantial, he will be entitled to a jury trial. The party who wins a suit, according to the terms of the legislation, may be allowed a reasonable attorney's fee and court costs.

Proposed amendments agreed to by the Administration and bipartisan leadership in the Senate, if enacted, would modify the enforcement provisions in some respects. The Attorney General would be empowered to initiate lawsuits only in those instances where he determined that a "person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice" of discrimination. Otherwise, the individual complainant would have to file suit on his own behalf and a prescribed period would have to be allowed for a State commission or a new Federal conciliation service to settle the complaint through negotiation.

The experience of communities and States with anti-discrimination laws indicates that few law suits are to be expected. For example, in Washington, D.C., which is nearly 55 per cent Negro and had a public accommodations law for many years, there has been only one lawsuit. The law's effectiveness rests on its virtually universal observance by the city's business establishments.

Planning for Desegregation

In communities which have desegregated public facilities, a general pattern of action has emerged. The moving force is a committee of responsible citizens, including civic, business, political, professional, and religious leaders. The committee plans a program to relieve racial problems and conflicts. It opens and keeps open lines of communication with representative Negro leaders. It impresses upon local news media the need for responsible and restrained reporting of racial problems.

A great deal of progress already has been made in this field. As President Johnson recently told a group of business leaders at the White House: "Privately-owned facilities of public accommodations are now open to everyone, regardless of race, in some 390 of the 566 communities in Southern cities of over 10,000 . . . two-thirds of this progress has been made since May of last year . . . This has been done voluntarily; the rest can and should be done by compliance with the law."

The manner in which Charlotte, N.C. faced such a problem was graphically described in the July 14, 1963, issue of the *Charlotte Observer*. The article stated that the president of the city's Chamber of Commerce, after a conference with the mayor, called a meeting of the Chamber's executive committee and posed the need for desegregation of business places. Expecting opposition, he encountered none. The full board of directors passed a resolution recommending that "all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color."

Later, at a luncheon meeting of representative businessmen, the consequences of failing to desegregate were discussed. One participant said: "These were Southern men. These were hard choices. But this was too good a town to have it ruined, and they just weren't going to have it. They thought the time was right. They thought the community was ready."

The leaders met in groups according to the nature of their businesses and activities. They agreed to participate personally in desegregation. A restaurant owner agreed to begin serving Negroes if other members of the group brought Negroes as guests. The mayor, a councilman, an editor, a minister, and a banker agreed to do so. Hotels desegregated first. Theaters were next. Restaurants were slower. But within two months, 100 restaurants had opened their doors to all.

The *Observer* article summarizes the situation in this way: "There were men with moral obligations . . . There were men concerned about making a living . . . There were men proud of their community . . . And together, they decided to see that 'it won't happen here.' These men are Charlotte. They chose a different way."

Which way will you choose for your community?

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
Research and Consultation in Human Relations
1501 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

6-2-64

File
Oper. Opportunity

OPERATION (COMPLIANCE
(OPPORTUNITY

Whatever the fate of the Civil Rights Bill, we can look forward to a Spring and Summer of heightened protest activity. If the bill passes with the public accommodations section intact, Negroes will test the availability of service in thousands of facilities and hundreds of communities throughout southern and border states. If an enforceable public accommodations section fails to pass, there is likely to be a comparable number of demonstrations marked by anger and frustration. In either case, there is the possibility of major and possibly tragic crisis.

Our planning can best start from the assumption that the bill, including an enforceable public accommodations section, will pass. In that event, the remedy for a violation will be a civil suit initiated by a complainant, or by the Attorney General where a pattern of discrimination exists. Even the resort to the courts will probably have to be delayed pending efforts at conciliation and negotiation. In any case, the normal delays of litigation -- abetted in some cases by unfriendly judges -- mean that relief will be slow and peicemeal. To the extent that Southern businesses refuse to comply without court compulsion, the issue will be joined in the streets with the attendant likelihood of turmoil and violence.

It is unrealistic to suggest that any amount of preparatory effort can eliminate the prospect of resistance and crisis. Such areas as Mississippi and parts of other deep-South states will inevitably resist, given their political and social complexion. But this need not be the case in the majority of Southern towns and cities, though there may be intense opposition by individual proprietors in even fairly progressive cities and wherever certain firms operate. In

many localities, foresighted governmental and private effort may make the difference between civil strife and orderly compliance with the law. The opponents of racial progress are doing their best to foment a Volstead-Act psychology of resistance to the proposed bill. The supporters of civil rights, private as well as governmental, can hardly take their responsibilities less seriously.

OBJECTIVES

(1) Lay the groundwork in slected Southern cities for strong organized support for open public facilities and accommodations.

(2) Carefully search out and enlist on a locality by locality basis whatever helpful resources exist in the other Southern communities.

(3) Prepare and disseminate, through the press and organizational channels as appropriate, information about the bill and what it provides, encouraging examples of desegregation in public accommodations to date, information directed to economic and civic self-interest, "how-to" guidance materials for community action, etc.

(4) In cooperation with Federal officials, enlist the cooperation of retail chains in promoting local compliance by their affiliates and franchise-holders.

(5) Enlist the active participation of national organizations that have constituents or influence in Southern communities, most particularly in the pilot cities selected for intensive effort.

(6) Maintain a central pool of information on specific community situations, retail chains, and influential business and political leaders.

OPERATION - 3

(7) Work closely with Federal departments and agencies that can influence Southern communities through program or personnel, as well as with those charged directly with civil rights responsibilities.

COORDINATION

There will be two closely connected centers of coordination and communication for the proposed private efforts. The Southern Regional Council will provide this service for the effort in the South, with particular attention to the intensive activities in the selected communities and the other localities. As the secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference, it is the logical clearing-house for the activities of the constituent agencies, as well as for the state and local human relations councils. To carry out these functions, SRC has added a temporary staff person who will assist the Executive Director and the Field Director for the duration of the project. In general, SRC will address itself to the following:

1. A division of labor among the Southern agencies, including assignment of special responsibility for the pilot community efforts to specific agencies.
2. Encouragement and guidance to purely local groups (e.g., women's committees, bi-racial committees) that can help create a spirit of compliance in their communities.

3. Preparation and distribution of appropriate informational and guidance materials.
4. Promotion of constructive newspaper stories and editorials.
5. Coordination of Southern activities with the Potomac Institute's contact work at the national level.

The Potomac Institute will attempt to involve as many appropriate national organizations and influences as possible in the Southern effort. In general it will:

1. Maintain liaison with the White House, Justice, the Civil rights Commission, and any other Federal agencies that are directly involved, and seek to relate their activities to those coordinated by SRC.
2. Explore possibilities of involving non-civil rights Federal departments and agencies (e.g., Defense, Labor, Federal Executive Boards) wherever they have influence or key personnel at the community level.
3. See that appropriate materials necessary to supplement SRC's output are prepared and distributed.
4. Work with the friendly press in Washington and New York as needed.
5. Work with national organizations -- civil rights, religious, business, labor, women's, civic, professional -- to enlist maximum support and resources behind the Southern effort.

OPERATION - 5

6. Keep the Southern Regional Council and cooperating Southern agencies informed of developments in Washington and at the national level generally.

ACTIVITIES UNDERWAY OR POTENTIAL

1. SRC has convened several meetings of Southern agency personnel to discuss "Operation Compliance - Opportunity." Additional meetings are being planned. Compliance efforts are already underway in several communities.
2. Potomac is meeting with an informal, continuing committee of chain store businessmen and Federal officials who are planning ways to encourage desegregation of public accommodations in the South.
3. The International Association of Police Chiefs has expressed interest in cooperating by distributing case studies and other information to Southern police chiefs.
4. The Lawyers' Committee has offered to cooperate similarly with its constituency.
5. The National Women's Committee on Civil Rights and its constituent national organizations are developing community-wide women's efforts in selected communities in the South. Some women's groups are already at work (e.g., Atlanta, New Orleans).
6. The National Council of Churches Commission on Religion and Race already had contemplated an independent effort comparable to the one here described. SRC has had discussions with them and they have agreed to mesh planning and program.
7. The U. S. Conference of Mayors has initiated a community relations program for its constituents, and can be expected to distribute pertinent information through its mailing list, and will furnish its members on request consultative and technical assistance.

OPERATION - 6

A list of pilot cities for intensive efforts to mobilize strong and organized support for open public facilities and accommodations is appended.

PILOT CITIES

ALABAMA

Anniston
Birmingham
Huntsville
Mobile
Tuscaloosa

ARKANSAS

Little Rock

FLORIDA

Daytona Beach
Jacksonville
Miami'
Pensacola
St. Petersburg
Sarasota
Tampa

GEORGIA

Atlanta
Columbus
Savannah

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI

Greenville

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Durham
Greensboro
Raleigh
Rocky Mount
Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston
Columbia
Greenville

TENNESSEE

Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

TEXAS

Dallas
Houston

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville
Danville
Lynchburg
Newport News
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond
Roanoke

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

ONE WEST FORTY-SEVENTH ST., NEW YORK 36, N. Y. CIRCLE 6-3175 • MRS. JOSEPH WILLEN, NATIONAL PRESIDENT • MISS HANNAH STEIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dallas Office
3311 Chapparal Drive
Dallas, Texas, 75234
Chapel 7-4578

July 9, 1964

Mr. Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am sure you will be interested in the developments which have transpired in Dallas since my return from our most useful meeting in Atlanta. May I begin by thanking you and the Southern Regional Council for your invitation to attend this meeting and express the hope that I can be of some assistance in Dallas in furthering the cause in which we both believe.

Upon my return from Atlanta I contacted Mr. Gus Falk who, as you may know, is the executive director of the American Jewish Committee and who has been working for a considerable amount of time as coordinator for Dallas in planning for voluntary compliance, not only with title II, but in the matter of the entire civil rights bill. Mr. Falk was most cooperative and anxious to be of assistance to our women's groups. A meeting was held on July 2nd in Mr. Falk's office at which representatives of each of the cooperating organizations were present as listed below:

Mrs. Howard Grimes, YMCA	Mrs. Fay Brown, AAUW
Mrs. Lacey Johnson, NCNW	Mrs. E.C. Rowand, Jr., UCW
Mrs. Charles Eaton, NCCW	Mrs. James Wedeles, NCJW

Also present were; Mr. Gus Falk as resource person and myself as convenor.

Following my report to the ladies on the Atlanta meeting a discussion was held concerning the climate of Dallas at the present time with respect to voluntary compliance with Title II. It was agreed that Dallas can anticipate no difficulty whatever in this area. At least 90 to 95% voluntary compliance has already been achieved. It thus appeared that our most useful role as cooperating groups could be in other areas where implementation has not been completed and where further difficulty can almost certainly be anticipated. A prime area of this kind is the problem of school integration which, at the present time, is on a token basis and where efforts to speed up and broaden have thus far met with little or no success. Recognizing that complete plans could not be made in such a brief time, the group agreed to meet again with a slightly expanded committee (the plan is to include representatives of other church groups not represented by United Church Women and representatives from PTA) and to select another area for concentration during the late summer and fall. The second meeting is scheduled for 7:30 p.m. on August 4th.

I hope you will agree with me that this beginning is a positive one and can lead to useful activity in Dallas.

If you would like, I will be delighted to have you share this letter with Mrs. Wilson. I did not have her address. I shall, of course, keep you informed of future developments and if you have any suggestions, would be pleased to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Lorraine Sulkin

(Mrs.) S. Edward Sulkin
Field Representative

SES:ja

Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

July 9, 1964

To: Paul Anthony

From: Kay Jones

If you think that I have made the wrong decision in regard to attending the training session in Utah(see my reply to Alice Spearman) please call me to let me know. Office number is 291-7544 and home number 269-5597). I will be in Nashville until Sunday afternoon or early Monday morning when I head for East Tennessee. I recognize that I seriously need all the help I can get in becoming more effective in community leadership, but it is the time and distance which make me reluctant to take advantage of this training opportunity. Especially in these border states, I think we need to use all resources we can command to effect compliance in the next 6 weeks.

We have already had two reports about non-compliance. One is a small hamburger place on the outskirts of the city, and the other is a resort area 60 miles to the northeast where there are 5 hotels open only in the city, It is in Red Boiling Springs, Macon County, where the Negro population is 1% of the county. Don't know how to get that one attended to yet.

Had a three hour meeting yesterday with Pat Knight of NSA. I think she was troubled about the SSOC business. She states that noone else is doing what SSOC is planning, and thinks it worthwhile; recognizes the implications of self-fulfilling prophesy in the attitude of the traditional agencies. Unfortunatly Will Campbell is not in town and won't be back until Monday when I will be gone. Meantime, I suppose that you will have seen both Archie Allen and Sue Thrasher. Part of the difficulty in a show-down with SCEF is the approval given it by the service of Herman Long and others who are recognized leaders in NAIRO and such.

Think I did not tell you that Joe Lowery, our most effective Negro on the Mayor's Committee here is being transferred to Birmingham by the Methodist Church amid the moans from his family who recognizably don't want to go.

Kay Jones

July 9, 1964

Mrs. Alice Spearman
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

I am returning the descriptive pamphlet on the Community Leadership Training seminars. It is certainly intrigueing, and just the kind of thing that I think would be helpful to me. For that reason, I have been looking it over carefully and considering it in relation to my own commitments. I just can't see how I can be away practically three weeks in August which would be the time required including the travel time.

No vacation is on the horizon for me until sometime after school begins in the fall because of our need to work on both compliance with the Civil Rights Act, and the community reaction in the event we get a good many new desegregation suits. Some appointments are already on the calendar through August 19.

If you do get there, see if you can persuade these highly competent people to stage one of their training sessions in this part of the country. It's not my reluctance to travel - the farther the better - but I think they are right in stating that the more persons from an area who attend, the more carry-over there is.

Thanks for including me in your proposal, and the best to you. May I come around and bask in the light of all of your new-found knowledge on your return?

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Jones

KJ/eah
cc: Paul Anthony

NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN July 8, 1964

Mississippi Moral Resistance Argued

By W. A. REED JR.

The field director of the Southern Regional Council rejected yesterday a religious leader's contention concerning the impact of moral persuasion upon the state of Mississippi.

Paul Anthony, Atlanta, Ga., in an interview yesterday before an address at the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, said:

"Mississippi can resist the moral forces of this nation until Armageddon, for now with 91,000 card-carrying Klansmen, the rebuffs of other parts of the nation are meaningless."

"THE ONLY forces that can change the hostile attitudes towards non-whites," Anthony continued, "is federal intervention—not with troops—but, withdrawal of federal funds, the entry of the Negro into politics and a renewed vigor of the church."

He added that in Alabama there is less hope for an open society for, said Anthony, "Governor Wallace is entrenched there as a combination of the Lord God and Hitler, and that state is fast becoming a closed society."

Anthony's statement was directed to one last Thursday when Dr. Robert Spike, director of Religion and Race, National Council of Churches, said he believed "the state of Mississippi could not resist the moral forces of this nation in keeping equal citizenship and human dignity from the Negro citizen."

Both speakers agreed that the clergy there is in a state of fear with Anthony saying yesterday, "One of the sorry records since 1954 has been the surrendering of moral standards in the South."

IN HIS ADDRESS to the institute, Anthony divided the South into bad and good divisions. He said the cities of Atlanta, Richmond, Houston, Nashville, Memphis, Charlotte and Durham comprised the good section of the South while the bad or "Mississippi" South began with the southern side of Virginia and ended in East Texas.

"All of the South is changing at a significant, measurable rate with rapidity," decalred Anthony, "and until the change is absolute, people here are victims of conditions that are intolerable."

Paul Slaiman, Associate Director, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, later expressed the view that private industry cannot provide enough new jobs because of automation and the great problem of white and Negro workers is the fact that semi-skilled and unskilled jobs are disappearing faster than new ones are opening up.

He charged that Governor Wallace masqueraded under the guise of pro-labor to gain Wisconsin and Indiana votes.

The institute is in its second week and is sponsored by the Board for Homeland Ministries of the United Church of Ch a union of Congregatio Christian Churches and Evangelical and Reform Church.

Quick Sale

LOCKPORT, N.Y. (AP)—While attending a rummage sale, Mrs. Rose Tanner laid her glasses on a counter. A customer picked them up, paid a saleslady and departed with them.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY
New Orleans, Louisiana
July 10, 1964

Dear Mrs Wilson:

I have been trying to write ever since I returned from Atlanta. My only excuse for the delay is that I am leaving New Orleans to-morrow and wont be home until October, and as you can imagine, there have been things to do preparatory for winding up everything!

I was immensely impressed and stimulated by the Atlanta meeting and I sincerely thank you for your very big part in making it such a success.

As I told you there, I was simply "pinch hitting" and I am turning over my portfolio to Mrs M.J.Green, 2911 Milan Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70115. Mrs Green was the one originally invited to the Conference, and will now be the official representative. One difficulty has been that she left for a trip shortly after I returned from Atlanta, and will return to-morrow.

She was present for my report, however, which I gave the day after my return. I had arranged with the YWCA worker for this, and gave a report to the group of women concerned, following it a few days later (by request) with some who had been unable to be present for the first one.

We have also carried out a letter writing project which we had planned before I left. We had an open house at my home when women brought their personal stationery and wrote letters promising support in compliance.

I have recommended that women now make plans for personal visits of the nature we discussed in Atlanta.

I am enclosing a copy of the report I sent to Mrs Charles Stich, Regional President of the Council of Jewish Women who had been invited to the Conference after Mrs. Green had regretted. Mrs Stich also was unable to go and called to ask me (with the approval of Mr Miller.)

If I have omitted anything, or if you have anything you want me to add, I can be reached care of my son, Tom Schwab, 616 Investment Building, Washington D.C. 20005. (Incidentally he is a lawyer who has been doing some work along similar lines.)

I enjoyed meeting you, and again I thank you.

Cordially,

Mathilde M. Dreyfous
(Mrs George C.)

cc Stich
~~Arthur~~
Butler
Green

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

TALLAHASSEE WOMEN'S INTER-GROUP COMMITTEE

Rooms 216-18 Petroleum Building

226 West Pensacola Street

Tallahassee, Florida

July 9, 1964

Dr. Pauline Tompkins
General Director
American Association of University Women
2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W.
Washington 37, D.C.

Dear Dr. Tompkins:

Prior to attending the meeting in Atlanta on June 25, I had scheduled a meeting of interested women, both individuals and officers of organizations, for 8:00 P.M. on Tuesday, June 30, in the Court Room of Tallahassee City Hall. The Court Room was reserved ten days before the meeting and about one week before the meeting I talked with the mayor on the phone, telling him of our plans, advising him that we had reserved the Court Room, and asking him if he would greet the women at the meeting. After three days the mayor's secretary called to say that the mayor had a previous engagement and could not attend our meeting. About 2:30 P.M. on the day before our scheduled meeting, the city manager called me to say that he was cancelling our reservation of the Court Room. He gave no adequate explanation, saying that he was undecided as to letting outside groups use the room.

I did not complain but went about the business of finding another meeting place. We had no difficulty in reserving a court room in the County Court House; but, of course, by moving the meeting place we reduced our expected attendance somewhat. We had scheduled a lawyer to discuss Title II, but when I told him we had been cancelled out of City Hall, he decided he could not speak to us. He is a vestryman at one of the Episcopal Churches, so he took it upon himself to tell the minister of that church what had happened and the minister took it upon himself to advise the women leaders of his church not to attend the meeting. They did not show, of course.

We stationed two people at City Hall to redirect the women to County Court House. At one time we had thought of using the Unitarian Chapel, before we got the County Court House, so some people went to the Chapel and did not come on to the meeting. A few others had heard of the cancellation and did not attend.

Nevertheless we had about 60 women at the meeting, although the newspaper reporter estimated 70. I was unable to get anybody

from the State Attorney General's office to discuss Title II and after our scheduled attorney cancelled his appearance I was unable to find another attorney to do the job. We, therefore, asked Martin Waldron, Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter for the St. Petersburg Times to read Title II to the group, after which we discussed it thoroughly. George Lewis, II, a local banker, discussed the Community Relations Service. I then made my recommendations for organization of a Women's Inter-Group Committee, all of which were accepted.

We formed a Steering Committee made up of representatives of fourteen organizations present and two members at large to represent individuals not included in the organizations. We now have 19 organizations plus the League of Women Voters which, because of charter regulations, is limited to the role of observer.

At the first general meeting we scheduled a second meeting for the following Tuesday, and during the week the Steering Committee met twice for a total of six hours. We have used the telephone so much that we have feared the system would break down. Our second meeting was held July 7, without incident from outsiders, with about the same number of women present, although many in attendance had not come to the first meeting. We plan to meet again next Tuesday; then after that we probably will not have to hold weekly meetings.

We have been given a suite of offices in the Petroleum Building; two women are underwriting the telephone for the office; voluntary contributions now total about $50.00, although we have not yet undertaken to raise money; office furnishings have been loaned to us; and we are in the process of letterheads printed. We plan to keep the office open each afternoon from 1:00 to 4:00 o'clock and we have plenty of volunteers for this job. We will publish a newsletter, copy of which will be sent to you.

Two theatres and about eight of the better hotels and restaurants have integrated and our individual members have been writing letters supporting them. When we get our stationery we plan to write official letters to all of them.

Miss Frances Clay of the faculty of the School of Social Work is advising us on methods of interviewing. Our plan now is that Miss Clay will be chairman of the first interviewing team of three women. After she trains two women and takes them on the first interview, those two will become chairman and each will train two more chairman, then we will have 9 chairman, who will do the same thing, giving us a potential of 27 chairmen.

Our greatest difficulty has been in finding officers for the large Inter-Group Committee. We can, of course, get numerous

leaders from the Florida State University community of faculty wives and from the Negro Community, but they feel very strongly that the top position should be held by a local, white, protestant woman and we simply have not been able to find one yet who will take the job. The President of the United Church Women has been very helpful as a member of the Steering Committee, but she has too much responsibility already, she feels, to take on the chairmanship of our Inter-Group Committee.

In order to present a slate of officers last Tuesday night, I allowed my name to be submitted as chairman with the agreement that if we can find the right person, she will be co-chairman. Actually, I will be out of the city for four weeks beginning July 16, so that we desperately need to find someone to take major responsibility. We are still trying. Our officers at this time are:

Miss Louise Blackwell, Chairman
Mrs. Earl Frieden, First Vice Chairman
Mrs. S. Randolph Edmonds, Second Vice Chairman
Mrs. James Gould, Secretary (in charge of the secretarial pool)
Mrs. Stanley Davenport, Treasurer

Mrs. Edmonds represents the Negro Community and the rest of us are connected with the University.

Our work is underway with broad support among the women of Tallahassee, even though we still need a top leader.

Since I will be out of town for several weeks, all mail concerning our work should be directed to the above office address for handling by the Vice Chairmen.

I am enclosing some clippings from the Tallahassee and St. Petersburg papers which may be of interest to you. Except for the completely objective reporting, which I carefully arranged with a sympathetic reporter, we do not have the support of our local paper. The St. Petersburg Times, however, is liberal and supports our cause.

I tried for one week to see the Governor to discuss our plans, but he refused to see me. And, as mentioned above, we do not have the support of the city officials. We have approximately 100 women supporting the Committee now and hope to increase that to 200 soon. And there is surprising support among men who do not hold official positions.

Now I must get on with the job. We will keep you informed.

Sincerely,

Louise Blackwell

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY

New Orleans, Louisiana
July 8, 1964

Report on "Operation Opportunity"
Atlanta, Georgia
June 24-25

Dear Margie:

As you requested, I am writing a report of my impressions of Operation Opportunity. It was good of you to give me the opportunity of participating in this stimulating experience and I am grateful to you.

The evening meeting was in progress when I arrived at Peachtree Manor Hotel.

Mr. Miller was giving orientation to the group,- the origin of the conference, its purpose and plan. It is not necessary for me to repeat this now as it was apparently in the material which most of the participants had received.

On Thursday morning we met at nine. Mrs Geoffrey Wilson of the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights made introductory remarks and acted as Chairman for the day's program.

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council spoke. He emphasized citizens' responsibility for creating the climate for acceptance of the Civil Rights law, since the federal government cannot have adequate personnel to do the task alone. It will probably be some time before the Community Relations Service, set up by the Act under the Department of Commerce, for the purpose of aiding in securing voluntary compliance, will be organized and ready to function. Mr. Dunbar commended the Partners for Progress in Atlanta for its effective work.

Mr. Louis L. Miller Jr. of the Southern Regional Council next gave the essentials of Title II of the Act. He clarified the enforcement provisions (which fall into two categories,- in states or cities which have public accomodations laws, and those which do not). He explained that the law does not have to be proved Constitutional to make obedience to it mandatory. He also pointed out that the federal statute has precedence over any state anti-trespass law which might exist.

Mrs Edward Vinson next explained the work of Atlanta's Partners for Progress. The "Partners" present their organization as a temporary one which does not attempt to take over the work of existing organizations. It is an effort to help coordinate all workers to work together on a specific project at the same time,- to provide occasions for action in carrying out justice, fair-play and equal opportunities. Mrs Vinson, with several of her assistant workers, told about some of their projects.

The group was then divided into smaller sections with representatives of about three communities each and one or two staff leaders for each group. This made possible more intimate and specific discussion of community problems and solutions.

After lunch the Honorable Ivan Allen, Mayor of Atlanta addressed the group. He pointed out the fact that although Atlanta has been successful in about 85% of the situation, the success has been mostly in the hard core of the city. Metropolitan Atlanta includes five counties and the outlying areas have refused to prepare for acceptance of the Civil Rights Law. He outlined four prerequisites for success:-

1) There must be a public acceptance by religious and other groups.
2) Good communication with the negro community will assure that negro leaders will implement the public accomodations changes in an orderly, organized way.
3) There must be proper explanation of the anti-trespass law and its relationship to the new legislation. (The federal law takes precedence.)
4) The general misunderstanding must be clarified by good information through proper news media.

Mayor Allen brought out an interesting point in connection with the question about bi-racial committees. He said that he prefers specific bi-racial committees to work on a special problem (i.e. ad hoc committees) instead of one permanent bi-racial committee.

Miss Height of the YWCA next discussed specifics in " Your Community". It was agreed that personal interviews (for example visits to restaurant managers) are most effective,- and that these should be kept simple. The visitors should, for example

offer support in compliance, asking, in effect, "How can we help you"? It was agreed too that each community should assess its own situation and make plans accordingly.

Operation Opportunity was in my opinion very successful. I think all of the participants seemed to find it a most rewarding experience. I personally felt inspired with the need for the work to be carried on, and with new ideas as to how to proceed. The personnel leadership was excellent and it was most helpful to hear the experiences of workers in other communities.

The only critical suggestion I heard expressed was by several people who felt that since they had stayed overnight they wished they could have met for at least a part of the preceding day, and thereby hear more discussion and have more time for an exchange of ideas.

Please excuse my atrocious typing, but as you can guess I am my own secretary.

Again thank you,

Cordially,

Mathilde

cc(for National Council of Jewish Women)
Mrs Butler (for WIIC)
Mrs Green (who is our local representative to carry on this work)
Mrs Wilson

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

June 24, 1964

Miss Julie T. Wilson
Executive Director
National Women's Committee for Civil Rights
1329 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20004

Dear Friend:

It was good to talk with you several weeks ago about the current efforts of the American Friends Service Committee in Mississippi. Since our telephone conversation I have been in Mississippi and now have a clearer idea of what our program emphases will be this summer and how the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights can help us.

My associate, Miss Constance Curry, and I are focusing on the public school desegregation. Four Mississippi communities have school suits in the Federal courts and there is a good possibility that at least three school districts will be forced to begin desegregation with the fall term. The Mississippi Legislature has been called into a special session to consider bills which would make it possible for private schools to be organized which would be supported by public funds, indirectly through tuition grants, and possibly also by other means. Although tuition grants to segregated schools have been prohibited in the recent Surry County decision, it will take more legal action to get similar rulings by other Federal courts. Meanwhile, the growth in private segregated schools could seriously undermine the public schools.

One of our main program objectives is to promote and support the efforts of citizens in the state who are working for a peaceful transition to desegregation and who are upholding public schools during this crisis. Constance Curry is working with a group of women who are organizing a state wide save-the-schools movement. Both of us are working with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and other groups which are concerned to uphold the rights of Negro citizens as they seek a desegregated education for their children and to urge state and local leaders to prepare adequately for law and order when schools open.

We would be very grateful if your cooperating organizations would send us names of their constituents in Mississippi who would be willing to work with us this summer. Since we know that persons of varying personal commitments can play useful roles in times of crisis, it might be useful to indicate that we would welcome two different lists of names:

1. Women would be willing to support a movement to save public education, regardless of how they may feel about the segregation-integration issue.

2. Women who are prepared to work with an interfaith and interracial effort in Mississippi on a number of issues, primarily peaceful transition at the time of school desegregation, compliance with the public accommodations title of the civil rights bill, etc. We particularly need the names of persons on the Mississippi Gulf Coast since we are working with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations to establish a Gulf Coast chapter which will relate to these two issues this summer.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:lw

cc: Constance Curry
Barbara Moffett

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

The following persons attended a meeting at the YWCA Thursday, July 2, 2 p.m., 1964:

Sister Lucile Lyerly, United Council of Church Women
Mrs. A. M. Hammerstrom, National Council of Catholic Women
Miss Dorothy Gibboney, American Association of University Women
Mrs. Harold Kyle, American Association of University Women
Mrs. Murray Goldstein, B'nai B'rith
Mrs. Madge Burrell, National Council of Negro Women
Mrs. George Gordh, League of Women Voters
Mrs. J. E. Stockman, Young Women's Christian Association
Mr. G. Frank Clement, Chairman, Roanoke Bi-racial Committee

The meeting was called by Mrs. Stockman who had been appointed convenor for the Roanoke area by the National Inter-Organization Women's Committee. This committee was organized by the participating national women's organizations as represented by those present to consider the local situation as affected by the public accommodations section of the new civil rights bill.

Mrs. Stockman reported on the meeting held in Atlanta, Georgia, June 25, where representatives of these national women's organizations had been called together for briefing. She outlined how the Atlanta meeting was planned and explained something of the thinking that prompted the meeting. Peaceful acceptance in most Southern communities will depend upon the creation of a climate of acceptance within the community. Local women's groups are able to help promote such a climate.

Mr. Clement reported that the climate of Roanoke is one of cooperation and compliance. He said that the major hotels, motels, eating establishments, theaters, etc. are already open to all, and that the community expects persons offering such accommodations to obey the law.

The group decided to wait and see if any difficulties occur and to stand ready to assist in any way that seems desirable.

The first Thursday in October, October 1, was set as the date for a meeting of the committee at which time it would be determined if anything further needs to be done.

The pamphlet, "Service for all Citizens," to which Mrs. Stockman referred, is available in quantity and free of charge if you write directly to the Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

- notes by Eula May Carlisle Stockman

EMCS:s

Thursday

Dear Paul,

I'm long past due in writing to you, but when Ethel Dennis said you would be on the program at Pisa, I thought I'd have the letter delivered in her hand.

I'm sure you realize our CRC efforts, shaky as they were without a President for so long, were put to the test by our loss of Gladys Cahn. But we determined that it was even more necessary to carry on what she had worked so hard to keep alive.

We now have a president - very young and untried, but most willing, and with time to devote to the job. Can't remember

if you met him here, but he was in Baton Rouge with Lenny Burns. His name is Jack Barringer, a Methodist minister, who is personally committed to Race Relations and whose church is willing to have him take the necessary time for the job.

The Exec Committee has met with him a number of times in the past several weeks since he took the presidency and is getting his feet wet. At the moment we're feverishly trying to get a Special Call Meeting operative for next Thursday night to discuss compliance

3.

with the Civil Rights Bill.
We met yesterday with our new
ADL man, B. Botnick, who
had been in Washington last week
re compliance, particularly on
Public Accommodations. Tried
to get our Federal Attorney to
interpret the provisions. To
my utter disbelief, he declined
for himself or anyone in his Office
because they haven't kept up with
the changes made in the Senate
and are not prepared to appear
publicly. He will spend a
week in Washington July 7th,
presumably to be filled in on
his responsibilities. Meanwhile,
we're trying to find someone else,
but the logistics get more compli-

cated as each day goes by. We feel every effort should be made to urge compliance before the President signs the bill rather than wait until incidents occur. So far, no word from the Mayor, asking for compliance, but some businessmen have met several times (behind the scenes, and in great secrecy, of course. They were aiming for a newspaper ad with important names signed to it. I understand the Canal Street store owners will not allow their names to be used, so a small group of professional men will be the only signatures. I guess that's some progress at least.

-5-

I'm expecting to be in Baton Rouge for the State meeting, the 7th I believe. Will you be there? I hope so.

In the meantime, I hope the sessions go well at Fisk.

Best wishes,

Helen Morris

Helen Mervis

Community Relations

Carroll MO —

NATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

1329 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

MEMO

TO: Miss Helen Raebeck, NCJW
Miss Eleanor French, Att: Miss Carrie Meares, UCW
Miss Ethlyn Christensen, YWCA
Miss Dorothy Height, NCNW
Dr. Pauline Tompkins, AAUW
Miss Peggy Roach, NCCW
Mr. Art Levin, Potomac Institute
Mr. Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Lou Mitchell, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

FROM: Julie T. Wilson, National Women's Committee for Civil Rights

RE: Reports from Coordinators, OPERATION OPPORTUNITY

Tallahassee, Florida - AAUW
Roanoke, Virginia - YWCA
New Orleans, Louisiana - Women's Inter-group Council

Copies have also been sent to the professional in the field.

Enclosure:

Letter from Jean Fairfax, American Friends Service Committee, requesting names in Mississippi of women who might help in school desegregation in September. Please send any names in to me, with biographical sketches if possible, and I will forward them to Miss Fairfax. Thank you.

News and Courier Charleston, S. C. 7/10/64

NAACP Claims Rights Bill Is Followed

COLUMBIA (AP) — A statewide test of establishments indicates general compliance with the new civil rights bill requiring service to Negroes, a South Carolina NAACP leader said Thursday.

The Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman, state NAACP field secretary, said 100 of 131 white establishments had served Negroes since passage of the bill last week.

"To me, this indicates general compliance," Newman added. "My reaction is that the percentage is quite good."

Newman said the only incident resulting from the effort by Negroes to get served at white places of business occurred at a Charleston drive-in restaurant last week. He said it was minor and no one was injured.

In instances, where service was refused, said Newman, those doing the testing peacefully withdrew."

He said the NAACP has urged a policy of restraint on those seeking compliance with the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act.

Establishments that refused to serve Negroes will be tested again, Newman said, before legal action is taken.

"We hope redress will be made through the courts," the NAACP official added, "but we do not rule out the possibility of demonstrations."

Newman said he is disappointed that Gov. Donald Russell has not actively urged compliance with the law.

"I think the public has a right to know where the chief executive stands on an event as momentous as passage of the civil rights bill," Newman declared. "It is bound to affect in some way all the people of South Carolina."

He said, for the most part, state and local officials in South Carolina "are not living up to expectations of leadership requirements."

However, Newman said he thinks a tentative plan by Atty. Gen. Daniel R. McLeod to meet with law enforcement officials to discuss the civil rights law is a step in the right direction.

"It is a positive reaction and I think such a step is needed," he said.

Newman said Negroes tested white establishments in Allendale, Aiken, Camden, Charleston, Columbia, Florence, Greenville, Orangeburg, Rock Hill, Ridgeland, Summerville, Spartanburg, Sumter and Cheraw.

Law And Custom

Panic never helped anybody. We caution both proprietors and customers not to yield to panic as the Civil Rights law sets up new rules for public accommodation. Courtesy and restraint are the qualities that we recommend under testing procedures.

Only time can tell the final outcome. We see no sense in creating incidents at the beginning of a new situation. The chances are that custom in the long run will be stronger than law.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Charleston, S.C. 7/30/64

Unpledged Electors Drive Nets 16,000 Signatures For Wallace

By A Staff Reporter

COLUMBIA — Gov. George C. Wallace's drive to get unpledged presidential electors on South Carolina's general election ballot has produced 16,000 petition signatures, his state campaign chairman announced yesterday.

Columbia restaurant operator L. Maurice Bessinger released the total at an afternoon press conference and told newsmen he expects the figure to hit 25,000 by the Aug. 1 filing deadline.

Mr. Bessinger branded as "misleading" press speculation that the Alabama governor may throw his support to Sen. Barry Goldwater if the latter wins the GOP presidential nomination.

The chairman declared the unpledged electors slate will carry South Carolina. And he quoted Gov. Wallace as predicting that if he doesn't win the presidency he will name the next president through a "balance of power" deal with the two major parties.

Only 10,000 signatures are required to place the unpledged electors on the South Carolina ballot but Mr. Bessinger said his organization was working to obtain 25,000 names. He said the organization now has chairmen in 36 counties and expects to organize the remaining 10 in the near future.

While painting a rosy picture of the Wallace movement Mr. Bessinger said he personally faces FBI investigation for refusing to bow to the new civil rights act. He said his chain of four eating places has refused to serve Negroes except at the back door — one of about 11 such refusals reported here.

"The police have told me they turned a complaint from the Rev. J. W. Mungin (a Negro integrationist) over to the FBI," Mr. Bessinger told newsmen.

He said he would not budge from his stand, however.

"If President Johnson wants to pay my rent, I will take him in as a partner," he quipped. "Otherwise, I will stand on my constitutional and divine rights to protect my property, my business and my family."

A few of the Negroes turned away have "acted nasty" and there have been some "nasty" telephone calls, Mr. Bessinger said.

"We have noticed no change in business this week, either way," he said in response to a reporter's question.

Most of the press conference dealt with Gov. Wallace. However, Mr. Bessinger said the governor will have unpledged slates in at least 18 states and possibly in as many as 25. He declined to name the states.

The Wallace movement has generated a "tremendous" amount of mail and general enthusiasm in this state, the chairman reported.

He said this has been especially marked in the Piedmont and in the Charleston - Dillon - Orangeburg - Barnwell area.

To keep the drive rolling, Gov. Wallace has pledged to campaign extensively in South Carolina this fall, Mr. Bessinger said.

"He will come in as often as we need him," he assured the newsmen. "I haven't [illegible] the exact places. We'll make that decision later."

News and Courier Charleston, S. C.

Negroes Here Test Civil Rights Law

Hotel Fort Sumter denied service to a Negro leader while offering to admit his two companions to the dining room yesterday. Elsewhere in the city several previously segregated establishments quietly shuttled aside their racial reservations.

The Rev. B. J. Glover, chairman of the Charleston Movement which sponsored demonstrations in Charleston last summer, went to the hotel with J. Arthur Brown, state president of NAACP, and Herbert U. Fielding, a local Negro funeral director.

Wesley W. Graves, manager of the hotel, met the group at the dining room door.

While expressing his willingness to serve Mr. Brown and

Barriers Fall

See Page 1-A

Mr. Fielding, the manager said: "Rev. Glover, I am refusing you service not because you are colored. Rather I do not feel you a fit person to eat in our dining room."

The other two Negroes said they came with the minister and would not eat if he were not served. The group then went to the Charleston Inn where they were served without incident.

Mr. Brown said after leaving the hotel: "We will use every legal means. I don't see how he (Mr. Graves) can consider an individual who is respected in the community and pastor of one of the largest churches unfit."

7/4/64

GREENVILLE (AP) — A Negro man and U. S. Sen. Strom Thurmond, D-S. C., a bitter foe of the recently passed civil rights law, were served several tables from each other when served in the coffee shop of a downtown hotel here Saturday.

Thurmond gave no indication that he had noticed the Negro.

Negroes continued to test the new law Saturday and in most cases met with no resistance.

Negroes were given rooms at two Columbia hotels.

7/4/64

Theatres Integrated In 2 Towns

By A Staff Reporter

FLORENCE — Previously segregated movie houses at Sumter and here this week were quietly integrated without incident.

Law enforcement officers including Sumter Police Chief William R. Strange and Florence Police Chief Melvin D. Adams reported that Negroes had been admitted without fanfare to downtown theaters as a result of apparent moves to test the public accommodations section of the new civil rights bill.

Negroes, after being served at several previously all-white restaurants and being permitted to register at various motels, were admitted to two theaters in Sumter and in Florence.

7/10/64

11 July 1964

To: Paul Anthony
From: Heslip M. Lee
Re: Loaded request which is time consuming on Civil Rights' Bill reaction in Virginia

1. Reaction of the Community- Quiet, passive and almost too quiet from Virginia. Not many Negroes nor whites doing anything differently. Small signs here and there of taking advantage of public accomodations by Negroes - yet very little. General statements run in both white and Negro communities along same lines that Virginia in great majority will comply. Feeling among both Negro and white leaders are that those who choose to resist will develop subtle ways such as giving poor service, poor food, being discourteous, and charging higher prices to Negroes - that is, making it very undesirable and uncomfortable for Negroes to want to enter previously all-white places. These methods will be developed gradually instead of openly defying the law.

2. Reaction of city officials, C of C and similar groups - Hardly any reaction one way or the other by city officials or C of C. Governor of Virginia stated that certain sections of the Bill are unconstitutional and will be tested and should be. This was in a T.V. news conference and was premature as are all his statements on this issue. James Jackson Kilpatrick waited several days and then ran an editorial in the Richmond News Leader stating that anyone who knew the South at all knew that Southerners would comply with the law, however he called for a testing of the law and closed the editorial saying that the NAACP had worked for years through testing laws and that the white Southern minority should now have its day doing the same.

115 ministers in Richmond signed a statement and released it to the newspapers immediately upon passage of the Bill calling for compliance. Many who did not sign the statement later stated in the press that they were in favor of compliance but did not sign the former statement because they disagreed with wording, or the issuance of proclamations, etc. etc.

3. General reaction of places of public accomodations - Charcoal House in Danville served immediately and we had felt this would be our greatest problem. Theaters in Danville served also as did all leading eating establishments without incident. All restaurants in Petersburg which have been visited have served except Lee House Tavern which denied Negroes. When approached the owner replied that he would not serve Negroes until someone told him that the law covered him and that he had not as of yet been instructed that it did by anyone. Two lunch counters in Drug Stores in Hopewell closed rather than serve Negroes for five days, but have reopened on a desegregated basis. McBride's Steak House in Richmond issued membership cards for four days. I stated this fact on Radio which was replayed several times. T.V. and newspaper reporters plus radio newsmen descended upon McBride's and he stated that he was issuing membership cards to both Negro and whites for the purpose of keeping out undesirables because of dress or conduct. I stated via radio that the law protected him in this respect and that in my opinion membership cards were unnecessary. This was played several times on Radio and on T.V., and on Monday, July 6, McBride's called us and the Radio station to come to his establishment to clear up the matter. He told us that he had made a mistake and wanted to discontinue the membership cards. We worded a statement to that effect and McBride went on Radio stating that he was withdrawing the membership cards and that his place was open to all well behaved people without regard to race or religion. All other places in Richmond have served to our knowledge. This includes many places which had not served prior to the passage of the law. Theaters and eating establishments have served Negroes in Farmville (Prince Edward County) and we have had no reports of failure to serve except from one other place - Mr. Wachapreague's place of business on the Eastern Shore near Virginia Beach. The Oriental Restaurant in Richmond added a 15% service charge to a mixed group on July 9, and when congratulated by the group became very nervous and removed the charge.

4. Conspicious holdouts -
a. Buddy's in Charlottesville which closed at the exact moment of the signing of the Bill by President Johnson.
b. Lee House Diner in Petersburg, Mr. John Bonetas, owner.
c. Some eating place on the Eastern Shore, Mr. Wachapreague, owner.
d. Lakeside Swimming Club, Inc., Roanoke. Issuing membership cards good for one day.
e. Laurel Golf Course in Richmond, Mr. Beattie, manager

5. Programs of compliance -
a. All local councils on human relations of VCHR are asked to serve in any way possible for communication between community leaders for compliance.
b. Women's organizations have organized in several cities of Virginia working for compliance. Charlottesville, Mrs. Gerard Hannon, 108 Northwest Lane, coordinator; Danville, Miss Maragret Edmunds, 133 Westmoreland Court, coordinator; Lynchburg, Mrs. J.S.G. Carson, coordinator; Newport-News, Mrs. Frank Fullman, 316 Hurley Ave, coordinator; Norfolk, Mrs. A.A. Ohmsen, 1111 Spotswood Ave., coordinator; Richmond, Miss Zula Pierce, 6 North 5th Street, coordinator; Roanoke, Mrs. J. E. Stockman, 605 - 1st Street, S.W., coordinator.
c. In Richmond we have about thirty organizations and community leaders meeting to plan ways and means to assist and give direction toward compliance. The Virginia Council on Human Relations, 17 East Cary Street, is serving as a clearing house for information.

6. Ways SRC can help -
a. Furnish us with any and all information- what is actually happening elsewhere
b. Furnish us with information as to techniques, methods and procedures used elsewhere in assisting during the initial period of transition.
c. Keep us posted on trends of any kind which develop or which might develop.

Your Right to Say It

Community Acceptance

(To the editor:)

On behalf of the Charlottesville chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, may I express our gratification at the very general acceptance by the Charlottesville community of the provisions of the new Civil Rights Act?

It is a pleasure to congratulate the vast majority of the merchants and other businessmen within our community not only for complying with the law, but also for taking a stand on the side of equality of treatment for all their neighbors in respect to public accommodations and job opportunities. We especially commend the Community Relations Committee for its quiet, persistent, and effective work over the past year in maintaining Charlottesville's reputation for a calm social climate, a climate in which changes occur, but in orderly fashion.

ROGER P. BRISTOL
President, Charlottesville
Chapter, Virginia Council
on Human Relations
1808 Barracks Road

Has Faith in Mrs. Boyle

(To the editor:)

This letter is in reference to the recent incidents in St. Augustine which resulted in the arrest of Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle. As a former resident of Charlottesville whose roots are in Albemarle County and throughout Virginia, I want to state that if Mrs. Boyle says she did not forfeit bond, I believe her regardless of the Associated Press.

I have known Mrs. Boyle for more than 20 years. Her sons and my two children were very close in their formative years. We have kept in touch since I left Charlottesville in 1951. She is a dear friend whose word I trust implicitly. She is a fine, Christian woman who is doing what she feels led to do, regardless of public opinion.

Though Mrs. Boyle and I do not see eye to eye in all the phases of integration (I am an integrationist, too), she is my friend and I honor her.

(Mrs.) ELIZABETH PHILLIPS
Cleveland, Ohio

cords

astalia St., $1,423; Lan- Barbour, add porch and ther alterations at 904 t., $1,500.

an L. Pace, add side at 2321 Tarleton Drive, Preston Stallings, add ding at 1302 Lester Drive,

mmercial alterations: Har- . Robinson estate, interior ations to Eljo's, 1509 W. n St., $1,000; Michie lishing Co., remodel plant 617 E. Market St., $24,000; ied Realty Corp., add to of- es and apartments at 1718 lied St., $5,000.

Demolitions: The Cedars orp., move house to another ite, 2141 Barracks Road; Charles W. Hurt, demolish buildings at 1519 and 1521 E. High St.

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'CAUSE WE CHARGE SO LITTLE
Featuring Valiants & other Chrysler-built cars. Gas—oil—insurance—seat belts included! Pick-up or delivery available. When you want a car—
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ECONO-CAR
from 3.99 a business day plus pennies a mile
293-5141
Gallery Court Motor Hotel

Commendation

We believe that the owners of establishments serving the public in our beautiful Charlottesville deserve special recognition and commendation. The dignified manner in which they have met the challenges brought about by the Civil Rights Bill signed by President Lyndon Johnson on July second 1964 makes us extremely proud to be members of this community.

Friends of Civil Justice

Molyneaux
~~213 Seventh Street, N. Y.~~
Charlottesville, Virginia

For Mrs. G. Hannon
108 Northwest Lane
Key West. Charlottesville Va

Mr. Paul Anthony
S.R.C. Atlanta. Ga

Dear Sir,

As Mrs. Hannon was out of town, I am sending you a reply. However you may send your reply or information to her as she has returned to the address above.

We contacted the President of our local council as well as the past President. Both of them felt that the hump had been crossed last summer May-June-July 1963 when all but one restaurant complied with admission of Negros. The day the Civil Rights Law was passed he went out of business. Almost all our department stores have Negro saleswomen, the two hospitals are integrated, theatres, bowling alleys etc.

We also talked with the A.A.U.W and the President of the United Church Women. Both of these have negro members in their local organizations

I also asked Mrs. Oletia Jackson, a leader of the Negro Community what she thought of the situation here and she described it as "very favorable" & suggested that "quiet compliance" had been accomplished, that barring the eruption of an emergency, she approved the status quo.

A conversation with our leading hotel-restaurant man, (who has had his business integrated for several years) gave me the history of his difficulties but foretold no problem in the near future.

With this background, we were convinced that no action is necessary at present and I enclose clippings from our newspaper which will indicate that the consensus of opinion is that we are very fortunate & appreciative of those who have already done a good job. Yours very truly,

Therese Molyneaux

YWCA

Young Women's Christian Association of Roanoke Valley

MEMBER OF THE YWCA OF THE USA

CENTRAL
605 FIRST STREET, S. W.
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

ORANGE AVENUE CENTER
108 ORANGE AVENUE, N. W.
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

SALEM CENTER
12 UNION STREET
SALEM, VIRGINIA

July 13, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council

FROM: Mrs. J. E. Stockman, Executive Director, YWCA

1. The general reaction is one of compliance and acceptance.

2. Reaction of city officials, chamber of commerce, etc. is one of pride in the manner of acceptance in the community.

3. Most places of public accommodations had already opened their doors to all.

4. Golf courses (there are no municipally owned ones) privately owned but open to public have not complied. Claim to be private clubs. Work is being done on this by inter-racial committee.

5. Our new YWCA Camp for girls has operated on a desegregated basis. This was generally accepted gladly and no difficulties experienced.

6. Attached is copy of notes made of meeting called to report on Atlanta meeting to representatives of participating women's organizations.

EMCS:s

The following persons attended a meeting at the YWCA Thursday, July 2, 2 p.m., 1964:

Sister Lucile Lyerly, United Council of Church Women
Mrs. A. M. Hammerstrom, National Council of Catholic Women
Miss Dorothy Gibboney, American Association of University Women
Mrs. Harold Kyle, American Association of University Women
Mrs. Murray Goldstein, B'nai B'rith
Mrs. Madge Burrell, National Council of Negro Women
Mrs. George Gordh, League of Women Voters
Mrs. J. E. Stockman, Young Women's Christian Association
Mr. G. Frank Clement, Chairman, Roanoke Bi-racial Committee

The meeting was called by Mrs. Stockman who had been appointed convenor for the Roanoke area by the National Inter-Organization Women's Committee. This committee was organized by the participating national women's organizations as represented by those present to consider the local situation as affected by the public accommodations section of the new civil rights bill.

Mrs. Stockman reported on the meeting held in Atlanta, Georgia, June 25, where representatives of these national women's organizations had been called together for briefing. She outlined how the Atlanta meeting was planned and explained something of the thinking that prompted the meeting. Peaceful acceptance in most Southern communities will depend upon the creation of a climate of acceptance within the community. Local women's groups are able to help promote such a climate.

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The group decided to wait and see if any difficulties occur and to stand ready to assist in any way that seems desirable.

The first Thursday in October, October 1, was set as the date for a meeting of the committee at which time it would be determined if anything further needs to be done.

The pamphlet, "Service for all Citizens," to which Mrs. Stockman referred, is available in quantity and free of charge if you write directly to the Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

- notes by Eula May Carlisle Stockman

EMCS:s

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
MEMBER OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES
Six North Fifth Street . . . Richmond 19, Virginia

July 13, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

So far the reation to Title 2 of the Civil Rights Law has been good in Richmond. Most of the places of public accommodation here had already been desegregated during the previous year. We are all in the process of trying to find out if there are holdouts. Only one such was reported in the paper, a small restaurant that announced that it was issuing membership cards. Since there was a dearth of news on the subject, it received a great deal of publicity in all the media and the owner quickly retracted.

The one discordant note was a statement from the Govenor, following the Byrd machine Party Line, questioning the constitutionality of the Law and thereby inviting defiance. The new City Council and Mayor have just taken office. They have retained a Biracial Committee and appear anxious for harmonious relationships to continue. The one Negro member of the Council received the second highest number of votes in the election.

I was not able to get representatives of the women's groups together until last week. We had a good meeting and have another one scheduled for this Friday. It takes a little time to get such an organization going. We are working closely with Heslip Lee of the Human Relations Council.

Sincerely yours,

Zula Pierce

Zula Pierce
Executive Director

ZP:bl

cc: Miss Ruth Lois Hill

In Letters of Congratulations

Avoid Violence, Governor Tells Florida's 67 Sheriffs

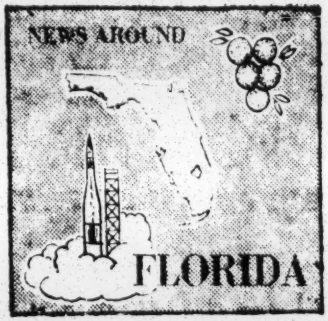
7/14/64

By Herald Wire Services

TALLAHASSEE — Gov. Farris Bryant told all 67 sheriffs in Florida Monday that "violence cannot and must not be a part of our response" to enforcement of the new Civil Rights Act passed by Congress.

"Legal action is a proper outlet for those who find disagreement with the terms of this new law and should be the path down which they move," the governor said in letters to each sheriff.

The governor had said earlier that while the state had no duty to enforce the federal law, it must maintain a climate in which law-abiding citizens could act.



The governor also congratulated the sheriffs for their handling of incidents arising out of integration attempts under the new Civil Rights Act.

Bryant extended "my personal appreciation and official commendation for the manner in which you have moved to avert untoward difficulties in your community during the past few days."

His letter reiterated his previously-expressed belief that Florida can handle its problems without federal interference.

He told the sheriffs that "the problems that arise from the passage of this law can best and indeed must be faced by the local leaders who serve today on the front line of democracy.

"I am proud that in Florida leaders like you are proving that (I) am correct."

State Racial Violence 'Isolated' In Civil Rights Law's First Week

Miami Herald 7/12/64

By BEN FUNK
Associated Press Staff Writer

Violence erupted in eight major trouble spots, but Negroes marched peacefully into hundreds of hotels, motels, theaters and restaurants all over Florida in the first full week after adoption of the civil rights law.

As old racial barriers came tumbling down, Negro leaders were encouraged by progress already made and cheerful about the future.

Blaming the scattered violence on "diehards unable to break with old tradition," Florida's NAACP president, Rutledge Pearson of Jacksonville, said general compliance with the law had been good.

"We will have trouble, mostly in North Florida," Pearson said. "But results so far have been encouraging. In some places where we expected total opposition, people have abided by the law."

Such was the case at St. Augustine, the troubled resort city chosen by integration forces for a month of demonstrations aimed at dramatizing the Negro's nationwide revolt. There, many public facilities were integrated without incident.

And in Jacksonville, scene of major racial conflict last spring, Pearson said only two

★ ★ ★

Rutledge Pearson
'. . . encouraging'

restaurants thus far had held out against service to Negroes.

"It would help" Pearson said, "if the governor of Florida would take a position of upholding the law, and encourage people to obey it."

NEAR THE week's end, Gov. Farris Bryant said he had no intention of enforcing the law.

Calling it a federal creation, he said it was no more his duty to enforce it than it would be for him to collect federal income taxes.

Furthermore, Bryant said he would not invite the aid of of the community relations service created by President Lyndon Johnson to help ease the transsition in areas torn

★ ★ ★

by racial discord and headed by a former Florida governor, LeRoy Collins.

After a closed conference with Bryant, Collins said he could move into a state without checking with the governor, but would not go where he was not wanted or needed.

Shootings, clubbings, rock throwings and fist fights in some cities were described by Francisco A. Rodriguez, Tampa attorney and NAACP leader, as "only sporadic lawlessness by individuals, and that will always be with us."

"We have not detected an organized pattern of resistance anywhere," Rodriguez said. "We are going to have isolated pockets of trouble, but we hope that as time goes by, even the individual cases will be minimized to the point of nonexistence.

"The overall picture is good, and the prospects for the future are even better."

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OTHER NEGRO leaders blamed the violence largely on white toughs and thrill-seeking white teenagers.

Rodriguez said the NAACP was not conducting organized tests of the law "by urging teams to enter places."

"It is not our purpose," he said, "to flaunt this law in the faces of the owners as if it

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was a victory for one group. We are simply instructing our people to avail themselves of this opportunity."

In virtually every city and town, however, the law was tested. Here and there, a restaurant or a theater was closed, but in the great majority of public facilities, Negroes were quietly admitted.

The trouble spots were Lake Wales, Lake City, Pahokee, Plant City, Lakeland, Mims, Tallahassee and St. Petersburg.

At Lake Wales, an unruly mob of 300 assembled when Negroes entered a white theater. Police used tear gas to disperse the crowd and after five officers were struck by flying objects four white men were charged with assault.

A Negro woman knifed a white youth at Lake City when she was refused admission to a white section of a theater. In a brawl that followed, one white man, Thomas E. Booth, was shot in the stomach and another was injured. A rainstorm described by a deputy as "a godsend" broke up the disturbance.

After four nights of window smashing and gun-toting, the Lake Okeechobee farming community of Pahokee put a curfew into effect. Then eight of the town's 10 restaurants agreed to integrate and a truce was called.

THE CAPITOL Theater was closed at Plant City when the admission of 15 Negroes almost touched off a riot. Another near-riot erupted at Lakeland at a drive-in restaurant.

A special force of heavily-armed deputies kept potential troublemakers on the move at Mims, hoping to bring to an end incidents that occurred nightly after July 4. Seven whites were arrested after driving through the Negro district, firing shotgun blasts. Two other whites were jailed after firing shotguns at three Negroes who entered a restaurant.

In major cities like Miami, Pensacola, Fort Lauderdale, Tampa, Daytona Beach, Gainesville and Clearwater, integration proceeded in relative peace.

Most of these cities have had biracial committees working 18 months or longer and have made relatively peaceful progress in desegregation.

At Daytona Beach, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, chairman of the area Council on Human Relations, said business leaders were observing the new law and "the pressure has been lifted."

Maj. Robert Johnson of Fort Lauderdale police said, "We are highly pleased with the absence of trouble, and this point we don't expect any."

Florida Racial Incidents Spur Civil Rights Huddle

Miami Herald 7/8/64

Herald Bureau, Wire Reports

LAKELAND—Gov. Farris Bryant Tuesday scheduled talks with federal officials on implementation of the new civil rights bill in Florida as new racial trouble spots sprouted in the state.

The governor said he will meet Friday in Tallahassee with the federal officials.

Meanwhile, racial tensions appeared on the rise in at least four towns — Lakeland, Tallahassee and the little Palm Beach County town of Pahokee on the shore of Lake Okeechobee and Mims, in North Brevard County.

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IN MIMS, three Negro youths were wounded by shotgun blasts late Monday night during a racial dispute outside a truck stop restaurant.

The three Negro boys, from Mims and nearby Oak Hill, were hit by shotgun pellets in the face, arms and legs, but did not require hospitalization, sheriff Leigh Wilson said.

Benjamin Martin, 17, of Oak Hill, one of the Negro's wounded in the fracas, told police a group of white youths in two automobiles fired the shots as he approached the Mims Truck Stop on two occasions shortly before midnight.

The first shooting occured at the rear of the Mims Post Office. The boys reported the shots were fired by white youths in a nearby automobile.

Minutes later, the Negroes returned to the scene with 15 Negro companions, and this time white youths in two autos fired shotguns at the group.

Sheriff Leigh Wilson said the shooting apparently was caused by an attempt to integrate the Mims Truck Stop which has separate eating facilities for Negro and white customers.

Seven armed white youths who were driving near the Mims shooting scene were questioned. Ranging in age from 17 to 24, the seven were armed with two 12 gauge shotguns, police reported.

No arrests had been made late Tuesday.

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PAHOKEE CITY councilmen Tuesday turned the city-leased swimming pool back to the Lions Club, which will operate it on a private membership basis. The decision followed the second straight night of racial violence in Pahokee.

Monday, rock and bottle throwing groups of whites and Negroes roamed the city streets breaking a number of store windows. The violence occurred after nearly 100 police officers halted a large group of Negroes who were marching on Pahokee's white section about 9 p.m., police said.

At the same time, a crowd of whites had gathered at a drive-in and "were just waiting" for the Negroes, officers added.

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IN ST. AUGUSTINE — Negroes made plans Tuesday for a massive effort to integrate every hotel, motel, restaurant and theater — beginning this morning.

The Rev. Hosea Williams of Savannah, Ga., said that integrationists would hit 30 establishments today to test their compliance with the Civil Rights Act.

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IN LAKELAND, 20 white youths were arrested Monday night, bringing the total of whites arrested this week to 26, including six Sunday night.

The arrests came as a crowd of about 100 boys, headed for a Negro pool hall. Police turned back the crowd. Negroes earlier had threatened to go to an all-white skating rink, but the rink quickly closed down.

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IN TALLAHASSEE, five Negro teenagers were jailed Monday night for firing a deadly weapon — a shotgun — into the driver's side door of an automobile carrying two white boys and flying Confederate colors.

No one was injured, police said. The boy who pulled the trigger, 18-year-old Robert M. Baker, said he had the gun with him "in case of trouble."

The incident occurred at a newly integrated drive-in restaurant.

IN OTHER cities, Negroes have been admitted to previously segregated restaurants, and a few movies, since the signing of the civil rights bill last Thursday, all without incident.

The governor announced Tuesday he will meet Friday with Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges, former Gov. LeRoy Collins and other federal officials to discuss implementing the new act in the state.

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Bryant, Clergymen Discuss Integration

TALLAHASSEE — (AP) — A group of Negro and white clergymen from Central Florida met with Gov. Farris Bryant Monday and offered a plan to peacefully desegregate Florida.

The nine-member group was composed of Jews, Episcopalians and protestants. They represented congregations at Winter Park, Orlando and Cocoa Beach.

After a closed-door session with Bryant for more than 40 minutes, The Rev. James C. Terfry of Winter Park, said the governor took the plan under advisement.

Details of the plan presented to Bryant were not discussed.

Rabbi Benno M. Wallach of Orlando said the group declined to discuss their conference with the governor because they did not want to rock the boat.

Rabbi Wallach did not elaborate except to say that the group knew Bryant's view on integration.

During a news conference last week, Bryant gave this as his position:

"Segregation has always been my policy. In my official capacity, it is my function to establish and maintain a climate in society which permits people to establish those relationships among themselves consistent with their own freedoms and the freedom of others that they desire."

The Rev. Nelson W. Pinder, a Negro clergyman from Orlando, said, "This is not a pressure group." He said any further information about the meeting would have to come from the governor.

Rev. Pinder said the governor told the clergymen he would talk soon with former Florida Gov. LeRoy Collins about implementing the Civil Rights Act in Florida.

Collins was named by President Lyndon Johnson to implement the new law on the national level. He will work with Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges.

Rev. Terfry said the group would take no further action until Bryant contacted them about their integration plan.

He also said the group did not intend to expand its membership until Bryant possibly takes some action.

BAGGS

7/6/64 Miami News

Respect Of Law

In Albany, Ga., where the racial issue had boiled agony and violence, the Negroes entered the restaurant, sat down and were served. No questions asked.

The manager of the motel in St. Augustine, the motel which was the very symbol of segregated ways, says he would obey the new law.

No Negro had ever sat down for a haircut in the Hotel Muehlebach in Kansas City until Friday, when a 13-year-old lad named Eugene got clipped. The barber said:

"I don't mind cutting that little boy's hair. He can't help what color he is."

The Contrast

The story was told a thousand times, North and South, of how America behaved after Lyndon Johnson put his pen to the civil rights bill and made it a law.

This is the true strength of the United States . . . its reverence for law.

Law gives us order, and what peace we have. Contrast our way to the Soviet way. Law is often a facade and even succession in high office is not possible without a coup. Thus Malenkov took over from Stalin, and Bulganin and Khrushchev from Malenkov and Khrushchev from Bulganin, and no trace of the law can be seen in the acts of violence and disorder.

The great affection for law in the case of civil rights is seen most clearly by persons who, by tradition and choice, are segregationists, but yet they say: "I will obey the law."

Long Before

The smack of the Civil Rights Act is somehow softened by the appointment of LeRoy Collins as a kind of expediter of the new law. The people of Florida know the former governor as fair and open, and as a man who encouraged voluntary action by each community long before there was the law.

We may anticipate the same workings now that Gov. Collins has taken over the federal position. His philosophy has been to argue for common sense, and to argue that the people of a community know their community best, and can solve the racial problem in their community . . . if they will try.

Here in Miami, we should experience no large troubles.

For several years the strength of law among our citizens has been plain enough. For several years the Negro leaders here have demonstrated brains and tolerance and goodwill . . . and they have achieved more than in any other city of the South.

Job Problem

Our problem here is one of employment. The problem needs training programs and vocational education, because the people of Miami already have shown they want racial peace and more, they want fair opportunity for everyone.

But in places where race meant violence, the transition in America, over the weekend, once again revealed how strong we are, because of our reverence for the law.

Miami Herald 7/5/64

But Obey Without Violence

Test Rights Law in Court, Holland Urges Floridians

By LEE WINFREY
Herald Staff Writer

BARTOW — Sen. Spessard L. Holland said Saturday that Floridians should test the civil rights law in court, but obey it without violence meanwhile.

HOLLAND

In an address prepared for delivery at Peace River Park, Holland told a Fourth of July audience:

"We have the clear right to attempt by persuasion to repeal those portions (of the law) which we do not approve. We have both the right and the duty to challenge in the courts those portions which we think are unconstitutional.

"But as law-abiding citizens, we have no right to defy it and no choice but to obey this new and distasteful law."

Speaking in his hometown, the senator said, "I hope we shall not resort to bitterness, much less to violence of any kind, and I hope we shall always recall that when good citizens do not obey the law they help to bring about a breakdown of government.

"This is a time," he said, "for patience, restraint, self-control and tolerance."

The veteran Democrat said it was his opinion that "the pendulum of our national philosophy has swung too far to the left," but he spoke hopefully of the South's future under the new law.

"We will not only survive this experience," he said, "but we will come through with flying colors, with continued development and prosperity, with continued biracial progress in many fields through conscientious and continuing efforts, and I believe without much of the disorder and lawlessness which has already reared its ugly head in other parts of the nation..."

Pepper Says New Law Means Racial Peace

Miami News 7/5/64

Rep. Claude Pepper predicted here yesterday the Civil Rights Law would become an instrument of peace rather than strife in the United States.

Speaking at six patriotic rallies in North Miami, North Miami Beach and Carol City, including American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and Moose functions, Pepper said he was confident Americans "are going to accept this measure as the law of the land and carry it out in good faith."

"Our forebears have not failed us. Let us resolve we shall not fail posterity."

Meanwhile, at least two Miami restaurants which previously had refused to serve Negroes have been "tested."

A spokesman at the Rebel Steer Restaurant, 695 NW 95th St., reported several Negroes were served without incident.

In February CORE picketed the place for maintaining a policy of segregation after two members were arrested for staging a sit-in.

Mugge's Restaurant, at 1818 NW 36th St., also received a token visit. "Two men came in, one had pie and the other Jello," the proprietor said. "As long as they don't demonstrate, it's no problem."

Miami Herald 7/4/64

No Sit-ins Planned

County to Be Excluded From Big Rights Test

By KURT LUEDTKE
Herald Staff Writer

Miami will not be a target for sit-in tests of the Civil Rights Act this summer.

At the request of local NAACP officials, Dade has been excluded from a massive campaign to test observance of the law throughout the South.

"We do not plan any testing in this area because of our working agreement with people of responsibility in this community," the Rev. Theodore Gibson, president of the local NAACP chapter, explained Friday.

"Thus far we have been able to work together toward a common understanding. We want to do by them as we wish they will do by us."

Father Gibson
. . . 'to do by them . . .'

Instead, the Metro Commission will be asked Tuesday to pass a public accommodations law, similar to the federal bill, but giving local leaders control and room to mediate.

John Turner, of the Metro Community Relations Board, said Friday the commission already has authorized the law by passing a resolution calling for an ordinance "when it is legally possible."

"Since the federal civil rights bill now has passed, a public accommodations law in accordance with the bill's provisions is now possible," Turner said. "We expect that the county attorney and the commission will act in accordance with the previous resolution."

When the resolution passed, Florida law defined hotels and restaurants as private property, subject to the trespass laws. The federal law now supercedes state restrictions.

"We want the local law to give us time to sit down and talk without running into court every time there's a snag. We enjoy excellent relations here and we want to keep them that way."

The CRB and the county attorney's office have discussed the proposed law and are in general agreement on its provisions. It probably will provide injunctive relief rather than criminal punishment and establish a community mediation board, possibly as an arm of the CRB.

Gibson said plans for NAACP tests were made at the association's national convention in Washington last week.

"Practically every major city in this state will be involved," he said, "but we agreed that it would not be in our best interests to do so here."

There were sit-ins in Tallahassee and Tampa Friday and tests are planned in Orlando and Jacksonville. The Congress of Racial Equality in Miami said it planed to check four previously segregated restaurants Monday, but said there would be no major sit-ins.

"We're just going to see if they're obeying the law," a spokesman reported. "Nothing more."

All four restaurants said they would serve Negroes to abide by the law.

We Must Obey The Law

Miami News 7/3/64

In 1860, as this nation talked of civil war, Abraham Lincoln also talked of civil rights. In a New York address, he said:

> *"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."*

With the strokes of his pen yesterday, President Lyndon Johnson did his duty by signing into law the new Civil Rights legislation, historic steps designed to end, once and for all, public discrimination against all races, creeds and colors.

Now it becomes the duty of the American people to accept this law of the land for ours is a government of law. And even beyond this, we must obey the law of the land.

Little more than a year ago, when he sent the Civil Rights request to Congress, the late President Kennedy said he did so "*because it is right.*" It is both right and proper, then, to expect all Americans to obey this new law.

St. Augustine is about to learn the lesson. Reasonable, law-abiding men will keep the peace. A biracial committee there now substitutes good faith for violence, faith that has been lacking in recent weeks.

Most encouraging is the word that St. Augustine business leaders say they will accept and obey the law, which is as it should be. The legislation signed by President Johnson should ease the pressure of civil rights demonstrators, taking the issue off the streets and into the courts, when necessary.

The signing comes on the eve of

JEFFERSON

LINCOLN

the Fourth of July, when America declared its independence 188 years ago. We would do well to remember Jefferson's basic statement of our right to "*life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.*"

Lincoln expressed his dislike for discrimination thusly:

> *"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it."*

The Civil Rights law must be obeyed if we are to retain our freedom.

Take Rights Woes To Court—Bryant

Miami Herald 7/3/64

TALLAHASSEE — (UPI) — Gov. Farris Bryant appealed to Floridians and outsiders Thursday to settle differences under the federal civil rights law with court fights instead of street fights.

Bryant made the appeal in anticipation of final passage Thursday of the controversial bill through Congress.

Then Bryant, who has stayed close to the office during the racial upheaval in St. Augustine, in which a truce has now been declared, stepped aboard a plane for a family holiday weekend in Mexico.

Bryant said he is already getting calls about the innumerable possibilities that can arise under attempted assertion of assumed rights under the civil rights law, mostly arising from the public accommodations provisions.

"Of course anybody, if the bill passes, has a right to assert what he considers to be his right.

"I would hope that if there is a conflict that instead of making it a physical conflict they would say 'All right, I'll see you in court,'" Bryant said.

He said people should follow the orderly procedures provided under terms of the law rather than trying to enforce their rights by a "physical confrontation of contending parties."

He pointed out that it would put local law enforcement officers on the spot.

"What position is the sheriff of a county going to be in?" he asked at a news conference.

"If somebody calls in and says, 'I am entitled to do so and so and this man says I can't' and the man calls and says there is a fellow here that I don't want here, he is causing trouble and I want you to get him off.'"

The governor said the sheriff cannot be a lawyer or a judge.

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Durham, N.C. Herald

CR Bill Support Is Voiced

6/24/64

By ERNEST ROBL
Herald Staff Writer

Two representatives of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish service organization holding its district convention at the Jack Tar Hotel this week, said that the ADL and its parent organization were in complete support of the civil rights bill now before the Congress.

The statement was made in an interview Tuesday afternoon, at which the aim and scope of ADL were discussed.

Paul Seiderman of Miami Beach, Fla., and Dr. Leon Feldman of Asheville, N.C., who are serving as commissioners for ADL, explained that the ADL is the educational aim of B'nai B'rith and works to "strengthen and secure democracy and democratic principles and the rights of all citizens by education, seminars, and dialogues between groups of different religious and ethnic backgrounds."

The Anti-Defamation League, which works under the national direction of Dr. Benjamin Epstein, conducted several workshops at the Durham convention.

The three general areas with which the group concerns itself are a proposal by the Catholic Church at the ecumenical council regarding a resolution on human rights and the elimination of the causes of anti-Semitism; the growing and continuing probelm of anti-Semitism and the denial of human freedoms in the Soviet Union; and the imminent passage of the civil rights bill now before the Congress of the United States, and its peaceful implementation.

The proposed resolution before the Catholic Church concerns itself with doing away with the charge of Deicide, which has existed since the crucification of Jesus Christ. The resolution states that the charge should not be attributed to Jews, but should be taken as a reflection on the sins of all mankind. To implement this action, the ADL has been holding conferences with other religious groups in various parts of the U.S.

The two officials of the ADL said that the three million Jews in the Soviet Union comprise the second largest Jewish community, second in size only to that in the U.S. and that there is a threat of the human and religious rights of these people. It was pointed out that the Soviet government engages in what the ADL considers cultural genicide, through the elimination of synagogues, the desecration of Jewish cemeteries, and the destruction of Jewish literature.

In conjunction with its campaign against the present situations in the Soviet Union, the ADL has brought these matters to the attention of the United Nations and many other organizations, in addition to circulating a letter of conscience which has been signed by thousands of persons.

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Miami News 6/24/64

BILL BAGGS

The New Law

What the nation must learn this summer is to make a clean distinction between hooliganism and civil rights.

On or around the Fourth of July, it is expected that President Johnson shall pick up his pen and sign the civil rights bill into law.

It is not a perfect bill — indeed few are — and the makers of the legislation seem to know already the law is going to need amendments from time to time.

Yet it is law, or soon shall be, and no one seriously believes the people of the United States are not going to obey this or any other law. The alternative is a jungle life where men and not law prevail.

Incredible Fact

However, no one should mix the enforcement of the law, or any expression in the long struggle for civil rights, with criminal acts. One is not related to the other.

A gentleman who formerly lived in New York City said he could remember the muggings and the killings several years ago, but no one associated such crime with civil rights.

Today a young tough, perhaps a Negro, explains his act of violence on a dark New York street with the words: "Civil rights." This is incredible. But it is a fact.

In St. Augustine, the tables are turned. Negroes are chased off the beaches by white hoodlums, who say the Negroes have no rights on the beaches built by God and nature. This, too, is incredible. But it happened.

Agonizing Order

Such stuff makes agony for the Negro leader. His interest is to help open doors, so long shut, in order that Negroes can find and enjoy a better life. He is pursuing opportunity for his race.

Right here in Miami, no persons have been more responsible and honest than the Negro leaders. They are not interested in breaking laws or exhibiting their grievance.

They are interested in better housing for the Negro who now languishes in the slums, and for better jobs, and more jobs which offer more equipment than a broom. And these leaders are effective because they work for what counts for this large minority.

As the civil rights bill becomes law, the only thing to do and the proper thing to do is to enforce it fairly.

We should have no large trouble in Miami. But both white and black should make that one distinction . . . that civil rights is one thing, and the fine thing, but criminal acts are other and different things.

Respect For Law

One Negro leader, up North, expressed the case quite well. He said:

"The Negro who influences a criminal act and then yells something about his civil rights is a greater enemy to the Negro movement than the Ku Klux Klan and all its admirers."

Now comes on the law and the need for distinctions and the need to respect the new law.

The Miami Herald

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Some Good, Some Bad -- But All Law

History And The Rights Bill

HOW much history was made yesterday in the Senate, and was it good or bad?

The overwhelming passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 just 12 months to the day after the late President Kennedy had called for action is surely a milestone in legislative history.

The issue was joined 17 months ago. As such, it was a bipartisan issue, for the first bill was introduced by 42 House Republicans. On passage in the House after nine days of debate on Feb. 10, the vote was 290 to 130. The ensuing Senate filibuster lasted 75 days — a record — and history-breaking cloture produced 125 amendments, only 12 of which passed.

These are the statistical bare bones of a measure which elaborately forbids discrimination of any kind in education, voting, employment and public accommodations.

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THE LAW as adopted by the Senate is, in our opinion, defective.

While enforcement is hedged about with countless legalisms which blunt the argument that it would set up a "police state," even so it invades some areas which really bear no relationship of government to individuals.

In the employment title, for instance, there is power for the attorney general to file a general suit in cases of "general public" import regarding alleged discrimination.

The litigation that may follow on every hand may be endless. In this respect the law is the greatest boon to the lawyer since the invention of the ambulance.

Yet the law is the law when it endures the process of hearing and debate in open chamber under our two-party political system.

Undoubtedly the new civil rights act will meet with constitutional challenge, as has other legislation enjoying huge popular support. If it survives this test also it must be regarded irrevocably as the freely-chosen law of the land.

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NO clearer illustration of this choice is available historically than the courageous manner in which Sen. Barry Goldwater voted against the bill.

True, he overspoke when he derided the Senate and a Republican majority for the bill as "what was once the greatest deliberative body on earth." The question rises what the senatorial candidate for President will do if the Republican platform to be adopted at San Francisco next month follows the lead of the Republican congressional majority and not his own.

But if some of what was said is heedless and needless, nevertheless Sen. Goldwater is to be admired for his consistency and his sincerity. It would have been easier to weasel out and in some manner convince minority groups that Barry isn't all that bad.

Every congressman had the opportunity to put himself on record, and nearly all did. So the nation has a consensus just short of a century after Appomattox. This, we think, is history, and it is good.

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THE BAD is the potentially dangerous use to which this law or any like it can be put.

Thirty-one states have similar legislation governing discrimination in employment. One such law is being abused this very day in California, where CORE is constantly harassing the Bank of America. The bank contends that it is living well within the law, but it has been pressured into giving CORE detailed statistics on its employes. This is a clear invasion of privacy and an infringement of private enterprise.

In Florida a racial truce on accommodations at St. Augustine has been broken by demonstrators who invaded a motel swimming pool. This was no exercise of civil rights but an exercise in trespassing, plain and simple.

The bad faith behind these acts, if it is manifest again, can destroy whatever good has come of settling in Congress an ancient argument.

We hope that the new law will take the heat off the issue. But if its spirit is regarded as a license to stir up racial animosities in the name of civil rights, then the bad will obscure the good.

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

330 SEYBOLD BUILDING, MIAMI 32, FLORIDA, FRANKLIN 3-6306

July 14, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Rather than answer the six questions you pose in your memo one by one, I will simply give you my evaluation of the State of Florida vis-a-vis Operation Compliance. We are a southern state. We have had some trouble. In fact, there are eight specific communities where there has been trouble since, and due to, the passage of the Civil Rights Bill.

These trouble spots were Lake Wales, Lake City, Pahokee, Plant City, Lakeland, Mims, Tallahassee and St. Petersburg. I am enclosing for you only, a copy of a news release which details all of the trouble which has taken place in the state in the past two weeks.

As opposed to the communities listed above, there has been considerable peace in major cities like Miami, Pensacola, Ft. Lauderdale, Tampa, Daytona Beach, Gainesville, Sarasota and Clearwater. Indeed, on a relative basis, one can almost include St. Augustine in this category.

For use by SRC, Potomac and Oscar Cohen, I am sending along statements which have been made by religious, business and political leaders on the Civil Rights Bill. These range from "Avoid Violence" to"A Day of Rededication". I am certain these will be helpful to you in obtaining a picture of the attitudes developing in the State of Florida.

It appears that we are holding our own right now and, though there are trouble spots, with conscious effort we can continue to make use peacefully, of the public accommodations available to Negroes and other minority groups. Ed Lewis and I spoke at length about Operation Compliance and I would hope that Ed would write to you and favor me with a copy of his impressions.

It sure is different here in Florida, than it was in Louisiana, and Mississippi!

Kindest regards,

Irw

Irwin Schulman

cc: Alex Miller, Ted Freedman, Art Levin, Ed Lewis, Oscar Cohen

NATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

1329 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

M E M O July 16, 1964

TO: Mr. Arthur Levin, Potomac Institute
Mr. Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Louis Mitchell, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Mr. Abe Venable, Community Relations Service

FROM: Julie T. Wilson, National Women's Committee for Civil Rights

RE: OPERATION OPPORTUNITY - Report from Savannah, Georgia Dated Jun 27
Susan P. Water,
6802 Laroche Avenue

"....Mrs. Mary Robertson, who was in Atlanta with me, and I have discussed selecting and organizing a group. We came up against an almost impossible situation. Mrs. Pauley had told us of Father Toomey. We contacted him. He is tremendously busy this week with meetings dealing with the Civil Rights situation.

He will not be able to meet with us this week, but we are expecting to have an opportunity to talk with him the first of next week.

There is a group working towards compliance and they seem to be doing a fine job. We do not want to get in the way of these workers.

After our talk with Father Toomey and the receipt of the list of names from you, we will proceed with as much dispatch as possible.

Too bad this is summer. People are hard to get hold of and I will be out of pocket from July 16, but we hope our program will be on the road by this time.

COPY Mrs. Francis Pauley. "

Susan Waters

copy - Paul Anthony

COPY - COPY - COPY - COPY - COPY

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

July 17, 1964

Miss Margaret Mealey
Executive Director
National Council of Catholic Women
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Miss Mealey:

Thank you for your letter of July 8 and your assurance of support of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by the National Council of Catholic Women.

We appreciate the material you enclosed and are pleased to know of the coordinators in the various communities on whom we might call for assistance in the peaceful implementation of the Act.

Sincerely yours,

Luther H. Hodges
Secretary of Commerce

News and Courier Charleston, S. C. 7/17/64

$11 Million At Stake

State School Officials Face Financial Facts Of Life

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

School officials throughout South Carolina are pondering the financial and legal facts of life in the light of warnings that federal funds will be cut off if public schools aren't desegregated.

Federal funds totaling more than $11 million are at stake in the state's public school administration to the new civil rights law, an Education Department official said Thursday.

The money is involved in school operations in every district of the state — money for school lunches, programs totaling $4.5 million, commodity distribution from $2 to $4 million, vocational programs of $1.2 million, National Defense Education Act funds of $2.25 million in addition to over $4 million in funds to impacted areas.

[illegible], finance director of the State Department of Education, said all these funds are at stake under the civil rights law. And these funds — or some of them — are used by every school district in the state.

In a development Wednesday, trustees of Beaufort School District No. 1 approved transfer of three Negro pupils to white schools this fall.

The Beaufort schools stand to lose $303,178 next year in "impacted area" funds.

Elsewhere, two Negro girls applied for admission to all-white Daniel High School near Clemson. The applications will be considered by the Pickens County Board of Trustees July 27. The girls now attend Clearview High School at Easley.

In Orangeburg, trustees of School District No. 5 met Thursday night to consider a request for tuition grant funds from sponsors of a private, segregated school system, scheduled to start this fall.

More than 2,000 of the Orangeburg school district's 3,500 white school children have applied for admission to the private school.

Participating parents have been asked to contribute $5 a pupil a week. In addition, the private school backers hope to raise the rest of the money through the untried tuition grants program, approved by the 1963 General Assembly.

The program allows use of state public school funds to send children to sectarian, private schools. The per pupil allotment from the state would be about $185 a year—the same as the public school allocation.

A special fund of $[illegible] has been set aside to get the program started.

Three school districts in Charleston County—James Island and District Nos. 4 and 20—already have asked the State Department of Education for tuition grant funds. The three districts get federal impacted area funds to cover some of the expenses of providing education for the dependents of military personnel. District 4's cut of the funds is the largest in the state, $[illegible].

7/18/64

Russell Attacks Mixing Warning

COLUMBIA (UPI) — Gov. Donald Russell Friday accused a federal official of apparently seeking to stampede South Carolina school officials into desegregation action under threat of immediate withdrawal of federal funds.

James Quigley, undersecretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, told 16 school districts last week that they must present desegration plans by this fall or lose federal funds and face federal suits.

As much as $11 million or more could be tied up under federal action, included more than $4 million for impacted areas plus school lunch funds, vocational education programs and other federal funds used in public education.

Quigley based his statement on the new civil rights law which prohibits federal funds going to racially segregated schools or other projects.

Russell said that the official's comments were "premature and ill - advised and he certainly spoke on matters

(See RUSSELL, Page 9-A)

GOV. RUSSELL
Critical Of Plans

which are completely unsettled at this time.

"I can see no justification of this demand for panic action here on the eve of another school year and after most of these schools have fixed their budgets for the coming year," Russell said.

"In the first place, rules, regulations or orders of general applicability must be formulated. It is my understanding that the rules have not even been drawn yet, so no school district could possibly comply with them," the governor added.

Russell said that the rules and regulations would become effective only on presidential approval and that no funds cutoff could take place until the appropriate person or persons had been notified of failure to comply with the requirements.

"Even if any terminating actions are taken, the head of the federal department or agency administering the program must file with the committees of the United States House and Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program involved a full written report of the circumstances and grounds for such action," Russell said.

Ater that 30 days must elapse after the report before any action can become effective, the governor pointed out.

"It appears plain to me that there is a long road to travel before any determination can be made unde rtitle six of the civil rights act," Russell said.

Any action also would be subject to judicial review, Russell added.

In view of these procedures, Russell said the action of federal officials attempting to "panic school districts into precipitate action is without warrant and will operate to create needless confusion and tension."

Civil Rights Act Reviewed In S. C.

WASHINGTON (AP) — Welfare Department officials have met with state and local school officials in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana to review provisions of the Civil Rights Act, a spokesman said Friday.

The official said Assistant Secretary of Welfare James M. Quigley and others reviewed Titles 4 and 6 of the Civil Rights Act at meetings last week.

Similar meetings are planned in other states but details have not been worked out, he added.

Title 4 deals with desegregation of public education and Title 6 deals with nondiscrimination in federally - assisted programs.

The meetings were held in Charleston, Atlanta, Montgomery, and New Orleans, the spokesman said.

The spokesman denied reports that federal officials have set a September deadline for submission of desegregation plans for schools which receive federal aid under the impacted areas school aid program.

The meetings with school board chairmen, school superintendents and state school officials were held to explain the provisions of the law, and the procedure for implementing it, the spokesman said.

"No deadline was set for presentation of any plans," he added. "We do not have any authority to do it. Regulations to implement the law must first be promulgated."

7/18/64

The Gen'l Rides Again

Ark Gazette July 19 '64

Pine Bluff Commerical

Last month, the Arkansas Supreme Court ruled that four of the laws attorney General Bruce Bennett had drafted in 1958 were unconstitutional. His legal reasoning having been riddled by the court, The Gen'l now has adopted a tactic more in keeping with his grasp of constitutional law—defiance by ignorance.

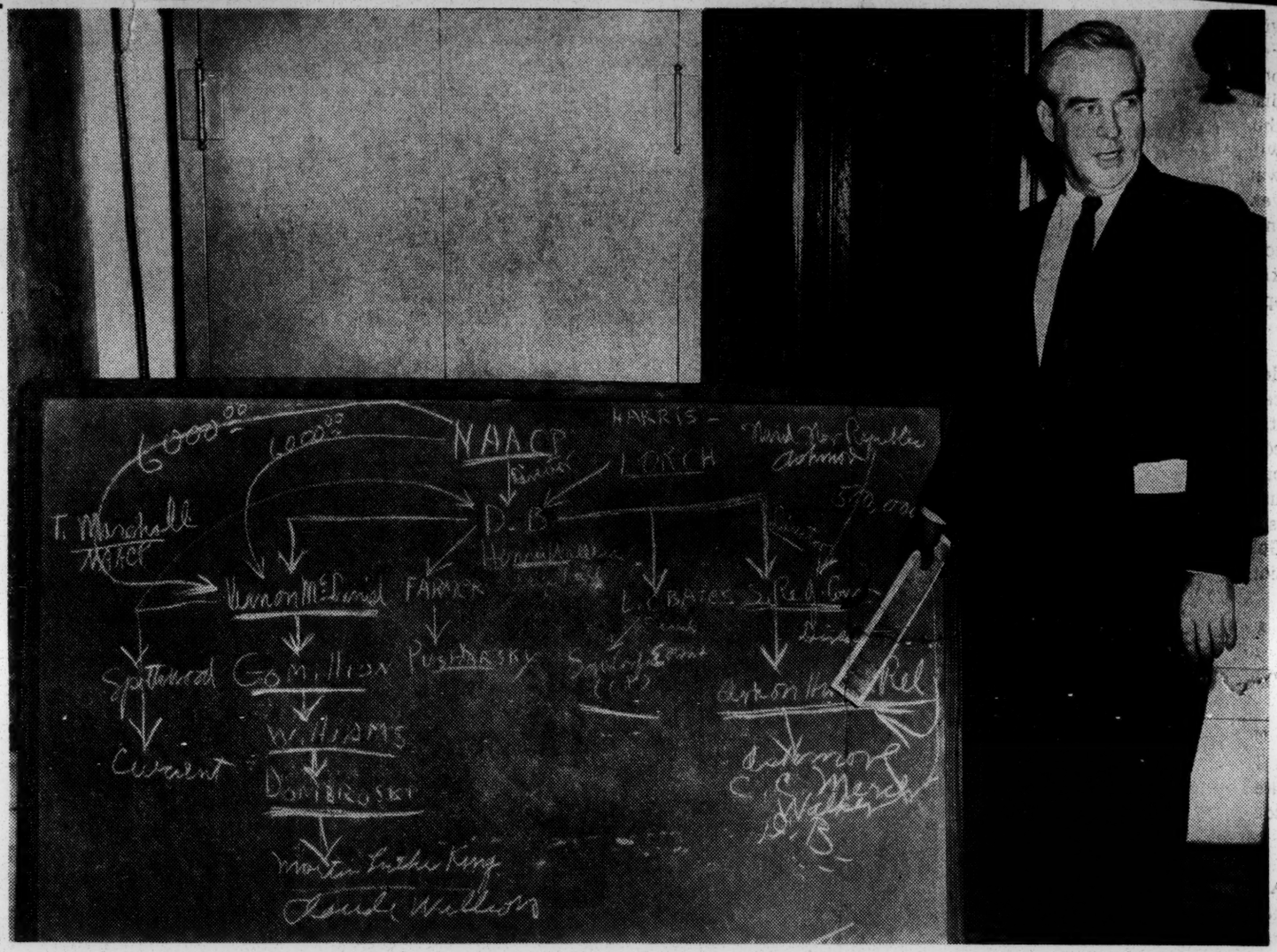
After a year of fully recorded debates on this issue in Congress, after a filibuster on the law that stretched out for months, and after an assortment of organizations ranging from Mississippi Jaycees to Pine Bluff National Patriots distributed photocopies of the civil rights proposal, Gen'l Bennett says that he is ignorant of its specific provisions.

All of which is reminiscent of the infantry sergeant ordered to check out a Korean village. The young lieutenant who dispatched the sergeant assured him that no enemy troops could be in the vicinity. The sergeant dutifully set out and found the space crawling with whole divisions of Red Chinese. The sergeant reported this fact to the intelligence officer, who expressed regret that his intelligence reports showed no such troops. "Intelligence reports?" the sergeant replied, "Why didn't you buy a newspaper?"

Gen'l Bennett would not even have had to invest in a paper; he could have written his congressman or found the full text and numerous explanations of the bill in the Congressional Record, a remarkably voluminous publication that the federal government distributes.

If receiving mail from such quarters would have embarrassed The Gen'l around the state Capitol, he might have requested that it be forwarded in a plain wrapper.

The attorney general advises citizens to act as though this law had not been enacted because Bruce Bennett is ignorant of its specific provisions.



—Staff Photo by Gene Prescott

Gen'l Bennett Before Chart on Blackboard at 1958 Legislative Hearings on Communism and Integration

Judging by his uncanny ability to draft unconstitutional legislation, wouldn't obeying only those laws that Gen'l Bennett could understand represent a rather dangerous course for the state of Arkansas?

What The Gen'l has done, in this latest piece of legal wizardry, is to propound a revolutionary new theory of law non-enforcement. According to the Bennett Postulation, a law need not be obeyed until after it has been tested in the courts.

The Bennett Postulation abounds with fascinating aspects. What if it were applied, for instance, to law in general? Can businesses also wait until the latest tax laws have been tested in the court before they have to pay their assessments? Al Capone might have avoided that trip to Alcatraz if only he had been able to grasp the Bennett Postulation's effect on federal income tax laws. Must citizens pay their state taxes (the source of Gen'l Bennett's salary) before they have fully tested this form of expropriation in the courts? Or are they to disregard only those laws which Bruce Bennett considers unconstitutional? Could a malefactor expect acquittal in court if he had never seen the official text of the state's criminal code and therefore claimed ignorance of its specific provisions?

Why, the potential of the Bennett Postulation has scarcely been touched. It contains a wealth of possibilities—primarily anarchy and nonsense.

July 10, 1964

M E M O

TO: Miss Helen Raebeck, NCJW
Miss Ethlyn Christensen, YWCA
Miss Dorothy Height, NCNW
Mrs. Eleanor French, UCW (Attention - Carrie Mears)
Dr. Polly Tompkins, AAUW
Mr. Paul Anthony

FROM: Mrs. Julie T. Wilson

RE: Report from Little Rock

"We are proceeding along somewhat different lines in order to work within the existing framework here. We have just organized a coordinating committee on community organizations interested in civil rights and I am chairman of the sub-committee on implementation of the civil rights law. This is a broader based group than just the five women's organizations but I have also talked with their presidents and they have agreed to cooperate. Some were already included. I am enclosing the statement and instructions which went to 25 organizations' heads yesterday. We had a meeting as indicated July 2 and drafted the statement. We are also seeking Chamber of Commerce endorsement. Our negotiating committee has already desegregated 85% of downtown facilities but there are many in other parts of town which remain to be done. We would like to work through this group, however, which has been secret until now incidently, and strengthen it because it does represent real power on the business side. We will get them to go as far as they can and then we will do the mop-up of making calls on the remaining hold-out businesses.

"All organizations were extremely cooperative. . . we have a very active Catholic Interracial Council which is cooperating. Mr. Bill Kelly is president and several of my Panel girls are members."

Cordially,

(s) Sara Murphy

cc: Peggy Roach

STATEMENT

(issued by the downtown coordinating committee of Little Rock, Arkansas)

"The coordinating committee on community organizations, representing ____ organizations listed below, is concerned with problems confronting our community with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which has been signed by the President, becoming law.

"Recognizing the accomplishments of the downtown negotiating committee, we pledge our support and cooperation to this group in obtaining orderly compliance with the requirements of this Act.

Endorsing Organization_____

Head_____
(title)

Instructions:

1. Please get your executive board or, if necessary, board of managers to approve the above statement. It will be delivered to the downtown negotiating committee which has been successful in the desegregation of many public facilities in Little Rock.

2. Please get permission from your organizations for its name to be used in negotiations by the committee as a group which will support and patronize eating places, motels, hotels, theaters and other public facilities which do comply with the law. Community support is important in these negotiations.

3. Please get permission from your organization for its name to be used as an endorsing organization in a letter to go to owners of open facilities congratulating them on their voluntary compliance and pledging support. Permission is also needed for the use of your organization's name publicity as an endorser of orderly compliance with the law."

July 20, 1964

Mr. Irwin Schulman
Executive Director
Florida Region Office, Anti-Defamation League
330 Seybold Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Irv:

Many thanks for the very helpful information regarding compliance.

And welcome to your new post. Hope all goes well. Look forward to seeing you here and there when schedules permit.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

United Church Women of Virginia

A Department of The Virginia Council of Churches

7626 Sweet Briar Road
Richmond, Virginia 23229
July 20, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I am grateful to Mr. Heslip Lee, Richmond, for adding my name to the list of women attending the special meeting held on June 25th in Atlanta, and also, to Mr. Mitchell for allowing Mr. Lee the privilege of including me. I am the president of the UCW of Virginia and am glad to learn all I can and to help here I can. Miss Zula Pierce, YWCA, Richmond, attended the Atlanta meeting as the 'convenor' for Richmond, and I am sure that she has written you about our meeting of July 9, 1964. We women have had a second meeting for the purpose of calling in Mr. Lee and a representative of the local NAACP office to learn what other groups are planning so that the women might avoid unnecessary duplication of effort.

In reply to your inquiry as to the general reaction of Richmond to the compliance of the newly passed Civil Rights Bill, I am happy to report that Richmond has been very quiet. This does not mean that Negroes are being admitted to all public places!

The press has been silent about instances that might have taken place in Richmond and local organizations have also been silen in that they have made no appeal to the community for compliance.

It is apparent that the lawyers' attitude in Richmond is one of "wait and see and not to desegregate until forced to by a Judge." This came out as a result of a meeting of the golf course owners with several lawyers. There are hotels, restaurants, and theatres open. Many lawyers claim that they are not familiar with the bill and do not know how to advise the individual.

Mr. Lee called together today representation from four groups; NAACP, RCAC, RICHMOND COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, and Miss Pierce' women' committee. I represented Miss Pierce' committee. Mr. Lee is trying to coordinate the various interested groups in Richmond. This committee is in the process of the following:

1. Making up a list of local groups that might be interested in cooperating in this effort.
2. Confirming a list of places that are open and complying with the bill.
3. Confirming a list of places not open and not complying with the bill.
4. Intend to visit the Governor, the Mayor, etc.
5. Have dialogue with the Bar Association.
6. Provide a meeting for state leaders of state organizations and Richmond local organizations ~~might~~ so that they might hear directly from someone from the newly formed Department of Commerce Community Relations Service office under the direction of Governor Leroy Collins. The purpose of this meeting would also be to learn how local groups and state groups might profit from this office.

We in Richmond are in the process of organizing all local interested groups and individuals toward 'action' and hope that by doing it this way we each can be more effective and will have many good reports to make in the very near future.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman

Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman
President of UCW of Va.

File: Oper. Opportunity

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Compliance as reported to the Georgia Council on Human Relations
July 20, 1964

SAVANNAH:

Fine. Hotels, motels, restaurants including Morrison's and Krystal are open. City swimming pools opened July 3, with no difficulties. Bowling alleys are open.

BRUNSWICK:

Fine. Everything open that has been tested. Theaters are admitting Negroes.

MACON:

Fine. Hotels, motels, restaurants including S&S are open. Formerly irate manager of Demsey Hotel invited Negro guests on Sunday July 5. General climate seems unusually good.

COLUMBUS:

Fine. Hotels, motels, restaurants including Morrison's, S&S, Krystal are open. Negroes were welcomed by managers at several places. One County Commissioner told managers of two leading places he would leave if Negroes were served. Negroes were served. Kelley's Hamburger stand refused service at first but are now reported to be complying. Kirven's department store served Negroes in the tea room.

AUGUSTA:

Hotels, motels, restaurants are reported open. The city golf course has been turned into a "private" club, all whites allowed to play, no Negroes. A case has been made with Jack Ruffin as the lawyer. The greatest difficulties were reported at the hospital. Negroes were refused service in the cafeteria at Talmadge Memorial. Signs were put up in cafeteria after the bill passed.

ATLANTA:

Compliance is general with the exception of Heart of Atlanta Motel and Pickrick. These cases are being tried. Three whites arrested in melee at Lakewood Park when Negroes attempted to hear Wallace speak. Thomas Sikes, 20, 3511 Lacey Circle, Robert H. Wheeler, 31, Atlanta, and Walter E. Cleaper, Route 2, Austell.

ROME:

Restaurants, hotels, motels, lunch counters seemed to all have agreed to open, all have not been tested. Holiday Inn is

open. Mr. Holmes spent the night at the Hotel General Forrest. The bell captain took him to his room, and said, "I've waited 33 years for this moment, I've taken many whites up this elevator, but you're the first one of us".

The two (one Negro and one white) swimming pools closed. After a deal with the Negro leadership, the pools opened with an understanding of "no testing yet" from the Negroes. Police chief is keeping order. He dispersed a large group of white hoodlums who were starting to make trouble. A group of whites with Alabama license plate were seen waiting for Negroes at the movie.

CEDARTOWN:

Hotels and restaurants are open with the exception of Wayside Inn which is reportedly not open. Police Chief W. M. Moss is doing a good job of encouraging compliance. Negroes believe he will persuade the Wayside Inn to open. Police protection has been good through the testing period. Negroes have agreed not to go to the swimming pool at the present. They also have agreed to attempt attending schools only for classes not taught in Negro schools.

CARTERSVILLE:

There has been no organized testing here, however it seems there will be compliance. There is evidence that Negroes will stay away from likely trouble spots - swimming pools, bowling alleys and pool rooms. Negroes were harassed after leaving the bowling alley.

ROCKMART:

There has been no organized testing. Some places have complied. Signs have been removed.

GREENSBORO:

Very little testing. The movie was reported as a trouble spot.

MILLEDGEVILLE:

Hotels, motels are reported to be complying. The hospital continued to send Negroes to the rear entrance, police promised Negroes this would be changed. A NAACP petition for public school desegregation has been returned with an unofficial threat that promised Negro street improvement would not materialize.

SYLVANIA:

There is no evidence of any compliance or any testing.

WAYNESBORO:

There is no evidence of any compliance or any testing. Several instances of violence at service stations when Negroes have tried to use rest rooms (before passage of law). Mr. Mims at Standard was reported to have beaten Negro for walking toward the rest room. Mr. Northcutt at Esso also was reported to have used violence.

WASHINGTON:

The general climate is very bad. There is no evidence of compliance or testing. This town seems to need outside help for injunctions and law enforcement.

STATESBORO:

Hotels, motels, restaurants have agreed to comply (with one exception). No testing to our knowledge. One drug store counter was tested and is complying. Georgia Southern College is planning to desegregate this fall. They accepted a Negro this summer but she failed to arrive. Dorms are filled and local Negroes are afraid to house students.

THOMSON:

There was trouble on July 16th., when Negroes "forced their way" into theater. A curfew was established. Two drive-in restaurants refused service. No arrests.

DECATUR:

Compliance is general including eight swimming pools.

DEKALB COUNTY:

Compliance is general including swimming pools.

GAINESVILLE:

Difficulties with mob after Negroes entered pool room. The Chamber of Commerce has called for law and order. The city ordered a curfew.

EAST POINT:

Swimming pools were closed, one white and one Negro. Negroes and whites were arrested for fighting.

WINDER:

Negroes were turned back by a mob of whites when they attempted to enter a theater. A white mob waited until late at night and was not dispersed by police.

WARNER ROBINS:

Tested, complete compliance.

PERRY:

No compliance has been reported. Three places were tested, all refused service. Negroes were barred by state troopers at one. Doc Roughton, defeated sheriff is reported to have led a group to bar Negroes at another restaurant. Mob gathered at a third restaurant.

BARNESVILLE:

There is no report on hotels, motels or restaurants. There was trouble at the movie on July 9 and 10 when white mobs formed. Police did not disperse the crowd. Police chief requested the movie owner to close the movie. The owner wants to comply but is having difficulties with city officials and police. He ownes theaters in several towns.

COCHRAN:

In Cochran it was reported that city officials said "ain't no niggers going in our show".

GRIFFIN:

Things are going well, although there was some trouble at the movie. The theater was emptied because of bomb threat but reopened with Negroes present. Swimming pools are closed for "cooling off".

THOMASVILLE:

Theaters, hotels, motels, and restaurants are complying.

DUBLIN:

Limited testing - bowling alley open.

ALBANY:

Hotels, motels and restaurants have been tested and reported to be complying. Arrests were made at pool, which is now "private" 10 Negroes were convicted of "idling and loitering", each fined $102 or 30 days in jail. ARTIC BEAR Drive-in stand at Slappey Drive and Oglethorpe is reported to have refused service Sunday July 5, 1964 at 9:30 P.M. Reverend Wells was arrested after eating in white establishment. Moonshine was found by police in his car. It is suspected that this could have been a plant.

VALDOSTA:

The movie opened. Negroes were refused service at three restaurants.

AMERICUS:

The greatest violence has been reported from Americus. Where Zev Aleony and friends were beaten on Thursday night July 2 after eating. John Perdew, Bob Mantz and others were beaten on July 3 after being served. Police, firemen and extra police have sought to keep order by keeping Negroes away. White mobs were allowed to form at the movie on Sunday July 5. Negroes and white friends are given no protection. Restaurants serve anyone but people are later threatened or beaten. No white arrests have been made.

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

THE REVEREND CHARLES DEMERÉ
CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
525-6468

DR. LIONEL NEWSOM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

MR. A. J. McCLUNG
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON
SECRETARY

MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM
TREASURER

MRS. FRANCES PAULEY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

July 20, 1964

Dear Board Member:

The last weeks have brought new experiences to the Council. Different from last summer, when on June 11, 1963, the late president of the United States said, "I am, therefore asking the Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public - hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores and similar establishments. This seems to me to be an elementary right..."

Many of you have asked us what we are finding around the state concerning compliance with the new law.

We are enclosing an account, town by town, of the places we have contacted. Our conclusions cannot be documented exactly at this early date, but it seems that compliance has been general in the larger cities. In towns where work has been done, work by civil rights organizations, work by local civic groups, work of the council itself...in these places there is the most compliance. In places where there have been no interracial activities, where there is no 'movement', there still seems to be the old untested patterns and the clearest echo "We ain't going to have no n-i-g-g-e-r-s in our movie". However, in many filling stations and road side stands, there is a sudden absence of discriminatory signs.

It seems at this point that the young Negro groups have been more eager to attend movies, bowling alleys than

they are restaurants or hotels and that many white people feel called upon to keep the Negro away. These young Negroes seemed in many places not to be testing for the sake of information but going to the movie because they wanted to see the show. In several places the pattern is to allow the Negro to be admitted and then see that he has a beating afterwards.

There are instances where whites are arrested but in many places where they are not. We see again the great need for better qualified and trained police. Organizations are speaking out for compliance but more need to speak.

We believe that much depends on the next few weeks. The young Negro needs help in testing. You as a board member can encourage courageous responsible action. The new Act is completely clear that there will be an end to the injustices of discrimination. Now it is time for each of us to get out of our arm chairs and help make this peaceful compliance a reality in Georgia.

Please report any experiences both of receiving service and being refused to our office.

Sincerely yours,

Frances Pauley

Mrs. Frances Pauley,
Executive Director

FP/es
Enclosure

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Very little testing. The movie was reported as a trouble spot.

MILLEDGEVILLE:

Hotels, motels are reported to be complying. The hospital continued to send Negroes to the rear entrance, police promised Negroes this would be changed. A NAACP petition for public school desegregation has been returned with an unofficial threat that promised Negro street improvement would not materialize.

SYLVANIA:

There is no evidence of any compliance or any testing.

WAYNESBORO:

There is no evidence of any compliance or any testing. Several instances of violence at service stations when Negroes have tried to use rest rooms (before passage of law). Mr. Mims at Standard was reported to have beaten Negro for walking toward the rest room. Mr. Northcutt at Esso also was reported to have used violence.

WASHINGTON:

The general climate is very bad. There is no evidence of compliance or testing. This town seems to need outside help for injunctions and law enforcement.

STATESBORO:

Hotels, motels, restaurants have agreed to comply (with one exception). No testing to our knowledge. One drug store counter was tested and is complying. Georgia Southern College is planning to desegregate this fall. They accepted a Negro this summer but she failed to arrive. Dorms are filled and local Negroes are afraid to house students.

THOMSON:

There was trouble on July 16th., when Negroes "forced their way" into theater. A curfew was established. Two drive-in restaurants refused service. No arrests.

DECATUR:

Compliance is general including eight swimming pools.

DEKALB COUNTY:

Compliance is general including swimming pools.

GAINESVILLE:

Difficulties with mob after Negroes entered pool room. The Chamber of Commerce has called for law and order. The city ordered a curfew.

EAST POINT:

Swimming pools were closed, one white and one Negro. Negroes and whites were arrested for fighting.

WINDER:

Negroes were turned back by a mob of whites when they attempted to enter a theater. A white mob waited until late at night and was not dispersed by police.

WARNER ROBINS:

Tested, complete compliance.

PERRY:

No compliance has been reported. Three places were tested, all refused service. Negroes were barred by state troopers at one. Doc Roughton, defeated sheriff is reported to have led a group to bar Negroes at another restaurant. Mob gathered at a third restaurant.

BARNESVILLE:

There is no report on hotels, motels or restaurants. There was trouble at the movie on July 9 and 10 when white mobs formed. Police did not disperse the crowd. Police chief requested the movie owner to close the movie. The owner wants to comply but is having difficulties with city officials and police. He ownes theaters in several towns.

COCHRAN:

In Cochran it was reported that city officials said "ain't no niggers going in our show".

GRIFFIN:

Things are going well, although there was some trouble at the movie. The theater was emptied because of bomb threat but reopened with Negroes present. Swimming pools are closed for "cooling off".

THOMASVILLE:

Theaters, hotels, motels, and restaurants are complying.

DUBLIN:

Limited testing - bowling alley open.

ALBANY:

Hotels, motels and restaurants have been tested and reported to be complying. Arrests were made at pool, which is now "private" 10 Negroes were convicted of "idling and loitering", each fined $102 or 30 days in jail. ARTIC BEAR Drive-in stand at Slappey Drive and Oglethorpe is reported to have refused service Sunday July 5, 1964 at 9:30 P.M. Reverend Wells was arrested after eating in white establishment. Moonshine was found by police in his car. It is suspected that this could have been a plant.

VALDOSTA:

The movie opened. Negroes were refused service at three restaurants.

AMERICUS:

The greatest violence has been reported from Americus. Where Zev Aleony and friends were beaten on Thursday night July 2 after eating. John Perdew, Bob Mantz and others were beaten on July 3 after being served. Police, firemen and extra police have sought to keep order by keeping Negroes away. White mobs were allowed to form at the movie on Sunday July 5. Negroes and white friends are given no protection. Restaurants serve anyone but people are later threatened or beaten. No white arrests have been made.

The National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.

Official Organ — "RESPONSIBILITY"

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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS INC.

OFFICE OF THE

July 14, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

First, permit me to thank the Southern Regional Council for making it possible for me to attend the conference, Operation Opportunity, held at the Peachtree Manor Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, June 24-25. This was indeed a richening experience. The knowledge acquired there can be of great benefit in local communities and I am sure that the women who attended the conference along with me will do an excellent job in their respective communities.

Columbus has reacted to the passage of the Civil Rights Bill in a manner that all of us are very proud. The businesses affected by titles II and III have complied without incident, this of course we can only report on the places tested. Most of the larger businesses and places of public accomodation have been tested and the results has been very good.

The Chamber of Commerce, The Mayor, City and County Commissioners have all cooperated one hundred per cent.

As you perhaps know, the public schools of Columbus will be integrated this September, the pre-planning in this area indicates that there will be no problems there.

In general, Columbus has accepted it's responsibility.

Thanks again and at any time that it is felt that I may be of assistance, please don't hesitate to call on me.

Very truly yours,

Margaret Belcher

Mrs. Margaret L. Belcher

NATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

1329 E Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C.

MEMO

TO: Miss Helen Raebeck, NCJW
Miss Eleanor French, Att: Miss Carrie Meares, UCW
Miss Ethlyn Christensen, YWCA
Miss Dorothy Height, NCNW
Dr. Pauline Tompkins, AAUW
Miss Peggy Roach, WCCW
Mr. Art Levin, Potomac Institute
Mrs. Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Lou Mitchell, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Mr. Abe Venable, Community Relations Service
Mr. Irwin Schulman, Director, ADL

FROM: Julia T. Wilson, National Women's Committee for Civil Rights

RE: Report from Coordinators, OPERATION OPPORTUNITY

Tampa -- Mrs. Nathan L. Marcus

REPORT FROM TAMPA

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Upon my return, I met with several key people in Tampa, namely, Charles Adler, Elizabeth Carmony, and Bill Reed. These people have done much to lay the groundwork for community cooperation and good will through their work on the National Council of Christians and Jews. They were injected with my enthusiasm, and we decided to call a meeting and see if we couldn't enlarge on the work being done.

This meeting was set for the evening of Tuesday, July 6, in the International Room of the University of Tampa. It was well attended, and representatives of the following organizations were present:

Florida Council on Human Relations
Dean of Men -- University of Tampa
University of South Florida
Hillsborough County Sheriffs Office
National Council of Christians and Jews
Tampa Police Department
Tampa Council on Human Relations
Community Services Foundation
B'Nai B'rith
President Pullman Car Porters Union CIO & AFL
Ministerial Association
Church Editor of Newspaper
Hillsborough County Federation of Womens Clubs
Bar Association (Tampa & Hillsborough County)
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Tampa City Council
NAACP
Urban League
National Council of Negro Women
League of Woman Voters
U.U.A.W.
National Council of Jewish Women

I gave a report of the Atlanta meeting and stressed the importance of striving for peaceful compliance with the law just passed in regard to public accomodations of the Civil Rights Bill.

Much interest was created in the question and answer period, but it was felt that the timing wasn't such as to start a new organization now to work toward this end. That we would strengthen our present structure and those present offered to give of their services in this project. Three of the men present at this meeting have been added to the Mayor's committee, and we are hoping for a closer alliance from this source.

To give you a bird's eye view of Tampa since Title II of the Civil Rights Bill has become law, let me say, that the morning after the bill was signed, all news media, papers, radio, etc., were beautifully attuned

to the theme of "Peaceful Compliance." Our morning paper (Tribune) had an outstanding front page which we feel did much to set the tone which has prevailed in Tampa of peaceful compliance with the law. In fact, we feel that since the bill has become law, there is much less unrest, and that the pressure has been released, and that the business people and the general public, on the whole, have shown themselves morally good citizens.

It has been reported that Negroes have been served in various places of public accomodation in which they had never been served before in Tampa, including the Floridan Hotel. They were commended, and all this without fanfare or incident lends much encouragement to our program here.

There is a bi-racial group with two representatives from each of the High Schools in Tampa that has been formed with the approval of the Board of Education. They have had a chess tournament which proved very successful, and they are planning more varied programs in the fall.

I am offering material to a Youth Group of one of our Temples which is planning educational programs for their fall meetings centered around the theme of Social Justice and Civil Rights.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

SPECIAL REPORT

Reaction to Civil Rights Act
July 20, 1964

I. Reaction as reflected in the press.

Arkansas' two leading morning papers, the Gazette and Pine Bluff Commercial, have strongly accented the affirmative both in news and editorials. Both have given full play to statements of public officials such as Ellender, Fulbright, Russell and Talmadge.

The Arkansas Democrat, the evening paper, while not so forthrightly affirmative has not been really negative.

1. The tone of a number of editorials of the Arkansas Gazette is shown in this brief one on July 16: "For Little Rock, adaptation to the civil rights law shouldn't be very difficult. Many places of public accommodation were desegregated well ahead of the new law's passage. The prospects were made even more encouraging when the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce announced its position in unequivocal support of the rule of law. Little Rock has every reason to look to the future with confidence, and with thankfulness that this community is ready to accept the national mandate and peacefully go ahead with its transition."

2. Under the caption, "The Gen'l Rides Again", on July 9 the Pine Bluff Commercial had fun with Attorney General Bruce Bennett's memorandum to the mass media. (The Arkansas Gazette reprinted the editorial in full on Sunday, July 19.) It declared: "The Gen'l now has adopted a tactic more in keeping with his grasp of constituional law - defiance by ignorance.....What the Gen'l has done in this latest piece of legal wizardry, is to propound a revolutionary new theory of law non-enforcement. According to the Bennett Postulation, a law need not be enforced until after it has been tested in the courts." The editorial concludes: "Why the Bennett Postulation has scarcely been touched. It contains a wealth of possibilities - primarily anarchy and nonsense." (Bennett's memorandum enclosed)

The Commercial also used its editorial pages to reprint some constructive pieces, including an explanation of the Bill of Rights by Burke Marshall, President Johnson's statement at signing ceremonies, interview with Hodding Carter. It also reproduced the full text of Mr. Bennett's memorandum on the same page as its fun-poking editorial.

In its Editorial Section of July 12 the Arkansas Democrat ran a column by a staff writer, George Douthit, sometime "salt" reporter for Governor Faubus, on "how far integration will go in the state buildings" at the Capitol. Here are some excerpts: "If one had to guess, it would be safe to say that the workers now occupying the Capitol are close to 99 per cent segregationists. Yet in talking to a number of them we did not find a one who held out much hope that segregation would be continued at the state capitol for an indefinite length of time." "Although Bennett contends that the civil rights law is unconstitutional, we haven't found anyone who anticipates that the U.S. Supreme Court will so hold it. The general attitude at the capitol is that the law is here to stay." "Arkansas gets millions of dollars in federal funds. With the use of that money as a wedge, Washington could force more use of Negro workers throughout state agencies. Whether it does or does not, or how much, remains a question for the future to determine."

II. Reaction as reflected in statements and efforts of leaders and organizations.

A. The affirmative.

1. The Arkansas Bar Association, as if in reaction to Mr. Bennett, through its executive committee made a public statement denouncing "any person" who advises the ignoring of the new civil rights law. It said anyone who does so "is encouraging disobedience of the law and disrespect of lawful authority." (This action doubtless was influenced by the speech of Mr. Archibald Cox, U.S. Solicitor General, before the Arkansas Bar during the first week in June in which he described the serious responsibility of the Bar in getting compliance.)

2. In a similar vein the Board of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce urged obedience to the civil rights law "until changed or repealed or declared unconstitutional."

3. The Pine Bluff negotiating committee has enlarged its base of support to some fifty, about half colored. At the initial meeting of this group, July 14, the concensus was that wide compliance must be implemented within days, not months. A committee was given responsibility for making plans for implementing. President of the Chamber of Commerce is chairman of this enlarged group. (This is confidential!)

4. Fort Smith Council on Human Relations had Jerry Heilbron to interpret the Civil Rights Bill (Jerry is a native Fort Smithian). The group has kept in touch with both white and Negro leaders on the matter of compliance. (The Director of the Arkansas Council has kept close to the planners at Pine Bluff and Fort Smith.)

5. X United Press International polled some mayors after passage of the Bill. The lead sentence in its report: "House passage of the civil rights bill Thursday found mayors of Arkansas cities generally ready to accept the will of Congress and expecting no trouble in their towns as a result." Some of the quotations from mayors of East Arkansas seemed not so affirmative as this sentence indicates. But they reflected no fear of violence but a certain doubt as to what might happen.

6. In Little Rock the interracial negotiating committee has dealt with the matter of acceptance of the civil rights law. White members of the committee secured agreement of the motel association to take bona fide travellers of any race. (Confidential)

Plans to have Mr. Steele Hays and Berl Bernhardt meet with the business leaders on June 17 is now planned for August. (Confidential)

The coordinating committee of thirteen intergroup agencies in Little Rock has had special sessions on opening the swimming pools and compliance with the civil rights law. Sub-committees are working on implementation. Mrs. Sara Murphy, who with Ruth Arnold attended Lou Mitchell's meeting of women in Atlanta, chairs the sub-committee on compliance.

B. The negatives

1. Mr. Amis Guthridge, President of the White Citizens Council, said he would advise all clients to ignore the law.

2. Attorney General Bruce Bennett sent a memorandum on the civil rights law to all news media. (See enclosed) In it he declared "...there is not a single individual from President Johnson down who can on this day give an authoritative interpretation of the civil rights law..... Consequently, I have advised those inquiring that they continue to operate their establishments on a 'business as usual" basis." He concluded: "I am confident that the people of Arkansas will exercise their good judgement as they have in the past. They are law-abiding God-fearing American citizens." Wow!

3. Governor Faubus on July 10 pointed out there would be considerable agitation over

civil rights and politics this summer. He urged the public to act with restraint despite any provocation, "let the agitators be removed by the law..." Saying this referred to public meetings and has nothing to do with the civil rights law, he said he would deal with the latter in a statement "in a few days".

In a speech to Arkansas American Legion convention on July 10 he called that law a violation "of one of our most precious precepts." It gives the federal government the right to say, "You can't invest your own mind, wealth and ability in property and use it as you see fit."

Because he did not like the arrangements the Governor declined to meet Secretary of Commerce Hodges, Mr. LeRoy Collins, and ex-Governor Buford Ellington for an hour to discuss the civil rights act.

III. Reaction as reflected in compliance and resistance.

Daily reports still come about compliance and resistance to the accommodation section. Here is the score known to us:

1. Pine Bluff, where already lunch counters and a number of restaurants and other facilities have been open, four restaurants for the first time served Negroes. Two refused.

One of these was Ray Watson Truckers Inn where Bill Hanson and Dick Gregory started such a hassle last year. This Inn refused to serve a white Yale teacher with the Negroes saying the Civil Rights Law said nothing about this! At one cafe there was some collision with a group of whites. Police received no calls.

2. At Fort Smith a Negro minister and eight boys on a picnic swam in Creekmore Park Swimming Pool without incident. Two additional cafes served testers; one refused.

At Benton and at Malvern the movie theaters admitted Negroes for the first time.

At Forrest City testers were admitted to bowling alley, a restaurant, a skating rink. The swimming pool was closed when testers appeared.

At Helena testers were served at Habib's Restaurant, where earlier arrests had been made, rode front seats on buses, were admitted to public library. They were arrested when they went to the swimming pool.

In El Dorado Negroes went to drive-in theaters but were locked out of a diner.

At North Little Rock Negro patrons sat down stairs at the Rialto Theater and were served with other guests at Hamburgher Cafe, where they had been served only at rear.

In Little Rock, Coachman Inn, an earlier hold-out motel-restaurant, served Negro patrons. There were some denials, too. Two "cheap" cafes, Whit's and Andy's, refused service. Ozell Sutton was refused service at the state capitol cafeteria. The Secretary of State's talk afterwards was conciliatory.

Texarkana, Texas, was the only spot of serious violence and rioting. Though it occurred at Lake Texarkana on the Texas side the Negro testers were from the Arkansas side and had the cooperation of the NAACP there.

Twenty-three Negroes face charges of engaging in a riot and one of them also was charged with assault with intent to kill. This was the result of rioting which involved some 200 Negroes and resulted in gun shot wounds to five Negroes and one white.

Mrs. Erma Dansby Woods, President of Miller County NAACP, was among these. The demonstrators blamed some fifteen others not with the organized protest for the outbreak. Texarkana white and Negro leaders have organized to prevent further violence.

Swimming pools probably will be the serious holdouts. Greasy-spoon restaurants are most apt to develop incidents and violence.

Our observation would lead us to believe wider compliance will be realized with more testing by Negro patrons.

Arkansas Gazet

Established November 20, 1819

The Gazette Is the Oldest Newspaper West of the Mississippi

Published every day by Gazette Publishing Company, Gazette Bu
Second Class Mail Privilege authorized at Little Rock, Arkansas. Se
paid at Little Rock, Arkansas.

Some of the more staid and sober-minded Republicans may be now asking themselves whether their candidate for president is mounted on a dependable steady-going horse or on the legendary steed whose natural gait was running away.

The hard-and-fast conservative Republicans are willing for the GOP to live with an "extremist" but they don't want it to die with him.

Russell and Others Filling the Void

OUTSIDE Mississippi and Alabama, the Bruce Bennetts of the South are becoming more isolated all the while in reactions to the new civil rights law's passage. Mr. Bennett, be it recalled, advanced the curious idea that an act of Congress (or the legislature, one presumes) could be disregarded while it was being adjudicated.

The Arkansas Bar Association swiftly rejected this thesis and urged compliance. So did the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce. At about the same time Senator J. W. Fulbright, who had opposed the Civil Rights bill, got out a newsletter admonishing his constituents to remember the rule of law and asking all sides for a period of peace and contemplation. Since then Senator John McClellan has warned against violence and, if he did not specifically mention compliance, certainly he did not suggest that a law passed by the Congress of which he is a member could be disregarded.

Outside of Arkansas there has been plenty of similar advice from people who would presumably have an attentive audience among those who were against the bill. Senator Allen Ellender of Louisiana was, we believe, the first member of the Southern bloc in the Senate to lay on the line the principle that must govern. Senator Herman Talmadge (Old Gene's son, remember) of Georgia underscored the thesis. Now the great Richard B. Russell himself, leader of the Southern senators, has made his own unequivocal statement:

> "I was shocked to hear persons in high authority not only condone but urge breaking of established laws because someone had decided that they were either immoral or personally repugnant."

He went on to declare that the new law "is now on the books and it becomes our duty as citizens to learn to live with it for as long as it is there."

It is regrettable that the governor of Arkansas has not seen fit to join the assemblage of Southerners calling upon all of us to observe the first rule of responsible citizenship. The performance of the attorney general of Arkansas, nevertheless, was much worse, in his suggestions damaging to the fundamental precepts of his office. In any case it is gratifying and reassuring to find so many other leaders in Arkansas and the South providing leadership to fill the void.

The Arkansas Press

On Civil Rights Act: 'It Is the Law'

"It Is The Law," one of Arkansas's newspapers entitled an editorial on the Civil Rights Law and that is the way most of the state's papers felt about it. Here are some comments on the Law.

The News Observer at Crossett: It has been left to the Executive Committee of the Arkansas Bar Association to strip away some of the political hypocrisy, forensic foolishness and dilatory defiance that gushed forth on cue as the Civil Rights law was passed and signed.

* ** * The state bar leaders issued a statement weighty with wisdom, which at the same time denounced any persons who urged publicly that the law be ignored or defied. * ** *

Perhaps it was pure coincidence, or perhaps otherwise, but the Committee's statement was issued but two days after Arkansas Attorney General Bruce Bennett took the air waves to advise businessmen to continue their operations as usual. * * *

★ ★ ★

The Searcy Daily Citizen: The bill to remove from American citizens the right to determine whom they shall serve on their own private property, to determine whom they shall hire for jobs in private industry and whom they shall associate with in a vast number of relationships is now the law of the land by majority vote of both houses of the Congress. The law, ill-conceived, ill-advised and unconstitutional though it may be, is the law and it must be obeyed or the majority must take to the streets to force its repeal by the same means a minority used to force its passage.

Two wrongs do not make a right. The law must be obeyed. * * *

★ ★ ★

The Southwest American at Fort Smith: When several persons in the South recently cited the many unknown and undefined factors of the new "civil rights" law and recommended a cautious attitude toward those points until they were defined and clarified, numerous observers charged them with advising that the law be "ignored."

We don't think that was what they meant. But the very fact that interpretation was put on the statements called for some clarification.

So it seemed a timely move with the Executive Committee of the Arkansas Bar Association recently issued a statement explaining that the new act is law and should be respected as such. * * *

When Congress passes a law, it is a settled principle that the act is in force and is the law unless and until such time as it may be ruled unconstitutional by the courts.

In the meantime, the opinion of any other agency about the validity or lack of it is of no importance and has no standing in the question of enforcement of the act. * * *

★ ★ ★

The Texarkana Gazette (Texarkana experienced a flareup of racial violence at a nearby lake a few days after the Law was passed.): * * * If harmony is to be maintained in these days of tension, there must be clear lines of communication between men of influence in both camps. Other men of goodwill should offer their services in these matters.

—Fisher in the North Little Rock Times

We must say over and over again to one another in Texarkana that our reliance must be always on the men who have been elected, appointed or employed to enforce the law. We must show these men

by word and action that we are solidly behind them in the performance of their duty and will support them at all costs in the firm and impartial enforcement of the law.

* * * We heard a young lawyer say that the respect our people have always had for law and order is more responsible for the greatness of our nation than our much-vaunted free enterprise. * * *

Editor Ben Hicks in the England Democrat: The Civil Wrongs measure has sounded the death knell for innumerable small business enterprises: restaurants, barber shops, theaters, etc. that will be unable to keep customers. They will be put out of business but the backers of the bill are looking for votes.

In five years, our already-crowded courts will have such a backlog of cases that "justice" per se will be a rarity. It will be a matter of which cases are deemed more favorable to the administration and the remainder must wait "until the next term." But the backers of the bill aren't worried about justice—only "rights." * * *

★ ★ ★

The Baxter Bulletin at Mountain Home: The new Civil Rights law passed by Congress last week should, for persons of reason at least, put a damper on the argument that rights of the minority groups has come only from a liberal Supreme Court which exceeded its authority and had little support from the general public.

Even the most biased persons can no longer say that the Supreme Court's rulings in school segregation cases, for instance, are illegal because the Congress had never passed legislation to that effect.

The Congress, directly representing the people of the nation, has now passed a comprehensive Civil Rights law which makes discrimination illegal and spells out in considerable detail just what constitutes discrimination. * * *

Politics

Politics continued to be a popular subject for Arkansas papers.

Editor Cone Magie in the Cabot Star Herald: This summer is the slowest of many summers during an election year. One hardly knows an election is underway. * * *

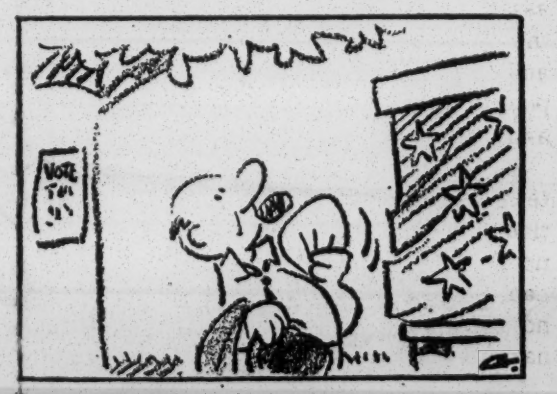
Elections such as the one this year make it rough on the county level where there isn't too much activity. It is most difficult for the county candidates to generate activity or enthusiasm on the part of voters.

Co-editor Tom Dearmore in the Baxter Bulletin: * * * The only justification for a one-party system in a state is that division within the party provide the effect of a two-party system. That has been the case most of the time in Arkansas, but it is no longer the case. The Democratic Party is not providing the traditional, meaningful forum of debate nor offering the people any real choices. It is victim to the atrophy which comes from long acquaintance with overriding machine politics.

★ ★ ★

The McGehee Times: * * * Most people pretty well convinced that Faubus is a shoo in for the Democratic nomination and, except for a few well placed verbal pot shots by hopeful Joe Hubbard, the campaign has been pretty uninteresting. Political weather eyes are, at the moment, focused on the national political scene and, strange as it may seem, on the gubernatorial race for the general election in November.

Why on the gubernatorial race in the general election? We think it works this way. Faubus is a big man in Arkansas political history, a legend in his own time with a power over people that must rival that of Louisiana's Huey Long or Mississippi's Theodore Bilbo. He has set an as-



tounding record of longevity in an office that had been previously distinguished by a high rate of turnover. If Faubus, then, is a big man, who or what will it take to beat him? The answer is simple. You have to find a bigger man.

Winthrop Rockefeller has a big name. He has demonstrated a lot of political ability. He is showing a remarkable talent for meeting and leaving a lasting impression on people. Will he prove to be a bigger man than Faubus? The answer lies somewhere between here and November.

ADL

FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE
330 SEYBOLD BLDG. — MIAMI, FLA. 33132

For your information

Mr. Paul Anthony

Thanks for your kind note. Hope to see you in the near future.

Regard

Irwin Schulman

Rights Law Heads for Court Test

Miami Herald 7/21/64

St. Augustine Bias Protested

By Herald Wire Services

JACKSONVILLE — A federal court was asked Monday to order compliance with the Civil Rights Law in St. Augustine and to restrain segregationists from "intimidating, threatening or coercing" those who complied.

In other legal moves here Monday, St. Augustine integrationists asked that state, county and city police be ordered to render "color-blind law enforcement" and that officials be restrained from having demonstrators arrested and from trying those already arrested.

A hearing on all of the suits was set for 10 a.m. Wednesday before U.S. District Judge Bryan Simpson.

In the suit seeking compliance with the Civil Rights Law, Negroes charged most restaurants complied with the bill for about a week, then ceased.

★ ★ ★

IN PAHOKEE, five shots were fired at a sheriff's deputy, car windshields were smashed and seven persons were arrested in a new outbreak of racial trouble in Pahokee late in the weekend.

The trouble followed the integration of the Prince Theater by 10 Negroes, despite a bomb threat by an anonymous telephone caller. No bomb was found in the theater.

★ ★ ★

IN OCALA, Gov. Farris Bryant said that while there has been racial violence in Florida since the Civil Rights Law was enacted, there have also been "multiplied millions of unnoticed incidents of self restraint."

The governor, speaking at the dedication of Marion County's new courthouse Sunday, praised the people of Florida for their reaction to the new law and urged that all Floridians "comply with law and order."

"Only a decade ago," Bryant said, "we assumed that education and good will would provide in time an answer with which all men could live."

★ ★ ★

IN FORT MYERS, investigators from the State Fire Marshal's Office have been asked to probe the fire which destroyed a Negro Church.

Damage to the Church of Christ Written in Heaven was estimated at $4,300 by local fire officials who said the blaze probably was set by an arsonist.

The pastor of the church, James Rogers, said he believed Negroes and not whites were involved.

★ ★ ★

IN ST. AUGUSTINE, four Negroes were refused service in a white restaurant and then chased into downtown St. Augustine by whites in four automobiles.

Four Highway Patrol cars stopped the chase a block from city square. There was no violence but the Negroes said they were threatened at the restaurant and that the whites tried to overturn their car.

The Negroes said they would file assault and battery complaints.

Troopers confiscated several pieces of 1½-inch wooden doweling from two white cars. No arrests were made.

★ ★ ★

IN JACKSONVILLE, a cafeteria that was the target of Negro pickets for weeks prior to passage of the Civil Rights Act was picketed by white segregationists.

The cafeteria, Morrison's, integrated immediately after the law was passed.

Six pickets, two of them women, walked back and forth in front of the cafeteria Monday carrying anti-integration signs and Confederate flags.

A spokesman said there were tentative plans to picket other establishments.

Operation Opportunity

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

356 SOUTH BEACH STREET
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA - 32014

TELEPHONE
255-5881

July 22, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The following is a report on Operation Compliance gathered during the past two weeks. I would hope to have the entire survey completed by the end of this month.

Compliance in the areas I have surveyed have been most encouraging and in many of the smaller communities that have seen some outbreaks i.e., Plant City, Palatka, Pahokee, Lake City and Mims, prompt action by police and city officials whether sympathetic or not has produced a degree of compliance and peace.

JACKSONVILLE - Has had an immediate large scale testing program and with the exception of some outlaying restaurants has had virtually total compliance. Bowling Alleys have agreed, in off the record meetings, to comply this fall. City officals are totally unsympathetic but seem determined to allow no violence.

Employment and education remain the worst two areas.

TAMPA - Has virtually total compliance and a Mayor who answered a question concerning the Civil Rights Law with the answer "We will obey it" and this sums up the Tampa story.

Employment is a particular bright spot in the Tampa, St. Petersburg, Clearwater area.

Education remains particular troublesome.

ST. PETERSBURG - Has had good compliance despite some rock throwing and fights most of which were related to teenage hoodlums with little racial overtones.

The school system has cooperated on the CACEP Program, major problems remain in employment and education.

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CLEARWATER - Has had virtually total compliance and is making good progress in employment and education. Dunedin, a small suburb has abandoned it's Negro school and will have total voluntary desegregation this fall.

FT. MYERS - Has had a surprising degree of compliance despite an unsympathetic administration. Virtually all eating places, motels and hotels have either been tested or contacted and will comply. Bowling Alleys, swimming pools and the public exhibition hall refuse compliance.

Last week a white segregationist organization began a back lash movement. It is too early to tell what success they may have.

Education, employment and housing remain particular problems.

DAYTONA BEACH - Has had public assurance from Restaurant and Motel Associations as to total compliance. Moderate testing of compliance has shown no deviation. Education and employment remain problems.

ST. AUGUSTINE - Continues a powder keg which could break either way at any time.

At present SCLC has no top staff in the area. Local Negro leadership is carrying testing into fringe areas.

I spent one entire day talking to Negro leaders who have not taken an active roll in this situation. They are intimidated but hopefully will attend a group meeting in neutral territory. Several white moderates are meeting with the Jacksonville Council with the same idea in mind.

St. Augustine is another world and we can only hope.

Despite encouraging progress in employment and education in some of the Florida cities, these of course remain our worse problems. In answer to your sixth question either Florence or someone at SRC should help us in preparing a guide or instruction book to help the chapters in their Wider Horizons, CECEP and Employment Programs.

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I have received correspondence from Ft. Pierce and Cocoa advising a good degree of compliance. Will send you further first hand information as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr.,
Executive Director

EEL,Jr.,/dnt
cc: Irvin Schulman, Arthur J. Levin, Ernie Lent, Jr.
Executive Committee Members

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

Frogmore, South Carolina
July 23, 1964

Mr. Art Levin
Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Art:

This is to try to bring you up to date on the matter of compliance, particularly in Columbia. I was out of the state immediately following enactment of the civil rights bill, so have gained most of my knowledge through the enclosed clippings from the News & Courier.

In Columbia, apparently the only resistance has been that of a small chain of drive-in restaurants and a sandwich shop operated by Maurice Bessinger. Bessinger is president of the National Association for the Advancement of White People and has headed the Wallace forces for South Carolina. I understand that a complaint has been filed by a Negro, the Reverend J. W. Mungin, to the FBI.

Mr. I. deQuincy Newman, state secretary of the NAACP with an office in Columbia, said that the state group had tested extensively in the Columbia area and found only the Bessinger chain closed to Negroes. This was confirmed by Alice Spearman of the Council on Human Relations, Matthew Perry, legal counsel for the NAACP, and Mayor Bates in conversations yesterday in Columbia.

Following the conference at Potomac Institute on June 19, I called Mayor Bates to indicate the limitations of the police power concerning the request from public accommodations operators for the arrest of Negroes under trespass ordinances. Yesterday, Mrs. Mojeska Simpkins related a conversation she had with Police Officer Snipes. Apparently Bessinger had called Snipes and complained that Snipes had not ejected a Negro from one of Bessinger's restaurants. Apparently Snipes replied that he would not arrest a Negro on this basis, but would arrest theowner if the owner tried to forcibly eject a Negro and the latter made a complaint. It would appear that the city has taken its responsibilities seriously in this matter.

Both the city and Governor Russell have indicated they would not meet with Collins of the Community Relations Service. I believe this primarily stems from a controversial speech Collins made in Columbia last December, when he was introduced by Governor Russell. I have enclosed clippings related to this. However, Mayor Bates indicated that he probably will meet with Collins in Washington when a committee under formation has been established.

Mayor Bates is in the process of forming a committee which he declines to call bi-racial. It will consist of a white committee of 75, a steering committee of 25 drawn from that group, with an executive committee of 7. A similar Negro committee will be formed simultaneously. Apparently the two seven-man committees will meet jointly with the Mayor, though he will not call it a bi-racial committee.

C. T. Comments

Apparently there has been considerable compliance throughout the state, with only a few reports of non-compliance. According to Matthew Perry, both theaters in Orangeburg refused Negro patronage and the NAACP is filing suit against them. Apparently one theater in Cheraw also has refused Negroes and restaurants in Allendale with large tourist business from Route 301 have put up signs: "private club."

Alice Spearman is following this matter closely, of course, and I believe we can rely on her to keep us informed. However, if there are any particular points on which you would like information, let me know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff
Regional Consultant

cc: Paul Anthony
Samuel J. Simmons

POST CIVIL RIGHTS ACT PASSAGE

COMPLIANCE AND NON-COMPLIANCE

7/2/64 - 7/23/64

ALABAMA (Statewide)

"Holly Midgley, of Birmingham, president of the Alabama Motel Association, said that so far as he knew all the state's hotels were complying with the civil rights law." (Atlanta Journal & Constitution, 7/12/64)

Bessemer

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Birmingham

Soon after the passage of the Bill, the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel's Town and Country Restaurant served one Negro without incident. At least nine other restaurants and four movie houses also integrated for the first time without incident.

Homewood (suburb of Birmingham)

Armando's and the Gold Nugget, adjoining restaurants, started operating as a private club shortly before the bill was passed.

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Peacefully integrated were the state capitol, most restaurants and lunch counters, and two theaters.

Opelika

July 15 - the 100-room Hotel Martha Scott shut down.

Selma

July 6th testing - a Negro group was chased from a restaurant by angry whites and another group of demonstrators were locked out of a restaurant.

On July 4 - 4 civil rights workers were arrested attempting to be served at the Thirsty-Boy drive-in.

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July 1- - A crowd of 500 gathered outside the newly desegregated Druid Theater where it had been reported that actor Jack Palance had entered the recently integrated theater to aid the civil rights movement. Tear gas and hoses were used to disperse the stone-throwing crowd.

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Pine Bluff

Four restaurants integrated for the first time; two refused.

All public swimming pools have closed.

Fort Smith

Creekmore Park Swimming Pool was used by Negroes without incident. Two cafes served Negroes; one refused to do so.

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Movie theaters admitted Negroes for the first time in both cities.

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Negroes were admitted to a bowling alley, a restaurant and a skating rink. The swimming pool, however, was closed when testers appeared.

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Negroes were served at Habib's Restaurant, rode front seats in buses without incident and were admitted to the public library, but were arrested when they went to the swimming pool.

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Negroes went to drive-in theaters; were locked out of a diner.

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Negroes sat downstairs at the Rialto Theater, were served at the Hamburger Cafe.

Little Rock

The Coachman Inn served Negroes. Whit's and Andy's two cafes, refused to serve Negroes. Also, a Negro was refused service at the state capitol cafeteria. Public swimming pools have closed.

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Four Negroes attempting to desegregate a white roadhouse were attacked by a gang of whites. Later, the car of a Negro nurse who treated one of the youths injured during the attack was overturned at the city hospital. July 18. (Atlanta Journal & Constitution, 7/19/64)

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Albany

"A three-year boycott of stores and businesses in downtown Albany has been lifted in recognition of compliance with the new civil rights law." (Washington Post, 7/15/64)

Americus

An integrated group successfully desegregated a restaurant but was confronted by a mob of whites when leaving.

Athens

"In Athens, segregation barriers fell reluctantly with passage of the rights bill. Hotels, motels, restaurants and swimming pools were desegregated without incident." However, "the Rev. William J. Hudson, president of the local NAACP, said today he thinks the incidents /see below/ are part of an attempt to keep Negroes from seeking rights guaranteed in the Civil Rights Act. He called it 'a pattern of intimidation.'"
(Washington Post, 7/14/64)

Lemuel A. Penn, A Washington educator, was shot and killed near Colbert as he was driving back to Washington 7/11/64.

In the vicinity, a Negro body was exhumed several days later.

The night before, three shotgun blasts ripped into the car of a Negro family driving from Florida to South Carolina. The shooting occurred outside Athens. No one was injured.

Three weeks before that, night riders fired a shotgun into a home in a Negro housing development injuring a 19 year old Negro boy who lost the sight of one eye as a result of the injury.

Also reported in Athens recently was the shotgun blasting of another house and a Negro laundry.

Columbus

Some restaurant operators told Negroes they would be glad to have them.

DeKalb County

July 3 - Peaceful desegregation of all public facilities including pools. (DeKalb is the Atlanta "bedroom" county)

Macon

"The manager of a leading Macon hotel invited one of the city's Negroes to have dinner with him." (NY Times, 7/12/64)

Newnan

YMCA-managed city-owned swimming pool closed after Negroes tried to swim there; Y returned management to city.

Perry
White persons reportedly thwarted restaurant integration, as of 7/12(above source). Cited 7/12 by Ga. NAACP field secretary.

Quitman
At least one restaurant reported to have taken up its menus in an effort to circumvent giving service.

Savannah
July 3 - Daffin Park swimming pool desegregated without incident.

Savannah
Thomasville
Warner Robins
Hotels and eating places were integrated without incident.

Warner Robins
Macon
Fort Valley
Cited 7/12 by Georgia NAACP field secretary, as cities which have made the transition with a "minimum of confusion."

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
One Negro struck by white man during attempt (successful ?) to integrate cafeteria in State Capitol Building.

Monroe and
West Monroe
A total of 15 Negroes were arrested 7/20 and charged with disturbing the peace or trespassing in an attempt to desegregate three branches of the public library.

New Orleans
"...the manager of the Roosevelt Hotel, which was twice boycotted by Federal officials because of its segregation policy, joined in a newspaper advertisement signed by 200 business leaders urging compliance with the new law." (Washington Post, 7/7/64)

Plaquemines Parish
The Plaquemines Parish Council passed an ordinance 7/9 providing for up to $250 fine and 60 days in jail for anyone convicted of using a public facility without a special written permit. The classification of public facility includes the garbage dump.

Shreveport
"More than 100 restaurants in Shreveport and several nearby towns have formed an organization called the

Shreveport (cont'd)

Northwest Louisiana Restaurant Club." 160,000 membership cards have been sent to restaurants; 100,000 more are on order.
(Wall Street Journal, 7/22/64)

Slidell

Fifteen Negroes arrested when they sought services at a restaurant.

MASSACHUSETTS

Cambridge

Twenty-seven white and Negro Core demonstrators were arraigned after demonstrating at the Hayes-Bickford Cafeteria, a chain restaurant accused of discriminatory practices. A restaurant official complained to police that CORE members were lined up along the counter blocking service and refusing to order food.

MARYLAND

Princess Ann

Three restaurants -- Eddie's Place, Long's Rest and L & L -- served Negroes in July 7 testing.

MISSISSIPPI (statewide)

The director of the Mississippi Restaurant Association "estimates that about 10% of the association's 1000 members have already gone private or are seriously considering the move." (Wall Street Journal, 7/22/64)

Governor Paul B. Johnson, Jr.'s statement:
"The legislature and I are determined to toe the line in opposing this vicious measure. They can pass all the laws they want, but they can't make us like it or take it. We must carry our case to the courts."

Clarksdale

Hotel Alcazar closed.

Cleveland

(Bolivar County) - "In this determination to preserve segregation there is little interest in complying with the Civil Rights Law. The Bolivar Commercial has told its readers that the decision is entirely personal and it also applauded Governor Paul B. Johnson's recommendation for non-compliance until the law is upheld in the courts." (NY Times, 7/19/64)

Greenwood

Three white men threatened and beat a Negro attempting to attend a movie theater in Greenwood. The three were

Greenwood (cont'd)

arrested by F.B.I. agents and charged with conspiring to "injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate" the Negro. The arrests are the first to be made under the new Civil Rights Law. (second case of F.B.I. arrests in Mississippi - other in Itta Bena, June 7.) The maximum penalty on conviction for violating the Civil Rights Law in this manner is a maximum of 10 years in prison and a fine of up to $5,000. (Atlanta Constitution, 7/24/64)

July 10 - Six Negroes tried to enter a theater but left when a crowd of about 200 whites formed and the manager read a statement asking them to leave.

Gulfport

NAACP team integrated 4 leading motels and hotels, including Edgewater Gulf Motel.

Jackson

Mayor Allen Thompson's statement:
"The law must be obeyed until changed."

Robert E. Lee Hotel - first closed, subsequently leased for operation as a private club at $12 annual membership fee.

Restaurants - the Belmont and the suburban Rotisserie have chartered as private dining clubs with $1 annual membership fee. Most other Jackson restaurants have served Negroes.

The Gas Light Restaurant began operating as a private club, the Gas Light Club, on June 29.

Negroes played golf on the mumicipal course without incident.

Chamber of Commerce statement: "Comply with the law, pending tests of its constitutionality." (Time, 7/17/64)

The City Council closed one of its parks 7/15 agreeing to sell the park, remove all equipment, and erect a fence around the park. The closing resulted from the complaint of 600 white residents who claimed the park was "overrun by Negroes." (Washington Post, 7/15/64)

"Howard E. Ross, Jr., a Jackson restaurant owner and attorney, has challenged the Citizens' Council's suggested boycott of business that comply with the law. He said such action will 'either bankrupt all restaurants or insure the same through fines and costs levied against non-compliers by the Federal Courts.'

Jackson (cont'd)

"Relative to the Citizens' Council's suggestion of non-compliance until the law has been tested in the courts, Mr. Ross said 'I am not going to wait in jail or bankruptcy court until that theory has been tested." (Memphis Commercial Appeal, 7/12/64)

July 13 - A white man struck a Negro woman with an iron bar during an argument at an integrated bus station lunch counter. The woman was arrested for disturbing the peace; the man left before the police arrived.

The tires of a car used by several Negroes who were eating in a recently integrated restaurant were slashed by a group of teen-agers.

The Jackson Citizens' Council sponsors a twenty-four hour service called "Dial For Truth" with important information for white residents of the Jackson area. Typical of the statements that can be heard is the following, "We're convinced that the people of Jackson and Mississippi reject the statements (of compliance until the law is struck down in the courts) of Mayor Thompson and the Chamber of Commerce..." (NY Times, 7/9/64)

A letter to the Jackson Daily News from a mother whose daughter attended a theater whose audience contained several Negroes expressed her reaction by the following comment, "a little integration is just like a little pregnancy; only an abortion or birth can correct it." (NY Times, 7/19/64)

July 5th testing found Hotels Heidelberg and King Edward serving Negroes; also Sun-n-Sand Motel which, however, closed its swimming pool.

Meridian

Wideman's Restaurant turned away Negroes.

Laurel

July 4 - Negroes sought service at a drive-in cafe window reserved for whites and a fight ensued in which 2 whites and 2 Negroes received knife wounds.

Hotels have accepted Negroes.

July 7th testing -- Holiday Inn served 14-man NAACP team. Kress and Woolworth chain lunchcounters served Negroes: a drugstore closed its counter and a drive-in closed its inside dining room.

Vicksburg

July 6th testing found a downtown lunchcounter served Negroes.

MISSOURI

Jefferson City

Mayor's Commission on Human Rights and Community Relations visited main places of public accommodation, which agreed to obey law, including the most popular restaurants with liquor licenses, which had previously refused admittance to Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA

Atlantic Beach

A fight broke out when Negroes arrived at a white amusement center. Police broke up the fight immediately; announced that law and order would be maintained and all people, regardless of race, were welcome.

Durham

A restaurant closed its doors for good rather than comply with the new law.

Fayetteville

Restaurant Association statement: "We are loyal Americans and we will obey the law." (NY Times, 7/12/64)

Henderson

July 13 - Four whites and twelve Negroes were arrested after a battle of fists, rocks and bottles involving 200 white and Negro men and women resulting from an argument between a Negro and a white man at a recently integrated roadside restaurant on U. S. 1.

Raleigh

July 17 - Raleigh's oldest hotel is up for sale because its owner would rather close than be forced to admit Negroes under the Civil Rights Law; W. S. Murchison, the 82-year old owner of the 70-year old Hotel Park Central, closed the building Thursday night. He set his price at $230,000.

Williamston

A theater shut down.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston
Columbia
Florence
Greenville

"Integration proceeded without major trouble." (Time, 7/17/64)

Greenville

The Jack Tar Poinsett Hotel dining room served a Negro and Senator Strom Thurmond at the same time without incident.

TENNESSEE

Nashville

A Nashville barber announced he would comply with the new law.

Weekend of June 5-12 saw desegregation of Morrison's and Krystal chains without incident. Also several small hamburger stands.

Memphis

Peaceful desegregation of theaters, restaurants and other public accommodations that same weekend.

A "private club" has taken the following precaution to keep Negroes from applying for membership through the mail, "You can't buy by mail. Drive out and see the membership committee and if you are a decent, law abiding citizen who meets our membership qualifications, you can become a member in five minutes." (Wall Street Journal, 7/22/64)

Thirty-three restaurants, including one of the city's largest downtown cafeterias, integrated peacefully. The chairman of the Memphis-based Holiday Inns motel chain instructed his motels to obey the law.

TEXAS

Austin

July 10 - Complaints from local NAACP chapter submitted to City Council alledging refusals by two bowling alleys to admit six Negroes. Several local restaurants desegregated without incident; resistance was encountered, however, at the bowling alleys.

Beaumong

A drive-in integrated peacefully.

Dallas

Piccadilly Cafeteria integrated without incident.

Longview

A motel and lunchcounter peacefully desegregated.

Palestine
Austin

Restaurants desegregated.

Lake Texarkana

July 5 - Attempted swim-in resulted in arrest of two dozen Negroes, charged with inciting a riot, and slight gunfire wounds to four.

VIRGINIA (statewide)

July 12 - A Va. civil rights spokesman, the Rev. Curtis W. Harris of Hopewell, said that "95% of the cities in Virginia have been tested 'with very favorable results.'"
(Richmond Times-Dispatch, 7/12/64)

Arlington County

July 17 - An Arlington County Judge found three members of Northern Virginia CORE innocent of trespassing yesterday. They were arrested May 28 during a sit-in at Arlington Hospital. In his decision, Judge Wesley W. Cooper said a hospital "is similar to a restaurant, public conveyance or a theatre" and the Virginia trespass law does not apply to such public places.
(Washington Post, 7/18/64)

Charlottesville

Buddy's Restaurant closed just as President Johnson was signing the Civil Rights Bill into law. The restaurant had been in business for 27 years.

"Throughout the Charlottesville-Staunton-Waynesboro area, however, no incidents were reported.
(Richmond Times Dispatch, 7/12/64)

Danville

Danville Memorial Hospital announced it would integrate and approved the admission of two Negro doctors to its staff.

Some restaurant operators said they may give Negroes poor service and charge them high prices.

Norfolk

"Racial barriers in Norfolk have fallen at such a pace that young Negro militants have conceded that most public facilities are already integrated and that large-scale testing is unnecessary."
(Richmond Times-Dispatch, 7/12/64)

The Dutch Bucket Tavern became a private club last year; had a membership 530. A week after the Civil Rights Bill was passed, the membership had increased to 716. Price of membership is one nickle.

Mechanicsville

"Non-members of a newly formed club were denied admittance to Dabney's Lake..."
(Richmond Times-Dispatch, 7/12/64)

Petersburg

The owner of the Lee House Diner said he has not served Negroes since the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. "Our position is status quo."
(Richmond Times-Dispatch, 7/12/64)

Two Petersburg drug store lunchcounters closed when Negroes sought service; were reopened later in the week.

Richmond

"A Richmond restaurant owner began requiring membership cards for admittance, the Associated Press reported. Bert Taylor, weekend manager of McBride's Steak House, said free membership cards had been given to several Negroes but the card system would be used to keep out 'the low class of colored people and whites.'"
(Washington Post, 7/6/64)

Roanoke

The operator of a U. S. 220 Steak House said he plans to apply for a private club charter.

"Civil rights leaders are pleased with the progress of the last 10 days although Negroes have run into opposition at the three area golf clubs."
(Richmond Times-Dispatch, 7/12/64)

South Hill

A Route 1 owner said he would sell his Barbecue House.

The operator of the Ambassador Restaurant said several Negroes sought service at his restaurant; he told them he would prefer not to serve Negroes, told them of a Negro restaurant down the road and they left.

File: Oper. Opportunity

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 28, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Cooperating agencies and individuals (lists enclosed)

FROM: Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities

Enclosed are two informal reports on the South's reaction to the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act. One is a summary of field reports which we have received or which cooperating agencies have shared with us. The other is a summary of press reports. Neither report attempts to be complete but only to reflect the information which has come to our attention. They are for your information only.

Several of the agencies and many local women's groups continue to do effective work. Obviously we must continue, and if possible intensify, these efforts to make certain of the accomplishments in the "good" places and to minimize the reaction in the "bad" ones.

We are grateful for your cooperation and would like to continue to be of any possible help.

PA:mm

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An integrated group successfully desegregated a restaurant but was confronted by a mob of whites when leaving.

Athens

"In Athens, segregation barriers fell reluctantly with passage of the rights bill. Hotels, motels, restaurants and swimming pools were desegregated without incident." However, "the Rev. William J. Hudson, president of the local NAACP, said today he thinks the incidents /see below/ are part of an attempt to keep Negroes from seeking rights guaranteed in the Civil Rights Act. He called it 'a pattern of intimidation.'"
(Washington Post, 7/14/64)

Lemuel A. Penn, A Washington educator, was shot and killed near Colbert as he was driving back to Washington 7/11/64.

In the vicinity, a Negro body was exhumed several days later.

The night before, three shotgun blasts ripped into the car of a Negro family driving from Florida to South Carolina. The shooting occurred outside Athens. No one was injured.

Three weeks before that, night riders fired a shotgun into a home in a Negro housing development injuring a 19 year old Negro boy who lost the sight of one eye as a result of the injury.

Also reported in Athens recently was the shotgun blasting of another house and a Negro laundry.

Columbus

Some restaurant operators told Negroes they would be glad to have them.

DeKalb County

July 3 - Peaceful desegregation of all public facilities including pools. (DeKalb is the Atlanta "bedroom" county)

Macon

"The manager of a leading Macon hotel invited one of the city's Negroes to have dinner with him." (NY Times, 7/12/64)

Newnan

YMCA-managed city-owned swimming pool closed after Negroes tried to swim there; Y returned management to city.

Perry
White persons reportedly thwarted restaurant integration, as of 7/12(above source). Cited 7/12 by Ga. NAACP field secretary.

Quitman
At least one restaurant reported to have taken up its menus in an effort to circumvent giving service.

Savannah
July 3 - Daffin Park swimming pool desegregated without incident.

Savannah
Thomasville
Warner Robins
Hotels and eating places were integrated without incident.

Warner Robins
Macon
Fort Valley
Cited 7/12 by Georgia NAACP field secretary, as cities which have made the transition with a "minimum of confusion."

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
One Negro struck by white man during attempt (successful ?) to integrate cafeteria in State Capitol Building.

Monroe and
West Monroe
A total of 15 Negroes were arrested 7/20 and charged with disturbing the peace or trespassing in an attempt to desegregate three branches of the public library.

New Orleans
"...the manager of the Roosevelt Hotel, which was twice boycotted by Federal officials because of its segregation policy, joined in a newspaper advertisement signed by 200 business leaders urging compliance with the new law." (Washington Post, 7/7/64)

Plaquemines Parish
The Plaquemines Parish Council passed an ordinance 7/9 providing for up to $250 fine and 60 days in jail for anyone convicted of using a public facility without a special written permit. The classification of public facility includes the garbage dump.

Shreveport
"More than 100 restaurants in Shreveport and several nearby towns have formed an organization called the

Shreveport (cont'd)

Northwest Louisiana Restaurant Club." 160,000 membership cards have been sent to restaurants; 100,000 more are on order.
(Wall Street Journal, 7/22/64)

Slidell

Fifteen Negroes arrested when they sought services at a restaurant.

MASSACHUSETTS

Cambridge

Twenty-seven white and Negro Core demonstrators were arraigned after demonstrating at the Hayes-Bickford Cafeteria, a chain restaurant accused of discriminatory practices. A restaurant official complained to police that CORE members were lined up along the counter blocking service and refusing to order food.

MARYLAND

Princess Ann

Three restaurants -- Eddie's Place, Long's Rest and L & L -- served Negroes in July 7 testing.

MISSISSIPPI (statewide)

The director of the Mississippi Restaurant Association "estimates that about 10% of the association's 1000 members have already gone private or are seriously considering the move." (Wall Street Journal, 7/22/64)

Governor Paul B. Johnson, Jr.'s statement:
"The legislature and I are determined to toe the line in opposing this vicious measure. They can pass all the laws they want, but they can't make us like it or take it. We must carry our case to the courts."

Clarksdale

Hotel Alcazar closed.

Cleveland

(Bolivar County) - "In this determination to preserve segregation there is little interest in complying with the Civil Rights Law. The Bolivar Commercial has told its readers that the decision is entirely personal and it also applauded Governor Paul B. Johnson's recommendation for non-compliance until the law is upheld in the courts." (NY Times, 7/19/64)

Greenwood

Three white men threatened and beat a Negro attempting to attend a movie theater in Greenwood. The three were

Greenwood (cont'd)

arrested by F.B.I. agents and charged with conspiring to "injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate" the Negro. The arrests are the first to be made under the new Civil Rights Law. (second case of F.B.I. arrests in Mississippi - other in Itta Bena, June 7.) The maximum penalty on conviction for violating the Civil Rights Law in this manner is a maximum of 10 years in prison and a fine of up to $5,000. (Atlanta Constitution, 7/24/64)

July 10 - Six Negroes tried to enter a theater but left when a crowd of about 200 whites formed and the manager read a statement asking them to leave.

Gulfport

NAACP team integrated 4 leading motels and hotels, including Edgewater Gulf Motel.

Jackson

Mayor Allen Thompson's statement:
"The law must be obeyed until changed."

Robert E. Lee Hotel - first closed, subsequently leased for operation as a private club at $12 annual membership fee.

Restaurants - the Belmont and the suburban Rotisserie have chartered as private dining clubs with $1 annual membership fee. Most other Jackson restaurants have served Negroes.

The Gas Light Restaurant began operating as a private club, the Gas Light Club, on June 29.

Negroes played golf on the mumicipal course without incident.

Chamber of Commerce statement: "Comply with the law, pending tests of its constitutionality."
(Time, 7/17/64)

The City Council closed one of its parks 7/15 agreeing to sell the park, remove all equipment, and erect a fence around the park. The closing resulted from the complaint of 600 white residents who claimed the park was "overrun by Negroes." (Washington Post, 7/15/64)

"Howard E. Ross, Jr., a Jackson restaurant owner and attorney, has challenged the Citizens' Council's suggested boycott of business that comply with the law. He said such action will 'either bankrupt all restaurants or insure the same through fines and costs levied against non-compliers by the Federal Courts.'

Jackson (cont'd)

"Relative to the Citizens' Council's suggestion of non-compliance until the law has been tested in the courts, Mr. Ross said 'I am not going to wait in jail or bankruptcy court until that theory has been tested." (Memphis Commercial Appeal, 7/12/64)

July 13 - A white man struck a Negro woman with an iron bar during an argument at an integrated bus station lunch counter. The woman was arrested for disturbing the peace; the man left before the police arrived.

The tires of a car used by several Negroes who were eating in a recently integrated restaurant were slashed by a group of teen-agers.

The Jackson Citizens' Council sponsors a twenty-four hour service called "Dial For Truth" with important information for white residents of the Jackson area. Typical of the statements that can be heard is the following, "We're convinced that the people of Jackson and Mississippi reject the statements (of compliance until the law is struck down in the courts) of Mayor Thompson and the Chamber of Commerce..." (NY Times, 7/9/64)

A letter to the Jackson Daily News from a mother whose daughter attended a theater whose audience contained several Negroes expressed her reaction by the following comment, "a little integration is just like a little pregnancy; only an abortion or birth can correct it." (NY Times, 7/19/64)

July 5th testing found Hotels Heidelberg and King Edward serving Negroes; also Sun-n-Sand Motel which, however, closed its swimming pool.

Meridian

Wideman's Restaurant turned away Negroes.

Laurel

July 4 - Negroes sought service at a drive-in cafe window reserved for whites and a fight ensued in which 2 whites and 2 Negroes received knife wounds.

Hotels have accepted Negroes.

July 7th testing -- Holiday Inn served 14-man NAACP team. Kress and Woolworth chain lunchcounters served Negroes: a drugstore closed its counter and a drive-in closed its inside dining room.

Vicksburg

July 6th testing found a downtown lunchcounter served Negroes.

MISSOURI

Jefferson City

Mayor's Commission on Human Rights and Community Relations visited main places of public accommodation, which agreed to obey law, including the most popular restaurants with liquor licenses, which had previously refused admittance to Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA

Atlantic Beach

A fight broke out when Negroes arrived at a white amusement center. Police broke up the fight immediately; announced that law and order would be maintained and all people, regardless of race, were welcome.

Durham

A restaurant closed its doors for good rather than comply with the new law.

Fayetteville

Restaurant Association statement: "We are loyal Americans and we will obey the law." (NY Times, 7/12/64)

Henderson

July 13 - Four whites and twelve Negroes were arrested after a battle of fists, rocks and bottles involving 200 white and Negro men and women resulting from an argument between a Negro and a white man at a recently integrated roadside restaurant on U. S. 1.

Raleigh

July 17 - Raleigh's oldest hotel is up for sale because its owner would rather close than be forced to admit Negroes under the Civil Rights Law; W. S. Murchison, the 82-year old owner of the 70-year old Hotel Park Central, closed the building Thursday night. He set his price at $230,000.

Williamston

A theater shut down.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston
Columbia
Florence
Greenville

"Integration proceeded without major trouble." (Time, 7/17/64)

Greenville

The Jack Tar Poinsett Hotel dining room served a Negro and Senator Strom Thurmond at the same time without incident.

TENNESSEE

Nashville

A Nashville barber announced he would comply with the new law.

Weekend of June 5-12 saw desegregation of Morrison's and Krystal chains without incident. Also several small hamburger stands.

Memphis

Peaceful desegregation of theaters, restaurants and other public accommodations that same weekend.

A "private club" has taken the following precaution to keep Negroes from applying for membership through the mail, "You can't buy by mail. Drive out and see the membership committee and if you are a decent, law abiding citizen who meets our membership qualifications, you can become a member in five minutes." (Wall Street Journal, 7/22/64)

Thirty-three restaurants, including one of the city's largest downtown cafeterias, integrated peacefully. The chairman of the Memphis-based Holiday Inns motel chain instructed his motels to obey the law.

TEXAS

Austin

July 10 - Complaints from local NAACP chapter submitted to City Council alledging refusals by two bowling alleys to admit six Negroes. Several local restaurants desegregated without incident; resistance was encountered, however, at the bowling alleys.

Beaumong

A drive-in integrated peacefully.

Dallas

Piccadilly Cafeteria integrated without incident.

Longview

A motel and lunchcounter peacefully desegregated.

Palestine
Austin

Restaurants desegregated.

Lake Texarkana

July 5 - Attempted swim-in resulted in arrest of two dozen Negroes, charged with inciting a riot, and slight gunfire wounds to four.

VIRGINIA (statewide)

July 12 - A Va. civil rights spokesman, the Rev. Curtis W. Harris of Hopewell, said that "95% of the cities in Virginia have been tested 'with very favorable results.'"
(Richmond Times-Dispatch, 7/12/64)

Arlington County

July 17 - An Arlington County Judge found three members of Northern Virginia CORE innocent of trespassing yesterday. They were arrested May 28 during a sit-in at Arlington Hospital. In his decision, Judge Wesley W. Cooper said a hospital "is similar to a restaurant, public conveyance or a theatre" and the Virginia trespass law does not apply to such public places.
(Washington Post, 7/18/64)

Charlottesville

Buddy's Restaurant closed just as President Johnson was signing the Civil Rights Bill into law. The restaurant had been in business for 27 years.

"Throughout the Charlottesville-Staunton-Waynesboro area, however, no incidents were reported.
(Richmond Times Dispatch, 7/12/64)

Danville

Danville Memorial Hospital announced it would integrate and approved the admission of two Negro doctors to its staff.

Some restaurant operators said they may give Negroes poor service and charge them high prices.

Norfolk

"Racial barriers in Norfolk have fallen at such a pace that young Negro militants have conceded that most public facilities are already integrated and that large-scale testing is unnecessary."
(Richmond Times-Dispatch, 7/12/64)

The Dutch Bucket Tavern became a private club last year; had a membership 530. A week after the Civil Rights Bill was passed, the membership had increased to 716. Price of membership is one nickle.

Mechanicsville

"Non-members of a newly formed club were denied admittance to Dabney's Lake..."
(Richmond Times-Dispatch, 7/12/64)

Petersburg

The owner of the Lee House Diner said he has not served Negroes since the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. "Our position is status quo."
(Richmond Times-Dispatch, 7/12/64)

Two Petersburg drug store lunchcounters closed when Negroes sought service; were reopened later in the week.

Richmond

"A Richmond restaurant owner began requiring membership cards for admittance, the Associated Press reported. Bert Taylor, weekend manager of McBride's Steak House, said free membership cards had been given to several Negroes but the card system would be used to keep out 'the low class of colored people and whites.'"
(Washington Post, 7/6/64)

Roanoke

The operator of a U. S. 220 Steak House said he plans to apply for a private club charter.

"Civil rights leaders are pleased with the progress of the last 10 days although Negroes have run into opposition at the three area golf clubs."
(Richmond Times-Dispatch, 7/12/64)

South Hill

A Route 1 owner said he would sell his Barbecue House.

The operator of the Ambassador Restaurant said several Negroes sought service at his restaurant; he told them he would prefer not to serve Negroes, told them of a Negro restaurant down the road and they left.

COMPLIANCE WITH TITLE II: A SUMMARY OF FIELD REPORTS FROM SOUTHERN STATES

The following report on reaction to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is based largely on field reports received by the Southern Regional Council. The accounts, which are more detailed from some states than from others, include those from human relations council personnel, "Operation Opportunity" women's inter-group councils, and a few from allied agencies. This review is not meant to be complete, but only to summarize reports which have come to our attention to date.

The general picture is one of large-scale compliance, but with considerable defiance in Alabama and Mississippi, and pockets of defiance in Georgia, Florida, and other states.

Where there has been conscientious planning and effort to prepare for the transition, compliance has been good and trouble minimal. This is especially so where political and business leaders and the news media have urged compliance.

In many localities the business community has shown a willingness to obey the law without conspicuous leadership from public officials -- and even despite negative reaction from them.

In most localities where there has been trouble political leaders have, at least passively or by silence, encouraged defiance.

ALABAMA

In Huntsville, news media and business leaders are prepared to support compliance, most places of public accommodation are open, and no serious problems are expected. The same situation prevails in the Tri-cities, although leaders plan no public statements unless there is violence. There is no information on testing in the Tri-cities area.

Elsewhere in Alabama there is considerable defiance and some violence, as in Selma and Tuscaloosa. Some restaurants and hotels have been turned into "private clubs." The political leadership has encouraged defiance. But some business leaders have spoken for compliance, and a number of places have desegregated in such trouble-spots as Birmingham and Montgomery.

ARKANSAS

The news media in Arkansas are virtually unanimous in urging obedience to the law, although some smaller papers make it clear that they think the new bill unconstitutional in part.

The reaction of public officials and some prominent citizens is more adverse. Governor Faubus stated that he expects considerable agitation this summer, called the law "a violation of one of our most

precious precepts," and refused to meet Luther Hodges, LeRoy Collins, and Buford Ellington to discuss the act. Amis Guthridge, president of the Citizens Council, said he would advise all clients to ignore the law. Attorney General Bruce Bennett took the position that the law need not be obeyed until tested in the courts.

The Arkansas Bar Association and the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, however, swiftly rejected this notion and urged compliance. UPI polled Arkansas mayors and reported: "House passage of the civil rights bill Thursday found mayors of Arkansas cities generally ready to accept the will of Congress and expecting no trouble in their towns as a result."

Various groups were already working for desegregation when the bill passed. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has been concentrating on compliance for some time. And in Little Rock, for instance, five women's groups, responding to the Operation Opportunity program, with Mrs. Sara Murphy as local co-ordinator, worked through the existing structure of a community coordinating committee composed of 25 organizations.

Initial results in Little Rock and North Little Rock were encouraging. Several restaurants served Negro patrons for the first time. The "holdouts" were "cheap" cafes -- except for the cafeteria in the state capitol, which has been made a "private club."

In Pine Bluff, where considerable progress had already been made, four restaurants served Negroes for the first time. Two refused.

At Fort Smith a swimming pool and two additional cafes were desegregated without incident. One restaurant refused service.

Cinemas in Benton and Malvern admitted Negroes for the first time.

At Forrest City Negroes were admitted to the bowling alley, a restaurant, and a skating rink, but the swimming pool was closed when testers appeared.

At Helena testers were served at a formerly segregated restaurant and the public library, but were arrested when they went to the swimming pool.

Nat Griswold, executive director of ACHR, observes that swimming pools and small restaurants will probably be the most serious holdouts. He believes further testing will reveal wider compliance.

FLORIDA

The reaction in most major Florida cities was favorable. These include Miami, Pensacola, Ft. Lauderdale, Tampa, Daytona Beach,

Gainesville, Sarasota, and Clearwater. Several cities are listed as "trouble spots," however. These are Tallahassee, Lake Wales, Lake City, Pahokee, Plant City, Lakeland, and Mims. There seemed to be surprising readiness to comply in troubled St. Augustine at first, but subsequent reports show that some restaurants which opened re-segregated after one week. A court case is in progress in St. Augustine.

The press, radio, and TV stations have generally urged obedience to the law, but there are exceptions. The Miami Herald and News, the St. Petersburg Times, and station WFTV are among those urging compliance. The Tallahassee paper conspicuously lacked enthusiasm for the law.

Support from public officials is spotty. Governor Bryant stated that he had no intention of enforcing the law: a federal creation, it would have to be enforced by the federal government. Senator Spessard Holland urged obedience, but made it clear that he felt "the pendulum of our national philosophy has swung too far to the left." On the other hand, Congressman Claude Pepper said he was confident that the new law would be an instrument of peace and urged that it be accepted in good faith as the law of the land.

Edwyn E. Lewis of FCHR reports that city officials are unsympathetic in Jacksonville, Ft. Myers, and St. Augustine -- but favorable in Tampa. There is general compliance in Jacksonville, Tampa, Clearwater, and Daytona Beach. Compliance in St. Petersburg is good, despite "some rock throwing and fights, most of which were related to teenage hoodlums with little racial overtones." There is fair progress in Ft. Myers.

Reports from Tampa and Tallahassee indicate that the women's groups leaders who attended the June 24-25 Operation Opportunity meeting in Atlanta are organizing effectively in support of compliance. Mrs. Nathan Marcus of Tampa reports that a planning meeting was held there on July 6, with representatives of 22 interested civic and religious groups in attendance. She reports a very good reaction to the bill in Tampa, with news media "beautifully attuned to the them of 'Peaceful Compliance.'" Places of public accommodation which desegregated (as most did) were commended by the women's groups.

Miss Louise Blackwell, convener and co-chairman for the Women's Inter-grouop Committee in Tallahassee, reports a thorough organization of the women in that city, despite lack of cooperation from city hall. About 60 women attended the first meeting, and some 100 are presently writing letters, making phone calls, and interviewing managers and owners of public accommodation businesses.

GEORGIA

In Georgia reaction to the bill -- from the papers, from public officials, and from places of public accommodation -- was mixed. Mrs. Frances Pauley, executive director of GCHR, reports:

"...it seems that compliance has been general in the larger cities" and towns where there have been interracial activities and work to encourage compliance. Elsewhere the old patterns remain. There are notably fewer discriminatory signs at service stations and roadside stands.

Mrs. Pauley makes this observation: "In several places the pattern is to allow the Negro to be admitted and then see that he has a beating afterward...We see again the great need for better qualified and trained police."

Excellent compliance is reported in Savannah, Brunswick, Macon, Columbus, Decatur, Dekalb County, Warner Robins, and Thomasville.

Compliance is generally good, but not complete, in Augusta, Rome, Cedartown, Milledgeville, Statesboro, and Griffin. In Atlanta, Pickrick Restaurant and Heart of Atlanta Motel have appealed a court order to desegregate. Difficulty is noted, especially at hospitals, in Augusta and Milledgeville. At Rome, Cedartown, and Griffin there is difficulty over swimming pools. Mrs. Pauley's report notes good police work at Rome and Cedartown.

There has been little or no testing in Cartersville, Rockmart, Greensboro, or Dublin.

There is no evidence of either testing or compliance at Sylvania and Waynesboro.

Some violence and/or mobs are reported at Waynesboro, Thomson, Gainesville, East Point, and Winder.

Defiance is general at Washington, Perry, Cochran, and Valdosta. The most violence has occurred at Americus.

Tacit encouragement of defiance or lack of protection from police and city officials is noted especially at Washington, Thomson, Winder, Perry, Barnesville, Albany, and Americus.

Mrs. Susan Waters reports on behalf of the women's groups in Savannah that they had found a group already working effectively toward compliance in that city.

Mrs. Margaret Belcher reports from Columbus that reaction there is very good. "The Chamber of Commerce, the Mayor, city and county commissioners have all cooperated one hundred percent."

The story in Atlanta is still one of steady progress. "Partners for Progress" is due a lot of credit, as is the city government under Mayor Ivan Allen. Mrs. Edward Vinson of PFP and Mayor Allen both made helpful presentations of desegregation efforts in Atlanta at SRC's Operation Opportunity meeting on June 24-25.

LOUISIANA

Information on Louisiana is sketchy. Clearly, there is some defiance. In Monroe and West Monroe, for example, Negroes were arrested for trying to use the public libraries. Plaquemines Parish seems to be requiring "written permission" to use public facilities, including the garbage dump. About 100 restaurants formed the "Northwest Louisiana Restaurant Club" and issued membership cards good in any affiliated establishment.

In New Orleans the mayor refused to speak out, but a group of about 200 business and professional men, including the management of the heretofore segregated Roosevelt Hotel, bought a newspaper ad calling for compliance and acceptance.

Mrs. George Dreyfus, Women's Inter-group Council representative, reports that the women have written personal letters and will seek interviews in support of compliance.

MISSISSIPPI

Reaction to the bill was generally negative. There was some compliance, however. Restaurants, lunch counters and hotels opened in Laurel, Jackson, Vicksburg, and Gulfport. The municipal golf course in Jackson was integrated.

Some leaders came out for compliance. Mayor Thompson and the Jackson Chamber of Commerce recommended that the law be obeyed, pending court tests. Howard E. Ross, Jr., a Jackson restaurateur and attorney challenged the Citizens' Council recommendation of a boycott of all integrating businesses by whites.

Governor Johnson recommended non-compliance, pending a court test, and said, "The legislature and I are determined to toe the line in opposing this vicious measure. They can pass all the laws they want, but they can't make us like it or take it. We must carry our case to the courts."

At least one hotel and many restaurants followed the "private club" gambit. The Robert E. Lee Hotel in Jackson first closed, then re-opened as a "club." In Clarksdale the Alcazat Hotel was closed. The president of the Mississippi Restaurant Association estimated that about ten percent of the approximately 1000 members had become "private clubs."

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina, which had made much progress prior to passage of the 1964 bill, continued its relatively smooth transition. There was some trouble in Henderson and the Hotel Park Central in

Raleigh was put up for sale, the owner declaring that he would rather sell out than integrate.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Integration proceeded without major trouble in Charleston, Columbia, Florence, and Greenville. Greenville leaders expect no trouble unless there is mass testing, in which case some businesses will be holdouts. City leaders there are determined to prevent violence.

Courtney Siceloff reports that "there has been considerable compliance throughout the state, with only a few reports of non-compliance...both theatres in Orangeburg refused Negro patronage and the NAACP is filing suit against them...one theatre in Cheraw also has refused Negroes and restaurants in Allendale with large tourist business from Route 301 have put up signs: 'private club.'"

The SCCHR continues to concentrate a large part of its efforts on compliance.

TENNESSEE

Women's groups are active in Memphis and Nashville. Thirty-three restaurants in Memphis desegregated immediately after passage of the Civil Rights Act. Theaters desegregated without incident. In Nashville both Morrison's Cafeterias and the Krystal chain desegregated peacefully. (The entire Morrison's chain, previously segregated throughout the South, has desegregated.)

The situation in Knoxville, where there has been strong community leadership, is good.

Kay Jones of the TCHR reports that there is general compliance with the provisions of Title II in East Tennessee, at least in the larger public accommodations establishments. Most public swimming pools are open.

TEXAS

Peaceful desegregation is reported in Dallas, Longview, Palestine, Austin, and Beaumont.

Violence erupted on the Texas side of Texarkana when Negroes attempted to use the facilities of Lake Texarkana.

Gustave Falk, of the AJC in Dallas, reports at least 90 percent compliance by eating establishments. There is fine cooperation from city officials and police. "In summary," he writes, "I believe I can report with confidence that forces have been put into motion in Dallas which will assure a peaceful acceptance though not an altogether smooth one, in implementing the Civil Rights Bill of 1964."

Mrs. S. Edward Sulkin, women's groups coordinator, confirms Falk's report. She convened representatives of six women's groups on July 2. They felt that compliance with Title II of the Civil Rights Bill would be little problem, therefore decided to concentrate on a speed-up in school desegregation.

VIRGINIA

Reports have been received from Heslip Lee, executive director of VCHR; Zula Pierce of the Richmond Y.W.C.A.; Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman, president of United Church Women; Mrs. J. E. Stockman of the Roanoke Valley Y.W.C.A.; Miss Therese Molyneaux and Mrs. G. Hannon, both of the women's inter-group committee in Charlottesville; Miss Margaret Edmonds of Danville; and Mrs. Frank Fullman, for the Newport News and Hampton area. The word that recurs in these reports concerning Virginia reaction is "quiet." But "this does not mean that Negroes are being admitted to all public places."

The reaction of public officials and the press was somewhat disturbing. The papers continued to publish very little news about civil rights incidents and there were relatively few editorial appeals for compliance. The governor of Virginia, in a television interview, asserted that certain sections of the Bill are unconstitutional and should be tested in the courts. The editor of the Richmond News Leader, in an editorial printed several days after passage of the law, stated that Southerners would of course comply with the law, but called for court tests. Press is reported hostile in Newport News.

Most leading restaurants opened throughout the state. Even in Danville and Farmville, where there has been trouble in the past, there was a high percentage of compliance.

From Danville, Miss Margaret Edmunds, women's inter-group coordinator, reports the local press hostile and city officials silent. But acceptance of the public accommodations section of the Bill is surprisingly good. Every place tested has served. The formerly all-white hospital has integrated. The women's groups are writing to express approval of all compliance.

In Petersburg one restaurant refused to serve Negroes. In Hopewell two lunch counters closed for five days, but reopened on a desegregated basis. In Richmond one restaurant took the course of issuing "membership cards," but after four days of publicity and negotiation it was desegregated. In Charlottesville, where most places had desegregated voluntarily before the bill passed, one restaurant went out of business when the bill was signed.

Heslip Lee expressed the fear of many, that some owners would simply give poor service or be discourteous or charge high prices to Negroes. Published reports quote restaurateurs in Danville as saying they will do these things. Negroes were made unwelcome, although not

totally refused service in some South Hill establishments. "Private Clubs" were used in Norfolk and Roanoke.

CONCLUSION

These reports seem to show that the situation is malleable. General reaction to the Civil Rights Act is neither decidedly for compliance nor the reverse. Of particular significance are the indications that political opposition is, in many places, stronger than that of the business community or the general public. Every effort is needed to create a climate of opinion for genuine compliance, lest only the voices of opposition be heard and various evasions be employed to avoid obedience to the spirit -- if not the letter -- of the Civil Rights Law.

Note

Women's groups cooperating with the National Women's Committee on Civil Rights are the American Association of University Women, The National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, United Church Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, and National Council of Catholic Women.

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY

Southern Effort - Women Community Leaders

HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA	Mrs. W. Raymond Berry 9614 Todd Mill Rd.
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS	Mrs. Patrick Murphy 423 Shamrock Drive
PENSACOLA, FLORIDA	Mrs. Bernard Jacobson 330 Mehlenbacher Rd.
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA	Miss Louise Blackwell Route 3, Box 218
TAMPA, FLORIDA	Mrs. Nathan L. Marcus 917 Gulf View Avenue
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA	Mrs. Julie Purnell 2772 - 79th Street
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA	Mrs. George Dreyfous 1223 Conery Street
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. William P. Mears 206 Tranquil Avenue
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Guy Alling 1622 Delaware Avenue
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Henry Isaacson 100 Batchelor Drive
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA	Miss Louise Latham 521 George Street
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA	Miss Kathaleen Carpenter 1201 Glade Street
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Charles Gartland P. O. Box 1253 - Myrtle Beach
FLORENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Iola Jones 711 Oakland
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE	Mrs. Stanley Ish 1483 S. Parkway, East
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE	Mrs. Irving Hand 203 Ridgefield Court
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Gerard Hannon 108 N. W. Lane - Key West

DANVILLE, VIRGINIA	Miss Margaret Edmunds 133 West Moreland Court
NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Frank Fullman 316 Hurley Avenue
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	Miss Zula Pierce 6 North 5th Street
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman 7625 Sweet Briar Road
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Carolyn Warrell
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA	Mrs. J. E. Stockman 605 First Street, S.W.
MACON, GEORGIA	Mrs. James Clegg 1491 Adams Street
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA	Mrs. Brad Ansley 1603 Elmwood Drive
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA	Mrs. Margaret Belcher 2861 Urban Avenue
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA	Mrs. Don Franks 1728 Davidson Drive
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA	Mrs. Susan Watters 6802 LaRocke Avenue
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA	Mrs. Mason Robertson 323 East - 49th Street
ALBANY, GEORGIA	Mrs. Aurelia Noble 522 Mercer Avenue

OPERATION COMPLIANCE

Community Assignments

HUNTSVILLE, ALA. - Monroe Schlactus, ADL, Atlanta

TRI-CITIES, ALA. - " "
(Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia, Muscle Shoals)

LITTLE ROCK, ARK. - Nat Griswold, Ark. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

MIAMI, FLA. - Seymour Samet, AJC, Miami

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA. - Irwin Schulman, ADL, Miami

SARASOTA, FLA. - " "

TAMPA, FLA. - " "

PANAMA CITY, FLA. - Edwin Lewis, Fla. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

ATLANTA, GA. - Charles Wittenstein, AJC, Atlanta

COLUMBUS, GA. - Don McEvoy, NCCJ, Atlanta

SAVANNAH, GA. - Frances Pauley, Ga. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

BATON ROUGE, LA. - Wade Mackey, AFSC, Baton Rouge

NEW ORLEANS, LA. - Adolph Botnick, ADL, New Orleans

ASHEVILLE, N. C. - Richard Lobenthal, ADL, Richmond, Va.

CHARLOTTE, N. C. - " "

COLUMBIA, S. C. - Courtney Siceloff, Penn Community Services, Frogmore, S. C.

S. C., other - Alice Spearman, South Carolina Council on Human Relations (SRC)

GREENVILLE, S. C. - Monroe Schlactus, ADL, Atlanta

KNOXVILLE, TENN. - " "

MEMPHIS, TENN. - Charles Wittenstein, AJC, Atlanta

NASHVILLE, TENN. - Will Campbell, Committee of Southern Churchmen, Atlanta

TENN., other - Kay Jones, Tennessee Council on Human Relations (SRC)

DALLAS, TEXAS - Gus Falk, AJC, Dallas

HOUSTON, TEXAS - Ted Freedman, ADL, Houston

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA. - Neal Tarplee, Protestant Episcopal Church, Lynchburg

LYNCHBURG, VA. - " "

ROANOKE, VA. - " "

NEWPORT NEWS, VA. - Heslip Lee, Va. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

NORFOLK, VA. - " "

PORTSMOUTH, VA. - " "

RICHMOND, VA. - " "

MRS. JEANNE M. GODDARD, CHAIRMAN, ORMOND BEACH
RICHARD W. PEARCE, VICE CHAIRMAN, DELAND
JOHN B. MATTINGLY, ATTORNEY, DELAND
J. BOYD DELOACH, NEW SMYRNA BEACH
DR. T. E. SMOTHERMAN, DELAND
L. W. SUMMERLIN, III, DAYTONA BEACH

file

Campbell Junior High School

850 LOOMIS AVENUE — PHONE 252-7621
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA 32014

JOHN H. SMILEY
COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT
DELAND, FLORIDA

F. W. BARNES, JR., PRINCIPAL

R. W. ROBINSON, ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL
MRS. V. MARTIN, GUIDANCE DIRECTOR

May 7, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The educational tour of Atlanta, Georgia was an overwhelming success. We attribute this success to Southern Regional Council's work and assistance in our behalf.

The welcome we received and the demonstrated concern for our comfort by the staff of the Butler Street Y.M.C.A., Beamon's Restaurant Personnel, Mrs. Mamie Hamilton, and the Bus Drivers on our tour, all attest to the meticulous planning that was done by the council.

Our students still marvel that so much could be done for them by people of whom they knew nothing. We feel that one of the major goals of the experimental program was reached in that we have demonstrated to our youngsters with problems that there are those who care.

We thank you for ourselves and for the children we serve. We feel keenly that the more Agencies can cooperate and collaborate on projects such as the one we have just completed, the more we will see evidences of meeting our goals for assisting the disadvantaged youngsters who we hope will become worthy and contributing citizens to our communities.

We look forward to strengthening the relationship that exists between the council, our Local Mental Health Guidance Center and our school. Feel free to write us at anytime that we can be of service to your organization.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

F. W. Barnes, Jr.

F. W. Barnes, Jr., Principal

V. F. Martin, Chaperon
L. Brown, Chaperon
H. Mathis, Chaperon

cc: Beamon Restaurant
John Boone
Robert Marcus
Clinton Dye
Laverne Brisbane
Butler Street Y.M.C.A.
Raymond Dunne, Superintendent of School, Volusia County Board of Public Instruction

Marvae Schlatter.

Huntsville, accommodations generally open, no problems expected. Media & business leadership prepared to act positively.

Tri-Cities - Florence - leadership plans to be quiet unless violence - in that event prepared to issue positive statement. No info. on attempts for review.

Greenville: Some public accommodations open. No trouble expected unless widespread testing in which case some businesses will hold out. Leadership determined to prevent violence.

Knoxville: Situation generally good. Strong community leadership

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Agency staff accepting community assignments with Operation Compliance.

FROM: Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council

We have been very encouraged at the general acceptance of the Civil Rights Law by places of public accommodations. And, we are sure your concern, interest, and work has been very helpful.

If you possibly have the time would you please send us as quickly as possible a brief report of events in your community. The following would be helpful:

1. General reaction of the community (white and Negro) including comments in the press and other media.

2. Reaction of city officials, chamber of commerce, and similar groups.

3. General reaction of places of public accommodations.

4. Conspicious holdouts and likely trouble spots.

5. Specific programs of compliance, especially programs you are involved in.

6. What we at SRC can do that will be of help to you.

We know you are very busy and hate to burden you with this request. But, we are getting many inquiries on what is happening community by community and it would be especially helpful to have your account.

OPERATION COMPLIANCE

Community Assignments

HUNTSVILLE, ALA. - Monroe Schlactus, ADL, Atlanta

TRI-CITIES, ALA. - " "
(Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia, Muscle Shoals)

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PORTSMOUTH, VA. - " "

RICHMOND, VA. - " "

COMPLIANCE WITH TITLE II: A SUMMARY OF FIELD REPORTS FROM SOUTHERN STATES

The following report on reaction to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is based largely on field reports received by the Southern Regional Council. The accounts, which are more detailed from some states than from others, include those from human relations council personnel, "Operation Opportunity" women's inter-group councils, and a few from allied agencies. This review is not meant to be complete, but only to summarize reports which have come to our attention to date.

The general picture is one of large-scale compliance, but with considerable defiance in Alabama and Mississippi, and pockets of defiance in Georgia, Florida, and other states.

Where there has been conscientious planning and effort to prepare for the transition, compliance has been good and trouble minimal. This is especially so where political and business leaders and the news media have urged compliance.

In many localities the business community has shown a willingness to obey the law without conspicuous leadership from public officials -- and even despite negative reaction from them.

In most localities where there has been trouble political leaders have, at least passively or by silence, encouraged defiance.

ALABAMA

In Huntsville, news media and business leaders are prepared to support compliance, most places of public accommodation are open, and no serious problems are expected. The same situation prevails in the Tri-cities, although leaders plan no public statements unless there is violence. There is no information on testing in the Tri-cities area.

Elsewhere in Alabama there is considerable defiance and some violence, as in Selma and Tuscaloosa. Some restaurants and hotels have been turned into "private clubs." The political leadership has encouraged defiance. But some business leaders have spoken for compliance, and a number of places have desegregated in such trouble-spots as Birmingham and Montgomery.

ARKANSAS

The news media in Arkansas are virtually unanimous in urging obedience to the law, although some smaller papers make it clear that they think the new bill unconstitutional in part.

The reaction of public officials and some prominent citizens is more adverse. Governor Faubus stated that he expects considerable agitation this summer, called the law "a violation of one of our most

precious precepts," and refused to meet Luther Hodges, LeRoy Collins, and Buford Ellington to discuss the act. Amis Guthridge, president of the Citizens Council, said he would advise all clients to ignore the law. Attorney General Bruce Bennett took the position that the law need not be obeyed until tested in the courts.

The Arkansas Bar Association and the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, however, swiftly rejected this notion and urged compliance. UPI polled Arkansas mayors and reported: "House passage of the civil rights bill Thursday found mayors of Arkansas cities generally ready to accept the will of Congress and expecting no trouble in their towns as a result."

Various groups were already working for desegregation when the bill passed. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has been concentrating on compliance for some time. And in Little Rock, for instance, five women's groups, responding to the Operation Opportunity program, with Mrs. Sara Murphy as local co-ordinator, worked through the existing structure of a community coordinating committee composed of 25 organizations.

Initial results in Little Rock and North Little Rock were encouraging. Several restaurants served Negro patrons for the first time. The "holdouts" were "cheap" cafes -- except for the cafeteria in the state capitol, which has been made a "private club."

In Pine Bluff, where considerable progress had already been made, four restaurants served Negroes for the first time. Two refused.

At Fort Smith a swimming pool and two additional cafes were desegregated without incident. One restaurant refused service.

Cinemas in Benton and Malvern admitted Negroes for the first time.

At Forrest City Negroes were admitted to the bowling alley, a restaurant, and a skating rink, but the swimming pool was closed when testers appeared.

At Helena testers were served at a formerly segregated restaurant and the public library, but were arrested when they went to the swimming pool.

Nat Griswold, executive director of ACHR, observes that swimming pools and small restaurants will probably be the most serious holdouts. He believes further testing will reveal wider compliance.

FLORIDA

The reaction in most major Florida cities was favorable. These include Miami, Pensacola, Ft. Lauderdale, Tampa, Daytona Beach,

Gainesville, Sarasota, and Clearwater. Several cities are listed as "trouble spots," however. These are Tallahassee, Lake Wales, Lake City, Pahokee, Plant City, Lakeland, and Mims. There seemed to be surprising readiness to comply in troubled St. Augustine at first, but subsequent reports show that some restaurants which opened re-segregated after one week. A court case is in progress in St. Augustine.

The press, radio, and TV stations have generally urged obedience to the law, but there are exceptions. The Miami Herald and News, the St. Petersburg Times, and station WFTV are among those urging compliance. The Tallahassee paper conspicuously lacked enthusiasm for the law.

Support from public officials is spotty. Governor Bryant stated that he had no intention of enforcing the law: a federal creation, it would have to be enforced by the federal government. Senator Spessard Holland urged obedience, but made it clear that he felt "the pendulum of our national philosophy has swung too far to the left." On the other hand, Congressman Claude Pepper said he was confident that the new law would be an instrument of peace and urged that it be accepted in good faith as the law of the land.

Edwyn E. Lewis of FCHR reports that city officials are unsympathetic in Jacksonville, Ft. Myers, and St. Augustine -- but favorable in Tampa. There is general compliance in Jacksonville, Tampa, Clearwater, and Daytona Beach. Compliance in St. Petersburg is good, despite "some rock throwing and fights, most of which were related to teenage hoodlums with little racial overtones." There is fair progress in Ft. Myers.

Reports from Tampa and Tallahassee indicate that the women's groups leaders who attended the June 24-25 Operation Opportunity meeting in Atlanta are organizing effectively in support of compliance. Mrs. Nathan Marcus of Tampa reports that a planning meeting was held there on July 6, with representatives of 22 interested civic and religious groups in attendance. She reports a very good reaction to the bill in Tampa, with news media "beautifully attuned to the them of 'Peaceful Compliance.'" Places of public accommodation which desegregated (as most did) were commended by the women's groups.

Miss Louise Blackwell, convener and co-chairman for the Women's Inter-grouop Committee in Tallahassee, reports a thorough organization of the women in that city, despite lack of cooperation from city hall. About 60 women attended the first meeting, and some 100 are presently writing letters, making phone calls, and interviewing managers and owners of public accommodation businesses.

GEORGIA

In Georgia reaction to the bill -- from the papers, from public officials, and from places of public accommodation -- was mixed. Mrs. Frances Pauley, executive director of GCHR, reports:

"...it seems that compliance has been general in the larger cities" and towns where there have been interracial activities and work to encourage compliance. Elsewhere the old patterns remain. There are notably fewer discriminatory signs at service stations and roadside stands.

Mrs. Pauley makes this observation: "In several places the pattern is to allow the Negro to be admitted and then see that he has a beating afterward...We see again the great need for better qualified and trained police."

Excellent compliance is reported in Savannah, Brunswick, Macon, Columbus, Decatur, Dekalb County, Warner Robins, and Thomasville.

Compliance is generally good, but not complete, in Augusta, Rome, Cedartown, Milledgeville, Statesboro, and Griffin. In Atlanta, Pickrick Restaurant and Heart of Atlanta Motel have appealed a court order to desegregate. Difficulty is noted, especially at hospitals, in Augusta and Milledgeville. At Rome, Cedartown, and Griffin there is difficulty over swimming pools. Mrs. Pauley's report notes good police work at Rome and Cedartown.

There has been little or no testing in Cartersville, Rockmart, Greensboro, or Dublin.

There is no evidence of either testing or compliance at Sylvania and Waynesboro.

Some violence and/or mobs are reported at Waynesboro, Thomson, Gainesville, East Point, and Winder.

Defiance is general at Washington, Perry, Cochran, and Valdosta. The most violence has occurred at Americus.

Tacit encouragement of defiance or lack of protection from police and city officials is noted especially at Washington, Thomson, Winder, Perry, Barnesville, Albany, and Americus.

Mrs. Susan Waters reports on behalf of the women's groups in Savannah that they had found a group already working effectively toward compliance in that city.

Mrs. Margaret Belcher reports from Columbus that reaction there is very good. "The Chamber of Commerce, the Mayor, city and county commissioners have all cooperated one hundred percent."

The story in Atlanta is still one of steady progress. "Partners for Progress" is due a lot of credit, as is the city government under Mayor Ivan Allen. Mrs. Edward Vinson of PFP and Mayor Allen both made helpful presentations of desegregation efforts in Atlanta at SRC's Operation Opportunity meeting on June 24-25.

LOUISIANA

Information on Louisiana is sketchy. Clearly, there is some defiance. In Monroe and West Monroe, for example, Negroes were arrested for trying to use the public libraries. Plaquemines Parish seems to be requiring "written permission" to use public facilities, including the garbage dump. About 100 restaurants formed the "Northwest Louisiana Restaurant Club" and issued membership cards good in any affiliated establishment.

In New Orleans the mayor refused to speak out, but a group of about 200 business and professional men, including the management of the heretofore segregated Roosevelt Hotel, bought a newspaper ad calling for compliance and acceptance.

Mrs. George Dreyfus, Women's Inter-group Council representative, reports that the women have written personal letters and will seek interviews in support of compliance.

MISSISSIPPI

Reaction to the bill was generally negative. There was some compliance, however. Restaurants, lunch counters and hotels opened in Laurel, Jackson, Vicksburg, and Gulfport. The municipal golf course in Jackson was integrated.

Some leaders came out for compliance. Mayor Thompson and the Jackson Chamber of Commerce recommended that the law be obeyed, pending court tests. Howard E. Ross, Jr., a Jackson restaurateur and attorney challenged the Citizens' Council recommendation of a boycott of all integrating businesses by whites.

Governor Johnson recommended non-compliance, pending a court test, and said, "The legislature and I are determined to toe the line in opposing this vicious measure. They can pass all the laws they want, but they can't make us like it or take it. We must carry our case to the courts."

At least one hotel and many restaurants followed the "private club" gambit. The Robert E. Lee Hotel in Jackson first closed, then re-opened as a "club." In Clarksdale the Alcazat Hotel was closed. The president of the Mississippi Restaurant Association estimated that about ten percent of the approximately 1000 members had become "private clubs."

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina, which had made much progress prior to passage of the 1964 bill, continued its relatively smooth transition. There was some trouble in Henderson and the Hotel Park Central in

Raleigh was put up for sale, the owner declaring that he would rather sell out than integrate.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Integration proceeded without major trouble in Charleston, Columbia, Florence, and Greenville. Greenville leaders expect no trouble unless there is mass testing, in which case some businesses will be holdouts. City leaders there are determined to prevent violence.

Courtney Siceloff reports that "there has been considerable compliance throughout the state, with only a few reports of non-compliance...both theatres in Orangeburg refused Negro patronage and the NAACP is filing suit against them...one theatre in Cheraw also has refused Negroes and restaurants in Allendale with large tourist business from Route 301 have put up signs: 'private club.'"

The SCCHR continues to concentrate a large part of its efforts on compliance.

TENNESSEE

Women's groups are active in Memphis and Nashville. Thirty-three restaurants in Memphis desegregated immediately after passage of the Civil Rights Act. Theaters desegregated without incident. In Nashville both Morrison's Cafeterias and the Krystal chain desegregated peacefully. (The entire Morrison's chain, previously segregated throughout the South, has desegregated.)

The situation in Knoxville, where there has been strong community leadership, is good.

Kay Jones of the TCHR reports that there is general compliance with the provisions of Title II in East Tennessee, at least in the larger public accommodations establishments. Most public swimming pools are open.

TEXAS

Peaceful desegregation is reported in Dallas, Longview, Palestine, Austin, and Beaumont.

Violence erupted on the Texas side of Texarkana when Negroes attempted to use the facilities of Lake Texarkana.

Gustave Falk, of the AJC in Dallas, reports at least 90 percent compliance by eating establishments. There is fine cooperation from city officials and police. "In summary," he writes, "I believe I can report with confidence that forces have been put into motion in Dallas which will assure a peaceful acceptance though not an altogether smooth one, in implementing the Civil Rights Bill of 1964."

Mrs. S. Edward Sulkin, women's groups coordinator, confirms Falk's report. She convened representatives of six women's groups on July 2. They felt that compliance with Title II of the Civil Rights Bill would be little problem, therefore decided to concentrate on a speed-up in school desegregation.

VIRGINIA

Reports have been received from Heslip Lee, executive director of VCHR; Zula Pierce of the Richmond Y.W.C.A.; Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman, president of United Church Women; Mrs. J. E. Stockman of the Roanoke Valley Y.W.C.A.; Miss Therese Molyneaux and Mrs. G. Hannon, both of the women's inter-group committee in Charlottesville; Miss Margaret Edmonds of Danville; and Mrs. Frank Fullman, for the Newport News and Hampton area. The word that recurs in these reports concerning Virginia reaction is "quiet." But "this does not mean that Negroes are being admitted to all public places."

The reaction of public officials and the press was somewhat disturbing. The papers continued to publish very little news about civil rights incidents and there were relatively few editorial appeals for compliance. The governor of Virginia, in a television interview, asserted that certain sections of the Bill are unconstitutional and should be tested in the courts. The editor of the Richmond News Leader, in an editorial printed several days after passage of the law, stated that Southerners would of course comply with the law, but called for court tests. Press is reported hostile in Newport News.

Most leading restaurants opened throughout the state. Even in Danville and Farmville, where there has been trouble in the past, there was a high percentage of compliance.

From Danville, Miss Margaret Edmunds, women's inter-group coordinator, reports the local press hostile and city officials silent. But acceptance of the public accommodations section of the Bill is surprisingly good. Every place tested has served. The formerly all-white hospital has integrated. The women's groups are writing to express approval of all compliance.

In Petersburg one restaurant refused to serve Negroes. In Hopewell two lunch counters closed for five days, but reopened on a desegregated basis. In Richmond one restaurant took the course of issuing "membership cards," but after four days of publicity and negotiation it was desegregated. In Charlottesville, where most places had desegregated voluntarily before the bill passed, one restaurant went out of business when the bill was signed.

Heslip Lee expressed the fear of many, that some owners would simply give poor service or be discourteous or charge high prices to Negroes. Published reports quote restaurateurs in Danville as saying they will do these things. Negroes were made unwelcome, although not

totally refused service in some South Hill establishments. "Private Clubs" were used in Norfolk and Roanoke.

CONCLUSION

These reports seem to show that the situation is malleable. General reaction to the Civil Rights Act is neither decidedly for compliance nor the reverse. Of particular significance are the indications that political opposition is, in many places, stronger than that of the business community or the general public. Every effort is needed to create a climate of opinion for genuine compliance, lest only the voices of opposition be heard and various evasions be employed to avoid obedience to the spirit -- if not the letter -- of the Civil Rights Law.

Note

Women's groups cooperating with the National Women's Committee on Civil Rights are the American Association of University Women, The National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, United Church Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, and National Council of Catholic Women.

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY

Southern Effort - Women Community Leaders

HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA	Mrs. W. Raymond Berry 9614 Todd Mill Rd.
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS	Mrs. Patrick Murphy 423 Shamrock Drive
PENSACOLA, FLORIDA	Mrs. Bernard Jacobson 330 Mehlenbacher Rd.
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA	Miss Louise Blackwell Route 3, Box 218
TAMPA, FLORIDA	Mrs. Nathan L. Marcus 917 Gulf View Avenue
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA	Mrs. Julie Purnell 2772 - 79th Street
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA	Mrs. George Dreyfous 1223 Conery Street
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. William P. Mears 206 Tranquil Avenue
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Guy Alling 1622 Delaware Avenue
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Henry Isaacson 100 Batchelor Drive
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA	Miss Louise Latham 521 George Street
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA	Miss Kathaleen Carpenter 1201 Glade Street
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Charles Gartland P. O. Box 1253 - Myrtle Beach
FLORENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Iola Jones 711 Oakland
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE	Mrs. Stanley Ish 1483 S. Parkway, East
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE	Mrs. Irving Hand 203 Ridgefield Court
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Gerard Hannon 108 N. W. Lane - Key West

DANVILLE, VIRGINIA	Miss Margaret Edmunds 133 West Moreland Court
NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Frank Fullman 316 Hurley Avenue
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	Miss Zula Pierce 6 North 5th Street
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman 7625 Sweet Briar Road
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Carolyn Warrell
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA	Mrs. J. E. Stockman 605 First Street, S.W.
MACON, GEORGIA	Mrs. James Clegg 1491 Adams Street
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA	Mrs. Brad Ansley 1603 Elmwood Drive
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA	Mrs. Margaret Belcher 2861 Urban Avenue
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA	Mrs. Don Franks 1728 Davidson Drive
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA	Mrs. Susan Watters 6802 LaRocke Avenue
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA	Mrs. Mason Robertson 323 East - 49th Street
ALBANY, GEORGIA	Mrs. Aurelia Noble 522 Mercer Avenue

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

To:

From: Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Operation Opportunity Project
Southern Regional Council

Subject: Civil Rights Bill, Title II

It is anticipated that Title II (public accommodations section) of the Civil Rights Bill will become law in the early summer of this year.

Operation Opportunity, a cooperative effort of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, and the Potomac Institute, Washington, is to implement compliance with Title II on the local level.

The initial phase of this project is to assemble information on specific communities in the South. We in the South were not prepared for the school decision in 1954. The chaos that occurred then must not be repeated. Programs for compliance will be developed as a result of the information gathered, and your immediate help will aid the regional preparation toward which we work.

As completely as possible, please fill in the attached sheets, and return in the self-addressed envelope enclosed. Thank you.

To: Paul Anthony

From: Mrs. Brad Ansley
1603 Elmwood
Columbus, Ga.

1. General acceptance good. Calm acceptance. Columbus has set a good example. Press - Radio - T.V. have set the pace. Local businessmen heroic.

2. We grade Columbus "A+"

3. Good preliminary work paid off. Kirvins had the graciousness to quietly inform Mr. McCleng ahead of time they planned to comply. One old restaurant owned by the Spano family who'ne had the same waiters 20 years, found themselves waiting on negroes because the negro waiters would not.

4. Too soon to tell

6. Plan programs to launch Negro businesses of high quality. Restaurants, lawn care, etc. Also make contact with Negro newspaper which is most disruptive force in Columbus at this time. Wish present editor & publisher could be bought out. There is a chance for great leadership here.

File
Operation Opportunity

TITLES II AND III

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

PUBLIC FACILITIES

OF THE PROPOSED CIVIL RIGHTS BILL OF 1964

(H. R. 7152)

This short leaflet deals with Titles II and III of the Civil Rights Bill (H. R. 7152). It is a brief analysis of these two sections. Knowledge of facts is always a prerequisite for responsible action. If this Bill becomes law, informed compliance can replace irresponsible defiance.

TITLE II

IT IS:

Title II is the section which eliminates certain types of discrimination in places of public accommodation. It states in the opening paragraph:

"All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation . . . without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin."

IT COVERS:

Title II is quite specific about places covered.

1) Any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests. There is one exception: a place which has less than six rooms for rent and in which the proprietor resides (such as a boarding house).

2) Any establishment or facility principally engaged in selling food.

3) Any gasoline station.

4) Any motion picture house, theatre, concert hall, sports arena, stadium, or other place of exhibition or entertainment.

5) Establishments which are located in or contain a business listed above.

6) Public accommodations (covered above or not) which are segregated by State or other law.

ITS CONSTITUTIONALITY:

Title II is based on the Commerce Clause (Article I, Section 8) which states that Congress shall have power to regulate commerce between the states. It is also based on the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which states that no state may deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The Commerce Clause

To the extent that the establishments covered by Title II are engaged in interstate commerce, or affect that commerce, they are subject to regulation by Congress. Discrimination on the basis of race, for instance, interfers with the free movement of interstate travelers and their free access to goods offered for sale. It distorts the free flow of goods in commerce by artifically restricting the market for interstate goods.

It leads to the withholding of patronage for goods and services. It inhibits the holding of conventions and meetings in segregated cities. These are a few of the interferences of discriminatory practices upon commerce.

The Fourteenth Amendment

If discrimination on the basis of race is carried on under color of any law, custom or usage required by state or local officials, or fostered or required by action of a state, it violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and as such is unconstitutional.

ITS ENFORCEMENT:

The prohibitions of Title II would be enforced only by civil suits for an injunction. Neither criminal penalties nor the recovery of money damages would be involved. Of course, any person violating a court injunction issued under the provisions of Title II (as in any other court injunction violation) would be subject to contempt proceedings. Civil suits for an injunction would be filed in federal District Courts.

FOR THE PUBLIC:

Government has long regulated business in a variety of ways for public

interest. We have the Wagner Act, Sherman Act, Clayton Act, Taft-Hartley Act, Minimum Wage Law, Food and Drug Law, zoning ordinances, and building codes. Title II makes it possible for the businessman to offer his goods and services to all of the public. Thirty-one states presently have laws similar to Title II.

TITLE III

There have been many cases decided in the courts which prohibit a state or county or municipal government from segregating such public facilities as parks, public beaches, playgrounds, public golf courses and other similar facilities. Nevertheless, many publicly owned facilities remain segregated. Title III seeks to meet such problems by empowering the Attorney General, upon receipt of written complaint, to desegregate governmentally-owned or operated public facilities (with the exception of schools and colleges which are covered in Title IV of the bill) whenever he finds the complaintants unable to do so themselves.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Alice Spearman

Lawrence Houston
Dir Sp. Programs
OMAT
Dept of Labor
DCA 25 -

VIRGINIA

Reports from Richmond and the Roanoke areas indicate that the reaction to passage of the Civil Rights Act was "quiet." The mood seemed to be one of compliance, but "this does not mean that Negroes are being admitted to all public places."

The reaction of public officials and the press was somewhat disturbing to human relations people. The papers continued to publish very little news about civil rights incidents and made no editorial appeals for compliance. The Governor of Virginia, in a television interview, asserted that certain sections of the Bill are unconstitutional and should be tested in the courts. The editor of the Richmond News Leader, in an editorial printed several days after passage of the law, stated that southerners would of course apply with the law, but called for court tests of its constitutionality.

There was near-complete compliance in Danville, where some trouble had been expected. In Farmville, county seat of Prince Edward County, theatres and eating establishments were tested and found to be complying; there were no reports of refusal of service.

In Petersburg one restaurant refused to serve Negroes. In Hopewell, two lunch counters were closed for five days, but then reopened on a desegregated basis. In Richmond, McBrides's Steak House issued "membership cards" for four days. After some publicity, the owner said cards were being issued to both whites and Negroes with the intention of excluding undesirable dress and conduct. It was pointed out that nothing in the Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination on grounds other than race, religion or national origin, the restaurant was finally desegregated.

Councils on Human Relations and women's groups throughout the state continue to work for compliance. The Virginia Council on Human Relations is serving as a clearing house for information.

Some observers expressed the fear that the quiet mood of Virginia is deceptive. "Feeling among both Negro and white leaders," wrote one, "is that those who choose to resist will develop subtle ways such as giving poor service, poor food, being discourteous, and charging higher prices to Negroes...."

FLORIDA

The Tallahassee Women's Inter-Group Committee has organized thoroughly to work for compliance. Miss Louise Blackwell, chairman, reports poor cooperation from the governor and from city officials. She also reports that the Tallahasee press is hostile, but that the St. Petersburg Times supports the cause of compliance. Two theatres and eight of the better hotels and restaurants are known to have integrated.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

File Prison Reform

August 31, 1966

Mr. Milton Rector
National Council on Crime and Delinquency
44 East 23rd Street
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Rector:

While we understand, we are very sorry that your schedule will not allow you to be in Atlanta for our Advisory Committee meeting. The date has been set for October 20th, and as you will see from the enclosed we are inviting Mr. Ward and Mr. Rademacher to the meeting.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

File Prison Reform

October 28, 1966

Dr. E. Preston Sharp
General Secretary
The American Correctional Association
Shoreham Building
15th and "H" Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Dr. Sharp:

Enclosed is our check for your travel expenses.

Please continue to be the "devils advocate." We need that assistance. We certainly are not wedded to the term "reform" and may well change it.

Thank you again for coming to the meeting and for making so substantial a contribution.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check)
$118.44

See Policy on Crime & Parole & Rehabilitation

November 23, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: John O. Boone

FROM: Paul Anthony

Our Marion A. Wright (retired attorney) Linville Falls, North Carolina, expressed to me during the course of our Annual Meeting the wish to be on your Advisory Committee. I think this would be a good addition. Particularly in lieu of the busy schedules of Joe Haas and McNeill Smith - our two attorneys now serving. At your convenience, would you write Mr. Wright a letter telling him how pleased you would be for him to serve and note that he should be invited to the next meeting.

File
Prison Reform

December 28, 1966

Mr. Fred M. Reese, Jr.
Bethel Methodist Church
4600 Daniel Drive
Forest Acres
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Fred:

Please forgive me this delay in my promise of sending material. Enclosed is my Annual Report for last year, which includes an outline of our new programs and projects and a six month's report of the various projects. These do not reflect the work of John Boone, director of our project in crime and rehabilitation, but John is now at work and doing an outstanding job. If you are agreeable, early in the new year I would hope you and John could work out a time for him to visit Columbia to know more of the work you are doing and to determine in what ways he and we can be of assistance.

End of the year reports will be available sometime in January and we will send you copies of those.

Every good wish for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

BETHEL METHODIST CHURCH

4600 DANIEL DRIVE — FOREST ACRES — COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

December 15, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Just to remind you to send information relative to SRC's interest and involvement in prisoner rehabititation efforts across the southeast. We need all the help we can get.

Thanks for being with us and for your continuing interest in SCCHR.

Sincerely,

Fred

Fred M. Reese, Jr.

FMR:ad

File Prison Reform - (Presented during 1966 Annual Mtg)

PROJECT ON CRIME & CORRECTIONS

More than 2,780,000 crimes were reported during 1965; a 6% increase over 1964. Arrests of persons under 18 for serious crimes increased 47% from 1960 - 1965. Studies of offenders disclose that over 48% were rearrested within 2 years of being released from a prior incarceration.

These figures, as well as crime factors such as size and density of community populations, and their composition in terms of age, sex and race; economic status and mores of the population; relative stability of the population; educational, recreational and religious characteristics; strength of law enforcement; standards governing appointment to positions in law enforcement and correctional agencies; policies of the prosecuting officials and the courts, and attitudes of the public toward the entire process of administration of criminal justice, all combine to suggest that this is a most appropriate time for an agency such as ours to launch a project on Crime and Corrections.

During the past four months, we have endeavored to design a project that will contribute to the improvement of procedures for administering criminal justice in the Southern Region. When we were approached about conducting such a project, it was indicated that the Council had an opportunity to take a professional look at Crime, Delinquency and Penal Administration -- and to support improvements in methods of dealing with these social problems.

Everything we have done -- including our efforts to come up with an appropriate name for the project -- has been based on the assumption that the processes for administering criminal justice and corrections are badly in need or repair -- they are the poorest of all of the social welfare provisions, not only in the Southern Region but all over the nation.

The dilemma and fermentation in the field at present is demonstrated by the difficulty we experienced in trying to decide exactly what to call the project. At present,we are designating Crime and Corrections as the areas on which the program will focus. In varying degrees, we will be concerned about all four of the processes of administering criminal justice.

Consequently, it will be helpful if we say a word or two about these procedures -- and perhaps comment briefly on those aspects pf each procedure that seem to be most demanding of improvement.

LAW ENFORCEMENT - Nothing contributes more to the social problem of crime and delinquency than defective police and court procedures. Recent Supreme Court decisions have had great impact on the characteristics of law enforcement personnel. No longer may an official depend on the pistol as a symbol of competence. The Escobedo decision, for example, extended the right to be appropriately charged and the right to counsel, back to the point of arrest. Consequently, a stupid policeman will handicap a law enforcement agency. This is not meant to imply that all policemen should be college graduates -

but they must have intelligence and integrity.

PROSECUTION AND DEFENSE: It appears that imprisonment is, by and large, the privilege of the poor and disadvantaged who are seldom able to pay for an adequate defense. Big time criminals can find their way through loopholes in the law because they are able to secure the best defense and take advantage of those aspects of the law designed to protect the innocent. Seldom do these sophisticated criminals find their way into prison. Furthermore, the death sentence seems to be invoked primarily in cases involving the poor and disadvantaged.

Another social problem that confronts penal administration, and particularly the process of prosecution and defense, is the way society handles its misdemeanant offenders. The preamble to a recently published misdemeanant survey by the NCCD observes that: "Millions of Americans come before our misdemeanant courts (and millions more are victims) for drunkenness, domestic and neighborhood quarrels, thefts and petty violations. Here, 90% of American crime is handled on a "jail or bail" basis. Less than 5% of these courts have rehabilitative services. When millions of the "feeder offenses" are left untreated, opportunities are lost to salvage families, detect child neglect, and prevent major crime. Contrary to popular belief, these courts are not peopled entirely by vagrants and prostitutes. Large numbers of 17 and 18 year olds have their first court expereince. . American crime will never be controlled while we permit 90% of such social illness to remain contagious and to continue untreated."

THE JUDICIAL PROCESS: Sentencing is too hasty and haphazard. After a trial taking many days, the sentencing process often occupies only a few minutes. In the typical Federal Prison, you will encounter in the same dormitory men with almost identical backgrounds serving widely disparate sentences. One may be serving five years for the same offense for which another is serving 25 years.

The bench, in most cases, lacks sufficient information and knowledge concerning the personality of the offender and the social group from which he comes. The bench lacks information and knowledge of the penal system which carries out its sentences and the effects of different kinds of punishment on different types of offenders. Generally judges, and particularly magistrates, are insufficiently trained. In addition, many court officials, particularly justices of the peace, are unsalaried and dependent upon fees earned by referrals from law enforcement officials. This too frequently leads to the financal exploitation of offenders.

CORRECTIONS: Corrections suffers from:

A. Inadequate financial support and official and public indifference

B. Substandard personnel

C. Enforced idleness

D. Lack of professional eadership and professional programs

E. Excessive size and overcrowding of institutions

F. Political domination and motivation of management

G. Unwise sentencing and parole practices

So you see what a formidable task we have to pursue in a short period of time.

We have visited every state in the Southern Region except Texas during the past four months -- endeavoring to assess attitudes toward these public welfare services and learn why they are so susceptible to political domination and motivation of management. Essentially, it is because people are unconcerned about these inconspicuous agencies.

These observations and priorities should be kept in mind as we outline, in the briefest way, a few of the activities which we have already undertaken or intend to implement in the near future.

Our immediate concern is to establish -- in specific terms -- the dimensions of the problem. To this end we shall shortly publish a survey of correctional systems in the Southern Region. We hope to document the most crucial problems in each of the states of the region and -- where appropriate -- to suggest suitable remedies. In addition to furnishing background information on which to launch programs, this survey will be the first instrument we utilize in our public education program. Dr. Vernon Fox of Florida State University has been commissioned to do the initial research and will soon submit a preliminary report. The survey should be ready for publication shortly after the first of the year.

The legislative superstructure which supports correctional efforts in the various states is often startlingly explicit and vividly illustrative of the need for reform. There are statutory provisions which limit the

number of strokes which may be administered in public lashings; provisions for inmate guards; requirements that systems be self-supporting or even profit-making; there are complexes of statutes which detail the minutiae of racial segregation to the point of comedy, and generally serve to institutionalize and make mandatory practices which were out-of-date when the laws were passed, often in the late 19th century. The segregation provisions are particularly pointless. Prison populations consitute, perhaps, the most worldly element in our citizenry. Many of them have served time in some of the best institutions in the country. Why they, of all users of public accomodations, should continue to be segregated is beyond reason.

Because of the evils inherent in many of our penal laws, they should be graphically illustrated. In light of this, we intend to publish a handbook -- detailing, in non-technical language, the provision of each state code and comparing them with the minimum standards prepared by the American Correctional Association and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. We feel that this will be a most effective instrument for public education and encouragement of penal reform.

Rwcent Federal Court decisions in the area of civil liberties have tremendous implications for the administration of criminal justice. Correctional administrators are intensely involve d and concerned with this problem. They typically see this extension of Federal guarantees to the states as threatening both to the safety of the community and the control of the prison population. In order to allay these fears, and to help those concerned to adjust their policies and procedures

to these new attitudes in the most constructive way, we propose to convene or facilitate a Conference on the Implications of Recent Court Decisions. This meeting would involve all interested correctional and/or law enforcement officials as well as nationally recognized authorities in the fields of constitutional law and correctional administration. We hope to place particular emphasis on ways and means to implement the sure-to-be-forthcoming court decisions on racial integration in jails and prisons. Many officials are extremely anxious about the possible repercussions of such an event among their populations. We feel that if men who have already experienced such change in their own systems relate their experiences -- most of which have been uneventful -- it will encourage southern administrators to carry out the Court's instructions in an orderly and constructive way.

In the general area of public education, we propose to assist interested groups by supplying them with material, speakers, advisors and other resource persons.

Since it is difficult to teach an old dog new tricks, it may be wise to develop an educational program directed to elementary and high school students. This would have implications both for increasing general knowledge of this public welfare provision and for recruitment for correctional work.

Several on-going agencies have asked us to cooperate in developing ways and means of reaching the public with information concerning corrections. These agencies include the Presidents Commission on Correctional Manpower

and the recent conference on correctional manpower sponsored by the Southern Regional Education Board.

We also propose to develop a consultant service. In the very near future, we will communicate with officials in each of the Southern States, apprising them of our panel of consultants which includes professionals in the whole area of crime and corrections. Additionally, the staff will serve as practical.

As pointed out above, one of the most crucial areas for concern is encouragement of reform in the badly neglected processes for dealing with middemeanant offenders. Early in 1967, we will endeavor to initiate a misdemeanant survey in the Southern Region similar to the NCCD survey of these processes in New York. We will solicit the co-operation of various interested groups throughout the region in filling out questionnaires as they visit Courts and Jails.

One current effort in this area involves Churchwomen. We have been impressed by their interest and are trying to meet their requests for information and assistance.

Other projects, especially research projects, are of a more specialized nature. We hope to contribute to the general body of corectional knowledge in needed areas as they are uncovered. We are already committed to carrying out research on disparity in sentencing and on the relation of our correctional procedures to crime causation.

The efforts I have mentioned do not exhaust our intentions or our resources. As I travel through the region, new ideas and suggestions constantly present themselves. We intend to remain as flexible as possible -- permitting ourselves scope not only to carry out planned efforts -- but to take action or provide assistance as needs appear.

File Prison Reform

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

March 9, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: Staff

FROM: John O. Boone JOB

We currently plan to have an SRC display booth at the Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare in Dallas on May 21 - 26.

The theme of the Conference will be

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL WELFARE IN SOLVING URBAN PROBLEMS

We are interested in developing an appropriate display of SRC services, especially those focusing on urban development, and would appreciate any ideas you may have concerning which of SRC's publications should be offered at the Forum

Other suggestions bearing on ways to highlight SRC's role in the urban South would also be welcome.

File
Prison Reform

MS — file

April 12, 1967

Mr. Myrl E. Alexander
Director, Bureau of Prisons
101 Indiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20537

Dear Alex:

You probably already know about the recent developments concerning our contact with the Kentucky Department of Corrections. I telephoned Norm and told him that Commissioner Westerberg is not ready at this point to discuss long-range planning with your architectural staff. On the other hand, they wondered if it is possible for Moreland Smith, Director of our Urban Planning Project, to come to Frankfort to review proposals for the clinic. We plan to encourage Moreland to go to Kentucky, but request some intensive briefing before he makes the trip.

We plan to be in Washington on the 24th and a portion of the 25th of April. I asked Norm to arrange for conferences with some of the people that can be helpful on both days. I also understand that you will be in Baltimore for a while on the 24th, however, Norm felt certain that we would be able to see you at some point during our visit.

As I mentioned in my last letter to Harold Black, we want to be apprised of the areas where programs, program planning and building planning may be crucially dovetailed. For example, a medical clinic may also be a facility for vocational training.

Then, there may be a trend toward tieing in treatment facilities with jails and other community facilities. Consequently, I would like to have Moreland talk with your knowledgeable people regarding these ideas and preparation for the possibility that other systems may probably call for consultant services.

Sincerely,

John O. Boone, ACSW
Director, Project on Crime
and Corrections

JOB/vmb

bcc: Mr. Paul Anthony

NOTE: The attached letters will let you know what is developing regarding our Kentucky project.

April 12, 1967

Mr. Harold E, Black
Deputy Commissioner
Department of Corrections
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Black:

Mr. Moreland Smith, Director of our Urban Planning Project, will be available to consult with you and your staff concerning your medical clinic any day during the week of May 1st, <u>except Friday</u>.

Please let us know what day will be most convenient for you.

Sincerely,

John O. Boone, ACSW
Director, Project on Crime
and Corrections

JOB/vmb

bcc: Mr. Paul Anthony

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

OFFICE
OF THE
COMMISSIONER

FRANKFORT

April 7, 1967

Mr. John O. Boone, ACSW
Director, Project on Crime
and Corrections
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Boone:

We appreciate your letter of April 4 in reply to my letter of March 22 wherein we requested consultant services with reference to preliminary plans which have been drawn for a medical clinic at the Kentucky State Penitentiary at Eddyville.

I have discussed with Commissioner Westerberg the arrangement suggested that representatives of the Department meet with Mr. Moreland G. Smith in Washington along with staff of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The Commissioner feels that we should go ahead with the clinic as proposed without the consultant services unless it would be possible for Mr. Smith to meet with us here in Frankfort. We would appreciate knowing whether Mr. Smith could possibly come to Frankfort in the near future to review these plans rather than our making a trip to Washington for this purpose only since we are not ready at this point to discuss with consultants in the Federal Bureau our long-range capital construction plans.

Very truly yours,

Harold E. Black

Harold E. Black
Deputy Commissioner

cc: Mr. Westerberg
Mr. Wingo

MILLS E. GODWIN, JR.
GOVERNOR

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RICHMOND 23219

July 13, 1967

Mr. John A. Boone
Director, Project on Crime
and Corrections
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Boone:

This is to acknowledge your letter of June twenty-sixth regarding the collection of data from our Division of Corrections, Department of Welfare and Institutions.

Your request has been discussed with the Director of the Department of Welfare and Institutions, the Honorable Otis L. Brown, who has indicated his willingness to participate in the regional study.

Any further contact should be directed to Mr. Brown at 429 South Belvidere Street, Richmond, Virginia.

Sincerely,

Mills E. Godwin Jr.

nh

CC: The Honorable Otis L. Brown

WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER
GOVERNOR

File: Crime + Corrections

STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
LITTLE ROCK

12 July 1967

Mr. John O. Boone
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Boone:

Your letter of June twenty sixth has been referred to me by Governor Rockefeller.

Please be assured of the cooperation of the Board of Pardons and Paroles, as well as the Offices of any of the Institutions within the State of Arkansas in connection with the sentence disparity study by the graduate students of law at Emory University.

Most of the information sought by the sample instruments enclosed in your letter could be obtained from the admissions summary statement at the Institution. If there should be other information desired, I will be more than happy to see that our records are made available to the students. Please advise when we might expect the students to desire access to these records and what records they will want to review.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Yours very truly,

Bob Scott

BOB SCOTT
Legal Assistant

BS:cc

STATE OF TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION

ROOM 212 — DOCTORS BUILDING

NASHVILLE 37203

BUFORD ELLINGTON
GOVERNOR

June 30, 1967

HARRY S. AVERY
COMMISSIONER

Mr. John O. Boone
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Boone:

Your letter dated June 26, 1967, addressed to Governor Buford Ellington has been referred to me for reply.

This office will be happy to cooperate with you in any way possible to develop research information in connection with projects being conducted by the graduate law students of Emory University. Our office is located at 706 Church Street, Room 244 Doctor's Building, Nashville, Tennessee.

I hope a copy of the results of your study will be furnished this Department in order that we may share its contents with other Tennessee departments of government, particularly, the Attorney General's office.

Sincerely yours,

Weldon W. Cox
Deputy Commissioner

WWC/kjh

cc: Mr. William L. Barry

FLORIDA DIVISION OF CORRECTIONS

STATE OFFICE BUILDING
620 SOUTH MERIDIAN STREET

LOUIE L. WAINWRIGHT
DIRECTOR

TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32304

TELEPHONE
224-1269

June 30, 1967

Mr. John O. Boone, Director
Project on Crime and Corrections
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Boone:

The Florida Division of Corrections will be glad to cooperate with you in the study you are conducting this summer. We do routinely assist and facilitate the work of serious researchers in criminology and corrections. We require all such research projects to be preceeded by a request which includes the information shown in the attached sheet. If you could furnish us with the information required that was not included in your initial inquiry, we will be able to proceed with the final approval.

We would prefer that the work be done from the records in our Central Office here in Tallahassee. The work will have to be done in the office and no records will be authorized to be removed from the office at any time.

Due to the office space limitations and our desire that this project not interfere with routine office operations to a greater degree than necessary, we would also prefer that not more than two and preferably one student be assigned to do this work if possible. We would also like to obtain at least one copy of the results of this study for our staff library along with permission to circulate or publish all or parts of this study within our own organization.

Yours very truly,

LOUIE L. WAINWRIGHT, DIRECTOR

David D. Bachman

David D. Bachman
Deputy Director for Inmate Treatment

DDB/dws

Attachment

FLORIDA DIVISION OF CORRECTIONS

TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

APRIL 26, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Prospective Researchers

FROM: Chief of Research and Statistics

RE: ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTIVE NO. 17 - Subject "RESEARCH"

Excerpts of interest to persons intending to conduct research in cooperation with the Florida Division of Corrections:

17.2 - Coordination

In order that all research activities may be effectively coordinated, it is necessary that the Director be furnished with adequate information concerning all formal research studies undertaken within the Division of Corrections.

17.4 - Research Proposals

Insofar as possible, each research proposal submitted to the Superintendent and the Director for review should contain the following information, itemized according to the following standard format (A through G):

(A) An informal statement of the objectives or purpose of the proposed study. What questions are being asked, or what hypotheses are being tested?

(B) A description of the research methods to be used in answering the questions or testing hypotheses (e.g., experimental and control groups, matched pair comparison, exploratory interviews, etc.).

(C) A description of the measurements to be used (e.g., scales, tests, questionnaires, etc.). If measuring instruments are other than those routinely administered in the Division, a copy of the instruments should be forwarded with the proposal, if possible. If they are to be developed as part of the project, a statement of their intended character or rationale should be included.

(D) The number and types of subjects and/or of IBM punched cards requested (see section 17.7).

(E) The names and working titles of personnel involved, and their responsibilities in the project. If persons or agencies from outside the Division of Corrections are to be involved, all pertinent details should be included.

(F) The approximate dates between which it is anticipated that the study will be carried out.

(G) A brief summary of estimated costs to the Division of Corrections, if any.

17.6 - Publications Resulting from Research

Employees of the Florida Division of Corrections and other researchers are encouraged to submit their research findings for possible publication in the "Research Study" series. Students and persons from outside agencies who intend to independently publish findings resulting from research conducted at institutions within the Division of Corrections should give proper acknowledgment and should agree to submit one copy of the publication* to the Central Office for retention in the Division's staff library and another copy to the Superintendent of each institution involved.

17.7 - Sources of Information

Institutional personnel and other qualified researchers may request from the Central Office the IBM punched cards containing inmate social and criminal characteristics as compiled by the Reception Center staff. The compiled data (refer to Form CO-4 and the "Instructions for Coding Statistical Data", Form CO-4 INS.) are maintained on punched cards in the Central Office and duplicates are readily available for any worthwhile research project. For example, a researcher might request punched cards for all inmates "received since January 1, 1963, with three or more prior escapes", or for all inmates "received in 1964 and 1965 with cardiac or pulmonary disabilities and ages of 45 or more". Such requests may be made as part of the research proposal (see 17.4-D).

*Applies also to unpublished student theses, dissertations, and term papers.

CJE/dws

STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
LITTLE ROCK

WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER
GOVERNOR

June 29, 1967

Mr. John O. Boone
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Boone:

Thank you for your letter of June 26th concerning the sentence disparity study.

We will be pleased to cooperate with your study, and I have referred a copy of your letter to Mr. Bob Scott, my administrative assistant who is in charge of prison affairs. I am sure that he will be in touch with you soon.

Again, thank you for writing, and with all good wishes,

Sincerely,

W Rockefeller

Winthrop Rockefeller
Governor

TENNESSEE
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
NASHVILLE 37219

BUFORD ELLINGTON
GOVERNOR

WILLIAM L. BARRY
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

June 29, 1967

Mr. John O. Boone
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Boone:

We have received your letter of June 26, addressed to Governor Buford Ellington, and with which you enclose a form to be utilized by your student employees in the course of a sentence disparity study.

The Governor has directed me to state that all public records under the jurisdiction of the State government will certainly be available to your authorized representative.

We are referring your letter to Commissioner Harry Avery of the Tennessee Department of Correction for his information and such further action as he may consider appropriate.

Very truly yours,

William L. Barry

WLB:s

File: Prison Reform

August 4, 1967

Mr. Hilton M. Fuller, Jr.
Executive Director
Police-Community Relations Committee
Suite 805
Standard Federal Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Hilton:

Enclosed are some comments about your report which I promised to pass on to you. They have been done by John Boone and Bill Farmar of our Crime and Corrections Project who obviously know more about it than I do.

Again it was good to talk with you yesterday. Let us know if we can be of any help. In the meantime, good luck!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

PROJECT ON CRIME AND CORRECTIONS - August 29, 1967

Mr. McNeill Smith, Attorney at Law
700 Jefferson ~~Street~~ Building Standard
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mr. Joseph Haas, Attorney at Law
2709 ~~1116~~ First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Donald Hollowell, Attorney at Law
859½ Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Barbara Jordan, Attorney at Law
5303 Lyons Avenue
Houston, Texas

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dr. Hollis F. Price, President
LeMoyne College
Memphis, Tennessee

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
3205 Arden Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. V. Lee Bounds, Director of Prisons
840 West Morgan Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. Richard Chappell
Institute of Government
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dr. E. Preston Sharpe, General Secretary
American Correctional Association
15th & H Streets, N. W. Reservations
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Myrl Alexander, Director
Federal Bureau of Prisons
101 Indiana Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Homer Benson, Member Reservation
United States Board of Parole
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Christopher Edley Reservation
Ford Foundation
~~477 Madison Avenue~~ 320 E. 23rd Street
New York, New York

Mr. John Wheeler, President
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mr. Ellis MacDougall, Director
South Carolina Department of Corrections
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. Stewart Warner
Staff Consultant
National Council on Crime and Delinquency
50 Whitehall Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. William Jackson, Dean
School of Social Work
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Attorney at Law
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

The Project on Crime and Corrections was activated a little more than one year ago, and shortly afterwards we convened a meeting of Advisors. You will remember our dilemma in deciding on project priorities in view of the many famifications of criminal justice in the South, and all over the country for that matter. Nevertheless, we were able to launch a number of activities and selected several projects that were considered important. Those that were most significant in our opinion, are presented to you for your candid reactions. We had a second meeting of the Advisors last week and an order of priorties is being established for the coming year.

At the Advisory Committee meeting we endeavored to compile a list of some of the significant new projects in corrections. Papers were presented on the Rights of Offenders, particularly, the rights of prison inmates, the feasibility of an Interstate Compact on Corrections, program and design of correctional institutions in the future, new careers for ex-offenders, new federal programs and national trends in corrections, significant NCCD

projects on delinquency and corrections, and last but by no means least, a paper on North Carolina's Program to get rid of Capitol Punishment, by Attorney Marion Wright. In addition to the informative nature of the papers, the process also helps us to avoid wasteful over-lapping of programs. Because of the quality of these papers we are pulling together a preceedings of this meeting, including an annual report concerning the project. A copy of the Proceedings ~~report~~ will be made available to each member of the Council

We learned right away that the State of the Union will directly influence the focus of the project. In other words, what appears dangerous get attention. The rash of disorders generated much interest in, and requests, relative to law enforcement activities, police-community relations and minority group behavior. In cooperation with the NCCJ and the AJC, we had prepared material during late spring relative to a long hot summer -- and, as we all know it certainly was very hot and very dangerous. We worked with a group to prepare a proposal for Atlanta's Police Department, but work on

this was deferred. As A few months ago LBJ appointed Atlanta's Chief of Police to the President's Commission on Civil Disorder, and there is a possibility that this effort will not be reactivated. In short it might be hard to secure an expert. SOS material was sent to all of the Directors of HRC's and some responded. Early in the summer Notably, Tennessee as tension was high in Memphis, Nashville, and Chattanooga, in the wake of poor police practices and some militancy in the Negro community. This led us to introduce SRI to six southern cities. Atlanta, Dallas, Memphis, Jacksonville, Chattanooga and Nashville. SRI have developed a highly structured police-community relations process that underwent a severe test in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Grand Rapids officials believe that this program helped to prevent a full scale riot from developing in that city. However, ~~this~~ the S 1289 is an expensive endeavor. It cost Grand Rapids $50,000 dollars to initiate the process. SRI was hopeful that the safe streets and Crime Control Bill would provide for funds to cities that wished to implement their proposal. Needless to say, it appears that the safe streets act will provide for more police control and less community relations

We are developing an economical approach to better police-community relations that we would be interested in trying in at least one southern city. The cost of such a project will be minimal. Any of you with interest in this area are encouraged to approach me about this during the meeting.

The University of Georgia has established an institute on Law Enforcement. This summer we conducted their seminar on Minority Group Behavior. About 50 policemen were enrolled from all over the country and one from Japan. There were representatives from all over the South. Their profound ignorance concerning minority group behavior was offset by their sincere interest in the subject. Court decisions and the President's Commission has caused a new birth in the process of criminal rehabilitation. However, there are also many who would turn the clock back because they feel that the police are being handcuffed.

We tried to get the Southern Governor's Conference to adopt a resolution calling for exploration of the feasibility of an Interstate

compact on corrections. Such a Compact would facilitate the pooling of resources among the states. for example, there is a very small population of women offenders in every state and it is uneconomical for each state to maintain a highly structured facility for women. South Carolina and Arkansas have less than 100 50 women prisons each that could be provisionally kept in Tennessee where there is a new facility for more than 200 women. There are also small populations in all prisons of psychiatric, chronic patient, cronic medical, and mentally retarded that could be better treated in a compact. Furtheremore, federal legislation will tend to support regional planning where practical. Such a compact would facilitate the general enhancement of the process of corrections in the region. We contacted all of the correctional managers and the Governors of each state and considered the interest was generated. Correctional staffs in Tennessee and Arkansas urged their Governors Governors staffs in Tenn & Ark was the [illegible] to co-sponsor this resolution. We secured the assistance of the Council on state governments in pursuit of this resolution. We

prepared this resolution and a preamble that outlined the need for a compact. The resolution did not get out of the committee this year; however, all concerned, including the Council on State Governments and the correctional managers believe that chances for adoption next year ARE good. It appears that in the first effort we tried to do too much, too soon.

Moreland Smith and I WERE invited to Kentucky by the Director of the State Department of Corrections to consult with them about long range building and program plans. (We were at Eddyville for a day and the conference second surveys.)

In Georgia we prepared a position paper for a group of interested citizens and accompained them as they visited Alto Reformatory for Boys, and the newly appointed Director of the State Department of Corrections. He requested information and we have occasional contacts with him which are mutually helpful.

We met with a group of interested citizens in Arkansas. Considerable ferment is developed over their notorious prison systems. By products of a sentence disparity study that this state participated

in provided for additional opportunities for technical assistance.

We have been called upon to provide background information for newsmedia -- local and national. This seems to be a productive approach in generating favorable public opinion relative to criminal rehabilitation.

We have supported several small experimental projects in Atlanta. We hope to describe these programs in pamphlet form as they ~~develop~~ evolve and make them available for other localities to consider their application. The Brotherhood of New Hope, which will be funded by United Fund in 1968, is a halfway house, run by ex-convicts, for adults ex-prisoners. The House of USE, is an agency designed to help young adults, predelinquents and those who have been incarcerated — the so called hard to reach youth. It has now been funded by the United Fund and ACEP. The Lightning Foundation Club and the Young Men's Civic League are organizations of persons who resided in slum areas, who want to do something positive in the community. They are especially interested in giving their youth a better chance than they had.

We have made use of the skills of three graduate students of social work and the past summer one graduate student of law, ~~in this project.~~

We have worked closely with ACLU in a few projects. Most significantly we prepared position papers and secured research material in connection with their suit to desegregate prisons which will be heard in the U.S. Supreme Court next week on November 6-7.

Now a few words about Research

1. Black Youth in A Southern Metropolis -- Our survey of 700 high school students in Atlanta, has reached draft stage. The report, some 80 pages long, is presently being revised by project staff. Most of the writing on the draft was done by Dr. James Conyers of Atlanta University. The report is based on an analysis of the data by Dr. Conyers and Bill Farmer, Assist Gov, ~~me~~ with the assistance of Dr. Martin Levin of Emory University. Emory was also kind enough to permit us to use their data processing equipment.

The survey questionnaire, some 20 pages long was compiled by students in 5 all-Negro high schools in Atlanta.

The [redacted] majority of all Negro high school students in the city attend these five schools. The questionnaire was self-administered Students (or in some cases homeroom classes) were chosen at random.

Responses were analyzed by age, sex, family structure, school, and economic level. The results, which will be published very shortly, are too lengthy and complex to summarize here.

A brief and very general summary of the results was prepared two months ago, but it does not necessarily reflect the conclusions of the final report which are based on a much more complete analysis of the data. However, copies of this preliminary report are available to anyone who is interested.

2. Sentence Disparity -- We are currently in the process of analyzing data collected for this study. We received records and/or interviewed inmates in 7 states -- Virginia, N.C., S.C., Georgia, Tenn. and Arkansas. Mississippi and Louisiana refused to cooperate. Texas and Florida, ~~the other two blosoms on the confederate~~ bush, were finally excluded on the grounds that their population and other

Transfer funds were also from Texas, that component would here

factors were so different from other southern states, that comparisons would have been of limited value. Time and funds were also limiting factors.

A relatively cursory examination of the data suggests that in every state except Virginia, our sample reflects a statistically significant disparity in length of sentence between the races in every crime category which was represented in any numbers. Other data relating to educational achievement, IQ, family circumstances, skills, and other socio-economic factors, as well as such variables as plea, type or lack of counsel, and race ~~and sex of~~ of victim, all promise to prove interesting, especially as they relate to criteria for the granting of parole, accomodation to institutional arrangements, and factors which influence sentencing.

3. Punishment for Rape in Texas is a study by Dr. Rupert Koeninger pf Texas Southern University. Since the study population consists of every rape conviction in Texas between 1924 - 1962, the clear evidence of disparity it presents is virtually incontrovertible. It is one of the most comprehensive studies on the

question of race and rape which I have ever seen and is eminently deserving of publication.

The question on which we wish to focus your attention, of course, is our future activities in this area.

In the course of collecting data for the Sentence Disparity Study, it became apparent that the region, and almost every correctional system in it, suffers from an ~~xxxx~~ alarming dearth of information about its own activities -- not only in terms of evaluation, but in terms even of simple statistical data. I understand that several state systems are currently considering the possibility of launching some sort of joint research venture. This is, in my view, an indispensable element for progress in this area. Nevertheless, we would propose to offer a service to interested institutions and law enforcement agencies in the region which only a private agency with relatively few axes to grind, especially in the areas of research and operations, could provide. ~~Wexxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~Wexxx~~ We suggest that we could make a valuable contribution to the upgrading of correctional systems by conducting

relatively unsophisticated and, most of all, confidential evaluation of program and planning efforts. Such evaluations could take the form of simple reportage and interpretation based on records, official papers, interviews and obswrvation. Such objective, outsid efforts, fed to the Department administrators, could be of assistance to them in their relentless struggle to maintain some kind of perspective in the face of the countless pressures and crises which burden their days. Additionally, such private evaluations would reduce the sense of personal threat and minimize the risk of negative public reaction which similar efforts by larger organizations might produce. Most importantly, it would provide us with an opportunity to educate the administrators by viewing their efforts from a perspective not limited by professional concerns.

We have a few other ideas, especially research ideas suggested by our Youth Culture and Sentence Disparity Studies, in reserve -- and, of course, we are continually collecting material for a final report as this project terminates ~~in the Summer of 1969~~ which will attempt in a

modest way to do that which a year ago we were rash enough to think we could begin with -- that is, a survey of the state of corrections in the South,

We have on the drawing board innovative programs which could contribute significantly in two areas.

First, as mentioned earlier in the area of human relations, we are developing a program which will contribute to the improvement of police-community relations and relations between prison staffs and inmates through relatively economical techniques. We are interested in selecting at least one city and one interested correctional system in which this program may be tested.

Finally, we have a proposal which will promote employment opportunities for ex-convicts through the agency of an organization of ex-convicts with appropriate skills and positive motivation.

One of our major tasks during the coming year will be to develop these ideas and seek support for their implementation.

PROJECT ON CRIME AND CORRECTIONS

At the end of the project's first year of existence, staff find themselves increasingly involved in the national effort to meet "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society." We participated in the President's conferences on crime control and on juvenile delinquency, and are involved in regional, state and local efforts to implement the recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. The preponderance of law enforcement officials, attorneys and correctional personnel at these conferences and on these committees makes our participation all the more imperative, since it presents us with opportunities to temper somewhat the effect which the highly official orientation of most of the participants has upon the results of these efforts. Additionally, we are anxious to encourage, by participation and counsel, the growing tendency for private citizens to participate in the decision making process in the whole area of the administration of justice. In any case, this kind of activity occupies an increasing amount of our time and effort.

Despite the demands on our time detailed above, other project efforts continue apace.

The results of our survey on Negro youth attitudes and aspirations (a sampling of 700 students in five all-Negro high schools in Atlanta) have been reduced to the language of the computers and are in the process of being analyzed. The final

report, to be published this summer, will be a joint effort by project staff and faculty members from Emory and Atlanta Universities. Dr. James F. Conyers of the Sociology Department of Atlanta University is the Chief Researcher. While the survey will serve an overall purpose of presenting a picture of how these youth perceive themselves, their neighborhoods, the large community and the nation, a more specific application also exists. Social service agencies and other organizations which develop programs oriented toward delinquency prevention often fail to give any meaningful consideration to the attitudes and perceived needs of the population they wish to serve. As a result, their programs are often unrealistic and somewhat naive at best. Our survey should provide these agencies and workers with a more realistic view of youth culture in general and youth attitudes toward the mores which tend to delimit official behavior in particular. Hopefully, this will influence the development of programs which give more weight to the empirical and less to the theoretical.

A special report on capital punishment in the South is in first draft stage and will soon be ready for publication.

In cooperation with ACLU, and with the assistance of senior law students from Emory and other universities, we are undertaking an examination of the judicial and correctional processes in a number of southern states. (Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, Georgia have already indicated their willingness to cooperate.) The main focus of the study will be on disparities

both in length of sentence imposed and amount of time served. Among the indices used to measure this alleged disparity will be: the race of the offender (and of the victim); the socio-economic status of the offender (both absolutely and relative to the status of the victim); the relative weight given by paroling authorities to the background of the offender; his institutional behavior; his prior criminal record; his apparent prospects for successful adjustment in the community, and the status in the community of those who support and of those who oppose the granting of his application for parole. Hopefully, the results of this study will point the way toward the development of programs to encourage more equitable sentencing and paroling policies and procedures in the region.

Our project, in cooperation with the project on urban planning, has prepared and submitted a proposal urging the federal government to undertake a program on "Design and Function in Correctional Institutions." We are suggesting that the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the General Services Administration, in league, perhaps, with the American Institute of Architects and other appropriate organizations, launch a project to encourage state and local correctional systems to utilize small, flexible and relatively inexpensive facilities in order better to serve the needs of correctional rehabilitation in an era of rapid change. These facilities, utilizing modern construction techniques such as pre-fabrication,

would be community-centered and could more easily take advantage of community resources in the areas of psychology, social services, education and vocational training. A generally higher level of community contact for inmates of these institutions, through work-release programs, furloughs and increased opportunities to participate in community activities, would help to create an environment in which therapeutic efforts could be carried on with much greater hope of success than present institutional arrangements permit. The proposal is currently being evaluated by federal agencies and may soon bear fruit.

Recently, we were called upon to provide consultative services to the correctional system of the state of Kentucky. In cooperation with the director of the Urban Planning Project, Moreland Smith, FAIA, we evaluated the department's plans to build a hospital on the grounds of the Kentucky State Penitentiary at Eddyville. Our report included recommendations for a number of substantive changes in the plan. In addition, we strongly urged the state to develop a master plan for the future, integrating construction and programming proposals. Such a plan would obviate many of the problems that result from the piece-meal approach the system is currently taking to needs both for better utilization of available space and increased efforts to develop viable treatment programs. We further offered to cooperate with them in the structuring of this master plan.

Staff efforts have contributed significantly to the revival of an extremely important and innovative delinquency prevention program in Atlanta. This program, the House of U.S.E., was a victim of recent cuts in poverty funds. We were able to provide some limited financial support, find a permanent agency home for the project (The Butler Street YMCA), and materially assist in securing a substantial federal grant and United Appeal support for this street work effort. The director of the project on crime and corrections is currently secretary of the advisory board of this youth project and we are very hopeful that the Atlanta experience will be translatable into terms which will prove useful in other southern cities.

Another experimental program, the Brotherhood of New Hope, has also received considerable support from the Project. This program, a half-way house for released prisoners, is run by ex-offenders and is pointing the way toward the development of new and useful roles for non-professionals in the field of corrections. In cooperation with the Brotherhood of New Hope advisory board, we are seeking institutional support for the program. We feel certain that an analysis of the accomplishments of this program will lead to the development of similar efforts in other communities. The project director is vice-president of this board.

During the last six months, we have established many useful

contacts with correctional administrators and law enforcement officials in the region and are planning to visit many of these agencies in the near future in order to decide, in very specific terms, what consultative and advisory services we may be able to offer them.

File
Cuba Project

MEMORANDUM November 22, 1967

To: John Boone
Mrs. Virginia Brown

From: Paul Anthony

Mrs. Knox has shared with me the memorandum requesting that none of your mail be opened. While I can readily understand and sympathize with your reasons for this request, we have a problem in honoring it; namely, since so much money comes into the Council through the mails, under so many different circumstances, the auditor has ruled that each letter must be opened by the receptionist to determine if money is enclosed. I simply do not see any way in which we can make exceptions to this, although it is unlikely that either of you would receive Council funds.

Any letters coming to the receptionist marked "personal" are not to be opened. One step which you might take is to request personal correspondence be so labeled on the envelop.

Coupled with the suggestion, however, I would like to request that any individual serving as receptionist make the opening of mail a purely mechanical matter. If a check, bill or stamps are in an envelop it can be readily determined, and if not, the receptionist should pass along the correspondence or other enclosures unread.

I hope this is satisfactory to everyone concerned.

cc: Mrs. Luesta Knox

File ~~Requests~~ Info
Crime & Corrections Proj

Paul

December 1, 1967

Mr. Jack L. Kuykendall
Department of Police Science
and Administration
Washington State University
Pullman, Washington 99163

Dear Mr. Kuykendall:

Mr. Paul Anthony, our Executive Director, has referred to me your letter of October 23rd, along with a copy of his reply.

No doubt, you have already conducted a thorough review of the literature. Therefore, I am enclosing only that portion of the available information which I felt you might not have seen. I have interpreted your field of research, "The Negro in Law Enforcement," in the strictest sense. Thus, I have not included any materials on correctional manpower, Negroes employed in the judicial process, or Negroes employed in community supervision agencies.

We do not have a great deal of current material available and would be interested in knowing whether you have, in your review of the literature, come across any recent figures on Negro policemen in the South. If you have not, we may well decide to conduct a survey.

If you are interested in a more extensive discussion of the whole question, or if you have any particular questions you might like to raise, please do not hesitate to communicate with us again.

Sincerely yours,

William Farmar
Assistant Director
Project on Crime & Corrections

WF/vmb

Enclosures:

PAUL:

ENCLOSURES SUBMITTED:

SRC Special Report, "Racial Discrimination in the Southern Federal Courts,"April, 1965

Report on a Study of Negro Police made by the Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces, Spring, 1953

ALL OF THE FOLLOWING OF NEW SOUTH:

Negro Policemen in Southern Cities, (tabulation) Sept-Oct.,1950
The Case for Negro Police, February, 1947
How Charleston Got Negro Policemen, Sept.-Oct., 1950
Police, Progress and Desegregation in Atlanta, June, 1962
Negro Police in Southern Cities, October, 1947

November 21, 1967

Mr. Jack L. Kuykendall
Department of Police Science and
Administration
Washington State University
Pullman, Washington 99163

Dear Mr. Kuykendall:

Please forgive me this inexcusable delay in responding to your request of October 23rd. It simply got misplaced in the stack of paper on my desk.

Enclosed is the requested booklet.

I am turning your inquiry over to Mr. William Farmar, assistant director of our Project on Crime and Corrections, and asking that he answer you further and to see that you get another study in this area which we will publish in about a month.

Bill
you would
please

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (The Unequal Badge)

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON 99163

DEPARTMENT OF POLICE SCIENCE AND ADMINISTRATION

October 23, 1967

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1967

Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a graduate student and Teaching Assistant at Washington State University in the Department of Police Science and Administration. I am currently doing research work on my master's thesis and I would like to enlist the assistance of your organization.

My field of research is that of the Negro in law enforcement. In an examination of literature I have seen references to your organization on several occasions. I am especially interested in the report of your council entitled "The Unequal Badge."

If possible would you please send me a copy of the above report and any other literature or data you might have concerning my topic. If there is any cost I will be happy to reimburse you upon your request.

Thanking you for your cooperation in advance, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Jack L. Kuykendall

Jack L. Kuykendall

file
Re Prospects
Prison Reform

March 25, 1968

The Honorable Robert E. Anderson
House of Representatives
House Office Building
Jackson, Mississippi

My dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for your letter of March 21. Please know that we will be more than happy to cooperate with you and your committee in any way possible.

We would also like to point out that our report and our interest are in seeing the creation of more effective prison systems throughout the region. Our report was issued in this spirit; not simply as criticism. It was issued in support of the large number of prison administrators and public officials who are concerned with -- and in many instances fighting an up-hill battle for -- better prison systems in their several states.

The comments in our special report on the Mississippi Prison System reflects, in general, the information we have, and if your Committee has just completed a thorough investigation of the prison system of your state, it is doubtful that

we can add any further information. However, our report and interest in this subject is the staff responsibility of Mr. John O. Boone, director of our Project on Crime and Corrections. Before coming with the Council Mr. Boone was employed for 14 years with the Federal Bureau of Prisons and is generally regarded as an authority on prison administration and reform. Should you wish, Mr. Boone will be more than happy to meet with you and your committee at your convenience to discuss the current situation and those policies and programs which are desirable in any effective prison system.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MISSISSIPPI

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JACKSON

March 21, 1968

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

As Chairman of the Penitentiary Committee of the House of Representatives of the Mississippi Legislature, I am very much interested in the report you issued to the newspapers concerning the conditions existing at our State Penitentiary at Parchman.

Our Committee has recently completed a thorough investigation of the State Penitentiary and we have reported our findings to the Mississippi Legislature. We feel that if you have information helpful to our committee you should submit the same to us. We would also like for some member or representative of the Southern Regional Council to appear before our Committee at their convenience to discuss the information contained in your report.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. (Bob) Anderson

Robert E. (Bob) Anderson

REA:fl

Crime Project
Cr. ref - Ford Fd. to Ford
re: New proposal for additional funds
after 1968 to Crime Prj
cc: John Boone
ltr. of 6/3/68
+ enclosures

June 3, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Chris:

Thank you for a very illuminating conference. I believe we are close to a meeting of the minds not only in connection with the nature of the problem of criminal justice that impinge upon law and order today, but also in relation to the kinds of strategies, and objectives that are relevant in your area of responsibility.

An appreciation of the guidelines is enabling me to better evaluate what has already taken place as a result of our project.

First, I would like to comment further on my own attitude toward social action. During our conversation about approaches, I told you that I was not a promoter of the traditional social work approaches to problems. I should add that my disenchantment with the social work approach was as great a factor in my decision to pursue reform through this project as was my dissatisfaction with corrections -- which is burdened by a social work and psychiatric model. In fact, just before I left "institutional corrections," I presented a paper at the Indiana Conference on Social Welfare entitled, "The Common Law Marriage of Social Work and Corrections," which called for drastic reforms in the social work discipline as well as in the field of corrections.

In the attached, I am forwarding some illustrations of the nature of the original project, in one section and the other section will list a few program ideas that can be refined, amplified or dumped altogether for more pertinent strategies and objectives -- as circumstances dictate -- should a more formal proposal be desired after you and Paul meet. In fact, the ideas that make up this report was pulled together in a hurry because I know that Paul plans to see you this week, and I want you to have this in your hand when you confer.

To be very frank with you, notwithstanding the meaningful impact that the project has had up to this date, I would like to consider our past project experience as primarily providing a basis for the development of programs that will be more directly related to solution of the acute problems that impede criminal justice. Consequently, we will not overload you with too much from the past. We admit that from the beginning the objectives of our program were multiple and successive, and consequently, difficult to state in simple terms, prompting us to often oversimplify and, in so doing, produce communication problems. In this connection, perhaps the most useful by-product of our experience is a better appreciation for developing means for the evaluation of programs and in the selection of programs, identifying relationship between the means and goals.

There is a high priority objective that we would be interested in pursuing. The Correction of the conditions that identifies the law as being white.

You will observe that essentially, the program ideas that we are submitting are designed to "cut out" the cancer of segregation and discrimination in those agencies in the South that are responsible for implementing the administration of criminal justice. Now this is a big order, but we are convinced that a great impact can be made by SRC. An important consideration is the fact that such broad task has not been undertaken by other agencies. Many of them have relevant programs, but other priorities and demands pushes work on these crucial problems to the background.

We believe that a three-year program in this direction could possibly move the systems and relevant agencies to a point where racial problems could be corrected through ordinary channels.

Sincerely yours,

John O. Boone, Director
Project on Crime and Corrections

JOB/vmb

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
PROJECT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE
JUNE 3, 1968

SECTION ONE: SOME COMMENTS ON PROJECT STRATEGIES AND OBJECTIVES UP-TO-DATE

Examination and Definition of Programs and Objectives

The original release of the Ford Grant to the Southern Regional Council, concurred one broad area of concern was crime, delinquency and the administration of justice. We conceived of this broad commission as an opportunity to assess the effectiveness of the social welfare programs that are addressed to the problem of crime and delinquency, and went about setting the program up in a fairly orderly manner, although for those who were unable to be close to the process, the procedure must have seemed disarrayed.

First, we began to carefully select an Advisory Committee. It was determined that the membership should include an array of concerns and interest, e.g., professional correctional persons and other professionals that are relevant to the administration of justice, academicians and a cross-section of laymen.

Staff developed a number of program ideas and convened the Advisory Committee initially for two purposes primarily. The selection of programs and the development of strategies and objectives.

Briefly, it was decided that the project would seek to enhance the undeveloped status of correctional programs in the South primarily. Secondly, we planned to study the tendency of the systems to select poor people for its harshest treatment; thirdly, we wished to assess the relationship between public

policy, corruption and public disorder; and, finally, an objective that permeates each program, eliciting accountability to the public through programs designed to promote a public opinion that is inclined to support reform.

Briefly, some of the programs that was decided upon and objectives are as follows:

1. State-by-state survey of crime prevention programs and agencies and corrections in the South, based on official reports, publications, inquiries, etc., by staff of SRC and Flordia State University Department of Criminology and Corrections. The idea was to develop a basic document which would reveal gaps and crucial areas of concern that suggest pertinent programs.

2. Study how Negroes use correctional services. Objective to facilitate design of programs that will correct discrimination and disrespect for law.

3. Support demonstration projects and studies that explore new ideas of tackling problems of crime and delinquency. The plan involved disseminating results, supporting the adoption of new approaches to the solution of problems of crime and delinquency.

4. Support viable civic groups, schools and universities, news media, other private agencies, etc., that demonstrate concern about the status of the agencies that implement the task

of criminal justice, with the goal encouraging the agency more accountable to the public that is responsible for its being.

5. Consultation -- focused on crucial needs and gaps in the service system. Objective, enhancement of systems effectiveness.

EVALUATION

The membership make up the Advisory Committee was valuable as it was originally conceived, but its usefulness is now reduced. It helped us to carve out unique program ideas that had not already been undertaken by others and members were very supportive as consultants and provided technical assistance to the staff and agencies.

This attempt to avoid overlapping concerns is in line with your policy of "not buying what you may get for nothing." As our focus is directed more toward racism in the administration of justice, we will make better use of civil rights and reform kinds of people as advisors.

The goals of the project appears to have covered too much territory and should be narrowed to bring all of the force of the strategies to bare on a reduced number of objectives, facilitating an ability to maintain better control of our means and better measurements of success.

Illustrations of some of our means and end results are attached. Of course, we are aware of the value in distinguishing between the immediate and the ultimate objectives of our pro-

grams and projects. It is acknowledged that some of the objectives that are implied in the illustrations are merely points moving toward ultimate goals.

SECTION TWO:
SOME PROGRAM IDEAS UNDER CONSIDERATION

Examination and Definition of Programs and Objectives

Of all institutions in our society, those related to the administration of justice are among the most openly and throughly racist. The number of Black people employed in other than the most menial positions is extremely and disproportionately small. The number of Black clients in these agencies is extremely and disproportionately large. Segregation, disparity in the lenght of sentence, discrimination in housing and work assignments in prison, harrassment by police and other inequities by race are commonplace in these systems. It is a prime goal of the project to expose and contribute to the correction of these irregularities.

The recent court decisions concerning the rights of offenders and the Supreme Court decision relative to segregation practices expands the possible effectiveness of a gadfly role for an agency such as SRC to play in support of an ultimate objective of equal protection under the law, in the same manner that it played this role for more than ten years after the school desegregation decision of 1954. Already, it is observed that correctional managers are contriving to barely meet the stipulations of the decision which will not make for the kind of distribution of available resources that will support rehabilitation endeavors for both Black and white persons. In fact, it is our stipulation that rehabilitation programs are ineffective where discrimination and dishonesty prevails.

We propose that one of the objectives of this project is to break strangeholds on due process and free both administrators, offenders and inmates to behave in a more creative and positive manner.

By-product of this objective will be a better system for dealing with the problem of crime and delinquency. Even traditional reform agencies admit that the old approaches have failed. Yet, proposed national legislation is primarily designed to reinforce traditional methods, which causes to systems to select the poor and the Black for harsh treatment.

PROGRAM ITEMS

A. The penal institutions of a number of Southern States seem unreformable in the foreseeable future. Segregation and other forms of racial discrimination when combined with limited facilities, punitive rationales and niggardly appropriations, offer little prospect for humane treatment and meaningful programming. In light of this fact, we propose to organize a program to provide effective relief in individual cases and to open up avenues which the legal profession may pursue in seeking class relief.

A legal services committee would be organized in each Southern State. The responsibilities of this committee would be twofold:

1. To review the cases of those defendants who are currently in prison, with the hope of:

   a. discovering a procedual defect or
   b. discovering a substantive error, either of which might lead to the unconditional release of inmates;

2. To review both statutory and case law bearing on the judicial process or the administration of prisons which might provide for individual attorneys or legal services organizations, opportunities to pursue class actions which might result in the review of large numbers of cases, or the release of substantial numbers of prisoners.

Such a program utilizing the skills of staff workers, and volunteer law students could serve to:

a. provide help for the countless individuals currently in prison whose plight is attributable to that blatant disregard for due process so apparent upon the most cursory examination of case records in Southern prisons;

b. to provide opportunities in law to open up constitutional administration and control to judicial review to a degree which will eliminate the most oppressive results of independent administrative discretion, especially as they relate to the exploitation of labor, the dehumanization of the inmate and other products of uncontrolled authority.

Other agencies and organizations provide services which would tie in with such a program. There is a growing interest among correctional administrators in providing prisoners with legal advice through law school internship programs. Such programs, however, are designed to provide services to those prisoners who have already determined to seek court remedies in their cases and are intended to reduce the numbers of petitions which reach the courts rather than to improve their quality. In any case, these

services, in the few places where they exist, concern themselves with varieties of individual cases and rarely, if ever, attack the system which produced the inequity.

The American Civl Liberties Union, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund and other civil rights and civil liberties organizations, do not, by their nature, actively seek clients. In our program, initial review of cases and contact with clients would be made by non-legal professionals.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES

A. Recruitment:

The project would attempt to coordinate a region-wide recruitment effort among Black people to find applicants for positions in agencies associated with the administration of justice. This program would involve civil rights organizations, community agencies and other groups already interested in equal employment opportunities, in an effort to provide large numbers of Black applicants for jobs in law enforcement agencies, courts, and penal institutions throughout the South. The goal of such a program would be to render futile the procedures by which such efforts are usually coped with on a local level and to force officials to accept Black employees, if only because there are no alternatives.

B. Testing and Training:

It is now almost conventional wisdom to assert that testing programs commonly in use contain a cultural bias which tends to

reduce the average scores of Black testees. Additionally, the manipulation of entrance requirements can, in the long run, defeat any effort to remove the effects of that bias. Nevertheless, it has been clearly demonstrated by SRC and others, that programs can be developed which will significantly increase the average scores of testees. A current project was successful in raising the average score of those Negroes who took a textile workers examination by six (6) points. Such a program for applicants for jobs in law enforcement, court systems and corrections, could contribute to increasing the number of Black people eligible for these jobs, and if nothing else force agencies to take stands on this question which would be more easily open to attack in the courts and in the media.

Tied in with a testing objective is a training opportunity, administered by local communities of interest, designed to help the qualifiable Black unemployed men and women enter these careers at appropriate levels.

Programs Designed to Correct Practices in Particular States that Support Racism:

Encourage community, civic and civil rights organizations to force the powers to be to comply with civil rights laws as that are already on the books and develop "watchdog" programs. In a nut shell, the project will be used in a catalytic manner to induce:

1. Local organizations will be induced to pursue total jail and prison desegregation where it is indicated that the system

is resisting total compliance or merely endeavoring to qualify for government assistance.

2. Multiple means will be used to attract those systems that select Negroes such as workcamps and farm system arrangements. In the connection with this practice that relegate Negroes to unskilled chores will be exposed and corrected. The objective would be to abolish these systems, using most appropriate strategies on a state-by-state basis.

Programs will be evaluated to assess racial bias, especially where use of government funds make these practices open to attack and this is the case in every state.

Police Community Relations:

Even the most liberal public figure is expounding policies of hard procedures to deal with the problems of race, law and order, rather than the adoption of public policy that will generate respect for law and order. 400 million dollars may be designated to boost police control rather than to support the development of more creative approaches. Consequently, there is a great need for a program that will teach the people to protect themselves from the abusiveness of these hardline procedures. Let me hasten to add that, we are not suggesting that the Black people be taught how to resist arrest, but if this policy prevails the people should be taught how to respond to harrassment. The strategies of such a program would be supportive

of police systems by virtue of the fact that, it would occasionally submit individual practices of poor judgement and behavior to criticism that will result in correction and not a cover up that could result in spontaneous combustion. Strategy in this connection would involve indigenous groups as well as civil rights organizations. The staff would assemble the best of strategies that have been used all over the nation and encourage communities of interest to select the strategy that is best suited to their own needs and circumstances.

Also, in the area of police community relations the community that is effected most should seek to have public funds used in a most appropriate manner. For example, if a ghetto area police has sufficient "tear gas" perhaps the powers to be could be encouraged to purchase instead, community service officers.

Another program idea is to develop strategies that will implement many of the good ideas that have a bearing on race relations that stemmed from the Report of the President's Commission on Crime. Programs will be adaptable on a city-by-city basis. Strategies will depend largely on the available resources and the interracial climate.

GENERAL: The above program items are based on our decision to pursue the objective of getting rid of racism in the administration of justice in the South. Strategies will vary according to the circumstances. Studies and special reports will be used creatively. We will make greater use of groups such as civil

rights organizations and specially organized public commissions by urging them to reorder their priorities and at least give these concerns more attention. We will continue to find the news media useful, perhaps making better use of radio and television to get the message over concerning the acute nature and implications of the problem of racism in the process of criminal justice. We will also support the development of experimental projects and disseminate the learning experience in untried areas.

The most important program ideas listed here can be organized to show a more direct relation between strategy and goal, which we will provide as circumstances dictate, along with specific recommendations concerning staff and funds. However, it is our opinion that this project can be implemented at the same level of funding as the current project, except for some additional consideration for a greater travel requirement and the possible use of limited local "expertise."

Additional Program ideas:

Studyes in Wake of Disorder - Particularly where penal practices and police Practices are questionable.

The North Carolina Prison Killings were questionable but even news Media whitewashed the policy.

We propose to do this kind of follow-up in the same manner that SRC staff did in Orangeburg & Memphis. Ultimate Objective relevant to enlightened practices.

File Crime Project 1968

cross ref. Ford Fd 1968 re: Aug 30-31 mtg of Ford W/Sec + John Boones prot. to pa relative to his project dtd July 23, 1968

July 23, 1968

Paul,

I understand that Cliff Campbell will be hefe Monday, most probably for the primary purpose of consultation relative to the original proposals to Ford. However, in line with your conversation with Chris Edley, I believe it was stipulated that you and I should talk with Cliff relative to the appropriate area -- Edley's or welfare -- for consideration of the Justice program.ideas.

I will be prepared to do this, unless of course, something has developed that indicates the problem should be approached in another manner.

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LIBERTIES

American Civil Liberties Union Of Georgia 5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CALL: RUSTE KITFIELD
523-5398

The ACLU of Georgia concurs in the spirit of the statement made by _____.

We, of course, are as anxious as anyone, including the Governor, that the laws be enforced. That is something we have consistently and persistently called for since the beginning of our existence. We have been particularly anxious that the laws be observed and obeyed not only by the citizens at large but also by public officials charged with the duty of enforcing the laws.

For that reason, it is a matter of great importance to us that our police department not be involved in rackets, protection, bribery, or any of the other things of which they have been accused by the Governor. If the Governor has evidence to support the charges he has made, we urge him to enforce the law to the fullest extent.

At the same time, one of the laws which the Governor and other public officials are sworn to uphold is the Constitution of the United States. One of the principles on which our nation was founded and exists is the presumption of innocence until proof of guilt. The determination of guilt or innocence is made by judge and jury, not by policemen.

In addition, each man's home is his castle and, we believe the Governor would agree, this includes his business establishment.

There is nothing new in these statements; they are sentiments we learned in grade school. However we are informed that the Governor showed his devotion to law and order by violating these principles in at least the following particulars:

By ordering a raid which included the following features:

(1) 150 officers (approximately) were used to invade several businesses and <u>five</u> arrests were made. A situation of terror was created, to the damage and detriment of the innocent as well as the guilty (if any) and to the incompensable injury of <u>all</u> the businesses in the vicinity.

(2) Persons were terrorized and searched without warrants. Such warrants as there were were of the "John Doe" variety. Thus was circumvented Article I, Section I, paragraph 16 of the Georgia Constitution, which provides:

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrant shall issue except upon probable cause, supported by oath, or affirmation, particularly describing the place, or places, to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

As well as the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitutic of the United States.

(3) Unlocked doors were knocked down though there was no resistance and they could have been opened with the doorknob and without damage to the property.

(4) Persons eating lunch had their pocketbooks searched.

(5) Advance preparations were made for the press (not the Black press though) to be present, thus creating the likelihood of embarrassing publicity for persons on the scene, who had not been convicted of anything.

In addition, we feel we should point out that there was a riot call out, with forces standing by to suppress a riot. The last thing we want for Atlanta is a riot. The tactics used seemed calculated to cause one, a fact apparently dimly realized in view of the fact of the riot call. We would urge the Governor, in addition to observing the Constitution along with the other laws, to be more sensible.

PREAMBLE TO STATEMENT

The Citizens of Atlanta that have joined together to make this statement of concern about the direction that law enforcement in this state seem to be taking, want to first make it crystal clear that they are absolutely against crime and violations of law in any form, and in any community. We are against the violation of both criminal and civil laws.

There has been a breakdown in law and order in our state for years, attested to particularly by the successful evasion, rationalized vacillation, and outright flaunting of civil rights laws, as was so ably reported by the Southern Regional Council's study of "Fourteen Years of Failure in School Desegregation." We wonder if Governor Maddox would consider appointing a "squad" to implement compliances with civil rights laws as well as vice laws.

We are urging law enforcement officials and their administrators to be concerned about law enforcement in all departments without involving political preferences.

For Immediately Press Release

October 17, 1968

On Friday, October 4th, Georgia's Governor Lester Maddox took, what well maybe, the first step toward the establishing of a true Police State as he directed a gestapo-like attack on the major Black business district of Atlanta under the guise of "Law and Order." An estimated 150 Georgia Bureau of Investigation agents and State Troopers "swooped down" on Auburn Avenue (advance notice having been given to the white press, radio, television and newspapers) to raid several business places suspected of being "fronts" for lottery operations and "havens" for lottery "kingpins".

Little, and in some reported cases, no consideration was given to the general citizen going about lawful business and constitutional pursuits at the time of the raids. A number of persons, men and young women, employed in surrounding businesses were harrassed and abused by tough-talking State Troopers as if they were convicted felons resisting arrest. Young Black ladies, guilty of nothing more than eating lunch in a public restaurant, licensed to do business by the City of Atlanta, were manhandled, had their purses forcibly taken from their hands, emptied of contents by troopers, finding nothing but the usual ~~femine~~ feminine necessities, the empty purses were

thrown back to the ladies to be refilled with their personal belongings. At other places, homes and businesses, doors were wantonly "chopped" open with axes, "blungeoned" open by sledge hammers. Doors that could have been opened by employees or occupants to the lawmen, simply by them announcing ~~thier~~ their presence.

Black people of the entire community of Atlanta, of Fulton County and of Georgia deplore these vicious attacks upon our persons and properties, staged and directed by Governor Lester Maddox himself a strong advocate of "protection of private property" and constitutional liberties. Black people of Atlanta, of Fulton County and the State of Georgia call on all citizens of whatever color or creed to stand up now and demand that such tactics used on Auburn Avenue last week not be repeated anywhere in this state by law enforcement agencies. If voices of blacks and whites alike are not raised in unison, today Auburn Avenue, tomorrow Peachtree Street and Buckhead.

The entire proceedings last week are looked upon by Black Atlantans as clearly a move to disgrace Black people inparticular and to embarrass the City of Atlanta. Lawmen were armed with warrants naming specific individuals. If indeed investigations by a local television station and State

Law enforcement agencies were conducted over a two or three month period, certainly the investigations must have disclosed specifics. Me most emphatically question the force used and the number of officers employed, along with television, to effect the arrests. To a casual observer, it would seem the entire Black business district of Atlanta was under the seige and suspected of lottery operations.

And to the press and news media in general, we ask why pictorial and other documented accounts of the unlawful procedures used during the raids were not made and published? Was the Black press purposely excluded in advance notice given concerning the raids?

Other incidents during the raids on Auburn Avenue last week, after careful examinations, reveals there may have been attempts by the GBI, State Police and Govenor Maddox to "Lure" the Black people into a trap by provoking them into some sort of rash action in which many would have been shot down and their blood run like water down the streets. The call over the Troopers radio to all units operating in and around Atlanta to stay on standby alert is clear evidence that trouble was expected. Perhaps the tranquility in the City of Atlanta has been and is disturbing to some individuals. The action initated by the state Police during last weeks raid could easily have resulted in disastrous consequences. .

We applaud the action of Mayor Ivan Allen to refer the allegations of the news media, The GBI, and State Police to the Grand Jury. Certainly we support the fair administration of criminal justice in our community. We do not presume the guilt or innocence of any person accused of unlawful operations, nor do we condone such activity. It is abundantly clear, however, that all citizens, guilty, accused or innocent, should be free of prosecution until they are found guilty of unlawful behavior by proper judicial authorities. In no case should the innocent or accused be persecuted or abused by arresting officers who meet with no opposition in the arresting process. Most assuredly, a citizen is entitled to be tried and found guilty or innocent by a judge and, when required, by a jury instead of a television station as was obviously the attempt last evening.

Black people of Atlanta further call upon officials of Atlanta's City government to move here and now to perform a thorough house-cleaning of it's own premises in all departments and more specifically the Police Department, so our "Law and Order" Governor will not have an excuse in the future to move wantonly and provocatively through the Black communities of this city - as happened here last week. We believe there were numerous violations of Citizens Civil Rights. It is

on this premise that we call for a thorough investigation of the entire proceedings of last October 4th, by the Judicial Departments of the City of Atlanta, the State of Georgia and we are further requesting the U.S. Justice Department conduct a separate investigation.

NAACP Albert Davis MJ 1/10

Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference
(Leroy Johnson

ACLU ~~Albert Davis~~

Metropolitan Summit Leadership
Howard Creary &
Cameron Jackson

Congress

Project on Adm of Justice

file Prison report

PROPOSED PARTICIPANTS FOR INITIAL SRC MEETING ON

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The Atlanta Constitution
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Mr. Homer Benson, Member
United States Board of Parole
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Mr. Milton Rector, Executive Director
National Council on Crime & Delinquency
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New York, New York

Mr. Burt Struby, General Manager *
Macon Telegraph & News
Macon, Georgia

Father Farrell, Chaplain
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Mr. John Wheeler, President
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Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
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Mr. Ellis MacDougall, Director
South Carolina Department of Corrections
Columbia, South Carolina

Mr. Austin MacCormick
Osborne Association
114 E. 30th Street
New York, N. Y.

* Has indicated he will be unable to attend.

File - Prison Reform

SRC PROJECT ON PENAL REFORM
AND CRIMINAL REHABILITATION

INITIAL PROGRESS REPORT

The SRC Project on Penal Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation is designed to examine correctional policies and practices in the southern region and to support improvement of social welfare services and institutional prevention, treatment and training programs by means of sponsorships, technical advice, research and social action.

Staffing is complete since the services of Mr. William Farmar have been secured as Office Manager - Assistant.

Survey Report

The project's initial effort will take the form of a relatively brief, state-by-state survey on the current situation in Corrections in the South. This report, the research for which is being done by Dr. Vernon Fox of Florida State University, will examine the field in terms of: racial integration; official attitudes toward corrections in state and local penal systems; manpower requirements and utilization; comparative financial resources and expenditures; size, condition and efficiency of correctional facilities; industrial and farm operations; institutional treatment programs; custodial practices; institutional and system-wide classification procedures; parole board policies and practices; facilities for post-release care and guidance; disciplinary practices; patterns of recidivism, and trends toward staff professionalization.

The same type of analysis will be made of Police Departments and other law enforcement agencies, and, to a limited extent, the courts -- with a particular emphasis on policies and practices recently adopted to facilitate compliance with Escobedo and its companion Supreme Court decisions.

Data concerning these and other areas of interest will be obtained from official reports; new inquiries by Dr. Fox and staff; previously published material; observations by qualified persons interested in penal reform, and other relevant sources.

Before November 1, Dr. Fox and SRC staff members will correlate and evaluate this material and publish a Special SRC Report which will provide a comprehensive review of present conditions and prospects. It is hoped that this report will also serve as an effective springboard for the initiation and/or support of projects designed to bring about desirable changes.

A number of other projects are developing, and an Advisory Committee (list of participants attached), will be convened on October 20th at the Biltmore Hotel.

Other Projects

1. Research is planned on comparative sentencing policies in felony cases with particular emphasis on disparity in length of sentence attributable to race or socio-economic level.

2. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, in conjunction with other organizations, has expressed an interest in starting action to improve their state's penal system. The present situation there is deplorable - as recently demonstrated by a strike of prisoners and occasions of officially sanctioned brutality. In one Arkansas prison, there are thirty-five civilian staff members to supervise more than three thousand prisoners.

3. Mr. Kenneth Dean, Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, has indicated that there are a number of people in his state who have an abiding interest in penal reform. These people will be contacted and preliminary discussions, designed to foster this interest and support some action, will be begun in the near future.

4. Technical assistance to state prison systems is planned, especially in the areas of racial integration, establishment of classification systems and development of helping programs. Assistance will be available both from the Project Director and a panel of consultants.

5. Cooperation with and support of The Fellowship of the Concerned, who launched a program of visiting the courts in November, 1965. This federation of eighteen women's organizations, convened by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, is a vital force in the field of social welfare. After a recent meeting of the Georgia Unit of the Fellowship, Mrs. Tilly indicated that the women are determined to visit penal institutions as well as the courts. SRC staff will foster this interest and provide orientation and information which will assist the group in evaluating what they observe in courts and penal institutions.

6. In the wake of crisis situations culminating in the recent riotous demonstration, Atlanta needs to re-evaluate its social problems, especially delinquency among its youth. In view of this, many local agencies and institutions should be willing to invest time and money in

a demonstration project designed to facilitate the task of coping with our most crucial social problems. In this connection, SRC plans to convene a meeting, soon after the first of the year, involving representatives of many public and private agencies and institutions, to determine if there is a readiness to cooperate in a concerted effort in this direction. At the meeting, SRC staff will offer specific suggestions, and, should a specific project be decided upon, we will consider funding a separate research activity to evaluate the project.

7. Inasmuch as there is a great shortage of manpower in the field of corrections - and there are few Negroes in the field - we are interested in cooperating with universities in the southern region to recruit Negroes for professional correctional training, and to assist the universities in securing grants for developing curriculum and faculty in this field. There is also a need for interesting Negroes in employment in the field on a non-professional level. In this connection, a project involving high school and college guidance counselors might be appropriate.

8. We also hope to encourage cross-fertilization of ideas in correctional practice, probably through support of an inter-state staff exchange program.

9. In support of a wider dissemination of information about corrections among the general public, we hope to issue, in fact sheet or brochure form, separate state-by-state abstracts of our survey report. These abstracts will be presented in illustrated, easy-to-read form, and should serve as useful tools for organizations and individuals interested in penal reform.

General Observations

Preliminary observations through travel and correspondence would seem to indicate that, while there are many serious problems - including the continued commission of atrocities in some penal systems - the situation is somewhat more encouraging than anticipated.

Florida has integrated all of its institutions and has invited us to visit the system. Whether this alleged integration, however, is token or real remains to be seen.

There has been some integration in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia (the Girls' Training School in Atlanta), and some degree of integration must be assumed in all institutions which have accepted Federal grants (including Draper Prison in Alabama).

Personnel changes in the Arkansas Correctional System in the wake of the recent lashing publicity, while sadly belated and totally inadequate, nevertheless represent some small improvement.

Many top-level correctional administrators in the region privately reveal an unexpectedly progessive orientation. This leaves room for hope that state correctional systems will be willing to accept help and at least entertain suggestions for specific changes.

In sum, there is considerable reason to believe that this project, through the judicious extension of grants and technical assistance for specific projects; initiation and support of basic research in neglected areas; organization and encouragement of groups working for the passage of sound reform bills in state legislatures, and the wide dissemination of information about corrections and the processes of criminal law at meetings and through the mass communications media, can make a substantial contribution to the upgrading and increased humanization of all of the processes in which the criminal offender is involved, before, during and after imprisonment.

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Make file → Prison Reform

GUIDELINES

FOR

PRISON VISITING

Prepared by:

The Southern Regional Council Project
on
Penal Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation
in cooperation with
The Fellowship of the Concerned

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Prison authorities are in almost universal agreement concerning certain basic ideas about prisoners and the problems they present. They know that:

First: Prisoners are entitled to humane treatment

Second: Prison workers must make efforts to provide training and rehabilitation so that prisoners will return to the community better prepared to live socially productive lives.

Third: Basic daily practices designed to control the captive population must be modified to the point where they will not seriously contradict the first two goals.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

HISTORY OF PRISONS

The not very startling ideas outlined above are relatively new to penology. As recently as 150 years ago, the only widely recognized means for the control of criminal offenders were death, mutilation or banishment. The introduction of the idea of limited terms of confinement as an alternative to these absurdly harsh measures led to the growth of the common prison, the abuses and corruption of which Charles Dickens and other 19th century social reformers so vividly described. The hideous conditions in these prisons - where men, women and children were thrown together without any distinction - led to a reaction which ended in the widespread adoption of solitary confinement both as a means of protecting the individual and preventing group action by prisoners. The ideas outlined at the top of the page are the successors to this theory of isolation.

* * * * * * *

THEORY VS. PRACTICE

The complex history of corrections, described above in only the broadest terms, has resulted in a serious gap between theory and practice. The physical facilities used for the housing of offenders are often massive agglomerations of stone and steel, designed many years ago to accomplish the relatively simple task of physically controlling the prison population at the least possible expense in terms of manpower and material. As a result, the very physical arrangement of an institution often works against the effective use of modern techniques for group treatment and training.

Staff attitudes, especially among older prison personnel, are also at considerable variance with theory. The old correctional journeyman, full of the spurious wisdom that flows from unexamined experience, go about their investigations, their counts, and their record-keeping chores, convinced that innovations are the afflictions of the young, and that their bosses' speeches, full of lofty ideas, are either clever methods for appeasing the sentimental or demonstrations that the leadership is out of touch with reality. For these men, and there are many of them, corrections is a tough, day-by-day job of control, and their hands are full just keeping up with its required processes.

These, and other problems, make the task of prison reform an arduous one, indeed. The points set forth in the following pages are intended to help you, while pursuing this goal, to separate the window dressing from the facts.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

HUMANE TREATMENT

What is humane treatment? The following items are meant to suggest an absolute minimum standard.

1. Three meals a day, providing adequate amounts of well-prepared, wholesome and nourishing food.

2. Housing facilities which are well-heated, lighted and ventilated. They should be designed in a way that will encourage the maintenance of high standards of hygeine and prevention of the spread of disease.

3. Regular job assignments involving productive work. Practices such as the renting out of prison labor to private firms or individuals promote maltreatment.

4. A well-equipped, professionally staffed, hospital and out-patient department. An active program of preventive medicine is also a necessity.

5. Regular changes of clothing suitable to the season. While the requirements of control demand that prisoners' clothing should be in some way distinctive, it should not be of a type which will unnecessarily contribute to a feeling of degradation and humiliation.

6. Discipline is required in order to maintain appropriate order.

    a. Where it is used, it should be carefully administered and recorded according to established rules.

    b. Where administrative isolation is involved, the regulations should require daily visits by a physician as part of the responsibility to protect the health of the inmate, and basic necessities for sustaining that health should be provided.

    c. CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, BRUTALITY IN ANY FORM, OR ANY PRACTICE DESIGNED TO DEGRADE THE INDIVIDUAL, SHOULD BE PROHIBITED.

7. Libraries, self-improvement programs, and other educational activities should be available to all inmates on a regular basis.

8. Suitable facilities for recreation, including space and equipment for both team and individual sports.

9. Other basic necessities, such as toilet articles, provided free for all inmates.

10. A full-time program of religious activities and counseling.

11. Visiting and correspondence privileges. The maintenance and strengthening of family ties through visiting and correspondence should be encouraged, liberal provisions made for family correspondence, and pleasantly decorated, comfortably furnished facilities provided for family visiting. The amount of visiting time should be regulated by:

    a. the capacity of the physical facilities

    b. the need to provide equal time for all inmates

    c. the imperatives of the prison day, such as work schedules and meal times

    d. the availability of supervisory staff.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

TREATMENT AND TRAINING

A vital part of correctional work involves efforts at the social restoration of offenders. Any prison program which does not provide for constructive treatment and training is self-defeating. The following items might serve to outline a minimal program.

1. Every institution needs a professionally staffed classification system which:

   a. differentiates among types of offenders,

   b. identifies individual problems,

   c. establishes treatment and training goals.

   Without such a system, treatment becomes, at best, a hit-and-miss proposition.

2. Facilities and staff for professional casework, counseling, psychotherapy, and other helping processes, are essential. There can be no effective treatment without an adequately trained staff conducting professionally designed programs.

3. An organized education program, including, if possible, an accredited high school, is a basic requirement in any institution. Professionally supervised library facilities, designed to supplement the education program as well as provide for more general reading needs, are an important part of any treatment program.

4. Every institution should have programs designed to provide training in trades and skills. Training programs in skills for which there is no widespread demand in the labor market cannot be considered productive. For example, a program built around an operation for the manufacture of automobile license tags is not useful vocational training.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

VISITORS' PROGRAM

Some selective process should be used in recruiting visitors. Personal appearance and demeanor are important. Those willing to participate should:

1. Conduct themselves in a polite, well-mannered way

2. Be willing to pay close attention to remarks and explanations by institution staff and record what they hear and see.

3. Not engage in conversation with an inmate without permission of a staff member.

4. Act like a fair-minded person.

* * * * * * *

It would be wise for visitors to work in teams of no more than six. Such a number would provide a sufficient variety of impressions without placing an undue burden upon the staff of the institution.

* * * * * * *

When visiting a prison, the following should be kept in mind:

1. The prison day is highly organized and easily disrupted. For this reason, prison officials are hesitant to permit outside groups to be present during periods of mass movement, such as meal times and work calls. Allowance will have to be made for this factor.

2. Few visitors are likely to have had any experience which would prepare them for the initial impact of the prison community. Thus, careful advance reading of the material provided will enable visitors better to understand and evaluate what they see.

3. Prison officials, not without reason, tend to be somewhat defensive. Therefore, questioners who display a hostile or unduly critical attitude have little chance of receiving complete or honest answers.

4. In the unlikely event that an inmate should make an unseemly remark, it should simply be ignored. Complaints or displays of indignation or moral outrage would only make prison officials reluctant to permit future visits.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

I am doing some research on government systems, with emphasis on corrections. For use in this connection, I would appreciate receiving any booklets or "reports to the people" that will reflect the cost of governmental services over a five year period to date.

I am also interested in receiving information concerning the salary scale of your law enforcement and corrections personnel, jail employees, etc.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

John O. Boone, Director
Project on Crime, Delinquency
and Criminal Rehabilitation

JOB/km

File
Prison Reform

POSITION PAPER
(For Cooperation with the United Church Women of Florida)

- : -

During your recent successful campaign you expressed some rather thought-provoking observations pointing out the urgent need for some sweeping reforms in our state's correctional programs and penal institutions.

A national survey conducted by the NCCD will be published in a few days. The findings of this survey supports your perceptive observation that correctional programs and institutions are not adequate. Based on the survey, Florida's Correctional System has made rapid progress in the last ten years. However, our program is still far less developed than those in many states; though perhaps more developed than in any correctional programs of other states in the southern region.

May we bring some of the more salient findings of the survey to your attention as we respectfully urge you to adopt policies which will promote the continual advancement of our state's correctional system.

(1) Of the more than 400,000 children who were detained in 1965, about 100,000 were held in jails and police lockup, often with hardened criminals.

(2) Only two states and Puerto Rico claim they never use jails for children.

(3) Less than 20 per cent of the jails in which children are held have been rated as suitable for adult offenders.

(4) Barely 5 per cent of all personnel working in local jails and institutions devote their time to treatment and training. More than 90 per cent are administrators and guards. These are the institutions which -- in many of the country's first offenders -- are presumably the most receptive to rehabilitation.

(5) Thirty per cent of the state operated adult institutions, which hold those convicted of committing more serious kinds of crime, provide no form of vocational training. Most of these are located in the South.

(6) Only 5 of the 50 states operate "halfway houses" to help released offenders make a gradual readjustment to society.

(7) Just a few states operate work release programs where offenders can gain on-the-job experience in the community before they are released.

(8) Eleven states have no probation services for adult misdemeanant offenders, six states have only the barest fragments of such service, and most other states provide it on a spotty basis. Most are located in the South.

(9) Nearly one half of all state felony probationers are cast into caseloads of parole officers supervising over 100 persons, far in excess of recognized minimum standards.

(10) About one-thrid of all offenders are in institutions where security is the predominant goal and where rehabilitative programs are absent. Two-thirds are in the community, under the supervision of overworked, underpaid, and poorly trained probation and parole officers.

(11) Twenty-eight per cent of all offenders are juveniles, seventy-two per cent are adults.

(12) The average adult probationer costs 39 cents a day, the average adult parollee costs 88 cents a day, and the average adult offender in a state institution costs $5.24 a day. Care for the institutionalized offender is thus more costly and may be less effective for many offenders.

(13) Those engaged in corrections increasingly sense the possibilities of community treatment of offenders through supervised work programs.

(14) As indicated earlier, an overwhelming majority of correctional personnel devote their time to guarding offenders. Only 3.6 per cent are treatment staff and 5.9 per cent are academic and vocatinnal staff. Over 90 per cent are administrators and guards.

(15) From a different perspective, the survey indicated that only 12.75 per cent of all state and local correctional personnel handle probationers and parolees even though this group represents more than two-thirds of the nation's offender population. Adequate guidance and supervision for parolees and probationers is sadly lacking.

With reference to capital punishment, may we respectfully bring to your attention that evidence from carefully collected data overwhelmingly indicated that:

(A) Mainly poor people receive the death penalty.

(B) Capital punishment is unjstly administered.

(C) As a deterent to crime, capital punishment is ineffective.

Between the years 1930 and 1960, a total of 3,849 executions occurred in the U. S.; 86 per cent were for murder and 11 per cent for rape. 54 per cent of those executed were Negroes. There were 455 exectuions for rape during this thirty year period -- and 407 of these were non-white. Considering that non-whites represent only approximately 10% of the total population of America,

this disparity obviously indicates that the law is being administered unfairly.

This brings our attention to the crucial problem of equal justice for all -- the advantaged and the disadvantaged.

Most of the persons in prison are there because they need help in learning to adjust to the community. Law enforcers are generally unsuccessful in arresting and developing cases against the affluent criminal. It is unjust for us to deal so harshly with the disadvantaged person who behaves criminally while the "big shots" -- syndicated and white collar criminals -- are able to wind themselves through the very procedures that were reportedly developed for the protection of "the least of these my brethren" and escape penalties. The so-called big shots are able to fix situations because they can give appropriate compensations in money or services. The "fixing" process, according to Sutherland and Cressey, involves:

"(1) Various methods of inducing victimes not to testify and not to press prosecution (persuasion, restitution of stolen property, intimidation, deceit or murder) and lawyers and police are sometimes agents of the criminal in persuading the victim to accept restitution, pointing out the inconvenience of a trial, expense, etc.

"(2) The police are often induced not to make a complaint or not to testify truthfully -- through direct bribery or by political orders.

"(3) The prosecuting attorney may be induced not to prosecute, or if prosecution is inevitable, to see to it that the evidence is presented so badly that the case against the offender is not clear. Relief is secured in this manner generally through the influence of a political leader though the prosecutor usually secures financial compensation for his assistance, directly or indirectly.

"(4) The court may be induced not to convict. Immunity is less common at this stage for the court is public and the judge or jury is subject to much criticism for open protection of the criminal. However, it is possible for the judge to impose sentence in public and then modify the sentence in his chambers.

"(5) Officers of corrupt city and county correctional institutions may be induced to release the offender immediately, for a suitable payment, but carry him on the books as an inmate until the end of his sentence. If this is too dangerous, they can make him comfortable in the institution and recommend and early release on pareole."

These avenues are open to financially astute individuals who secure most of the estimate 20-25 Billion Dollars a year that result from criminal activity nationally. This figure, though based largely on assumptions, should underscore the gravity of the problem of punishment and relative guilt between the affluent and disadvantaged criminal. This kind of discrimination between the advantaged and disadvantaged indicates that reform of the criminal process should first be undertaken with the goal of improving the quality of justice that the indigent offender receives, both in the adjudication of his case and in post conviction treatment.

These observations are not intended to imply that any Florida agency is guilty of corruption. We make these observations hoping to illuminate problems that potentially threaten the entire process of criminal justice throughout the nation; from policing to corrections.

We have carefully studied comprehensive annual reports of the Florida Division of Corrections and the Florida Parole Commission. We are deeply impressed with the degree of progress indicated -- especially since this progress was achieved under enormous financial

and legislative handicaps. We trust that you will recommend and support the kind of progressive legislation that, during your administration will establish objectives which, in time, will make our state second to none in the field of criminal justice and penal administration. God grant that our state will soar to even greater heights under your excellent guidance.

Regional Planning

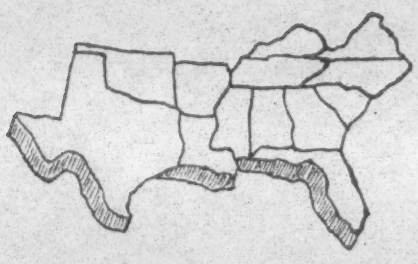
The Economic Future of the Southeast

ALBERT S. KEISTER
Chairman of the Department of Economics
Woman's College of the
Univ. of North Carolina
Greensboro

Reprinted from The WALTER CLINTON JACKSON ESSAYS in the Social Sciences, *edited by Vera Largent, published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.,* 1942.

Regional Planning

EDUCATION HELPS BUILD A REGION



Edited by
JOHN E. IVEY, JR.
HARRY B. WILLIAMS

Chapel Hill

Volume for Sandie

Survey Graphic articles - issue of January, 1947
vv Chosen

- Segregation: The Pattern of a Failure — Thomas Sancton

Part I: Dimensions

vv The Laws of the Land (7) — Robert E. Cushman
vv The Price of Prejudice (7) — Louis Wirth
vv Spectrum of Segregation (7) — Carey McWilliams
A Voice of Today - 1947 — Anna G. Goldsborough
- A Voice from the Past - 1885 — George W. Cable

Part II: Regional Devices

The Nation's Capital — Joseph D. Lohman & Edwin R. Embree
Southern Ways — Ira de A. Reid
Northern Ways — Robert C. Weaver
The Power of Restrictive Covenants — Loren Miller
In the Cotton Belta — J. Lewis Henderson

Part III: Man-made Institutions

In the Unions — Herbert R. Northrup
How We Did It — Joseph Curran
Caste in the Church
1. The Protestant Experience — Liston Pope
2. The Roman Catholic Experience — John LaFarge, S.J.
In the Armed Forces — Charles Dollard & Donald Young
We Fought for Freedom — Charles G. Bolté
Mis-education for Americans — Charles H. Thompson
Human, All Too Human — E. Franklin Frazier

Part IV: The Struggle for Reason

Counted Out - and In — Henry Lee Moon
"Is This for Us?" — Myra A. Smith
What Color is Health? — Michael M. Davis
More than Blasting Brick and Mortar — Alain Locke
- The Negro in the Nation — Will W. Alexander

The TENNESSEE ENGINEER

VOL. 11-2

FEBRUARY, 1947

RECEIVED
Oct 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

READINGS IN THE NEW SOUTH

CONTENTS

1. Introduction (Map of the regions of the South)

2. National Emergency Council's Report on Economic Conditions of the South

3. Resources
   General - SRC Pamphlet by Vance
   Natural
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4. Agriculture

5. Industry

6. Commerce and Transportation
   Freight Rates
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7. The ~~Faction~~ FACTORS Problem
   Folkways
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8. Education
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12. Income
    Public and Private
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14. Politics and Government
    Civil Liberties - Elections - Demagoguery

15. The Press

SRC Projects — Reading in the South

November 21, 1947

Mr. Paul B. Foreman, Secretary-Treasurer
Southwestern Sociological Society
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Foreman:

We are greatly interested in your letter of November 12.

The Council would, I am sure, be delighted to enter on such an arrangement as you outlined. We could develop one or more pamphlets on subjects selected by your Society which, when editorially approved by your Society and of course by us here, could be issued by the Council with a preface showing the Society's support; one hundred or more to go free to your Society.

The Council and the Southwestern Sociological Society would then both push the sale of the pamphlet. Our membership would give a distribution of a little over 3,000. We are frequently successful at selling outside our membership at about 20¢ a-piece another three or four thousand copies of the type of pamphlets you describe.

To show you what we are working on now, I list for you topics on which we are currently well along toward final form: housing in the South, use of the franchise in the South, care of the feeble-minded in the South, and a comparison of Southern Statessocial security benefit programs. We want to get to work on pamphlets about civil rights in the South and particularly as they are affected by state Constitutions and state Legislation; and vocational education in the South.

Our experience is that an edition of 10,000 pamphlets costs for printing and paper about $1,000 - $1,200. Of course the figures vary with the use of illustrations and so on. You and I will have to talk over the arrangement for financing the printing. Obviously, much of the cost is recovered and a proportion of it might be absorbed by us as part of our normal production program for our members.

Mr. Paul B. Foreman November 21, 1947

I have not yet read Hayes' book, but am getting a copy and shall write you again specifically about it as soon as we have gone through it.

We are not merely limited in funds, we are running a substantial deficit. We will therefore be the more pleased to get help from your Society in the kind of work you had in mind.

Please write again, and we can approach the specific.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

November 12, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Williams:

One of the large educational foundations is considering the possibility of a small grant to the Southwestern Sociological Society to be used during the next eighteen months or so in the interest of the teaching of sociology and the social studies in the Southwest. We would, if these funds materialize, like to use a share of them to subsidize publication of pamphlet materials for wide circulation at the high school and junior high school level in this region.

The idea has occurred to me that the Society might in this interest area support the Council by turning a share of this money to the Council for development of materials similar to your recent releases by Dickins, Raper, and Vance. I would be willing to suggest this to the Society's executive committee if it could be arranged that the Society in return could receive a preface credit line and sufficient copies--about 100-- for distribution to its members.

Frankly, I think the ends of the Society in this interest area might be well met through subsidy to the Council. You may have similar projects under way which would interest such support from our group. I think I have located one possibility which might interest the Council as material for such a release. Wayland Hayes at Vanderbilt has recently published a small book on community organization through Harcourt, Brace under the title: The Small Community Looks Ahead. I wonder if the Southwestern Sociological Society would advance Hayes through the Council a small sum --say, $200.00--if this might be encouragement for him to do a job similar to the one Vance did on All These People for your New South series. Probably Hayes would want to use in such a pamphlet some of your own studies for source date--The Jacksonville study, for example to focus his pamphlet directly to your normal public.

I'd like your reaction to this suggestion and hope you will feel free to groove the possibility in any way to make it conform to Council procedures. It might be that some of the Southwestern sociological group could be interested later in preparation of such materials.

Cordially,

Paul B Foreman

Paul B. Foreman
Secretary-Treasurer
Southwestern Sociological
Society.

PBF/abb

SRC Projects — Readings on the South

November 21, 1947

University of North Carolina Press
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Gentlemen:

Professor Cullen Gosnell who teaches government at Emory, has what I think is a good idea. He has made a selection of materials useful for students in government, economics, and sociology; most of it pamphlets or articles issued or printed within the last five or six years. He would like to see roughly that selection of materials reprinted for use as "readings" in college and perhaps somewhat in high school courses.

His present choice includes five or six pamphlets issued by the Southern Regional Council. Gosnell wants the title page to show the editing to be the joint effort of himself and the Southern Regional Council.

Another thing he wants to reprint in the book is the report to the President on the South as the Nation's Economic Problem No. 1. Gosnell says that many of the materials he would like to print are very difficult to come by, especially in quantity, and he thinks a book of readings containing them would serve well. We have not given much thought to the cost involved in obtaining permission to reprint, but suppose it would not be much. He has in mind several recent articles in the "Saturday Evening Post" and other magazines of national circulation.

I have a tentative list of pamphlets, but shall not at this date go into that much detail.

What do you think of the general idea? We would both like it to be a University of North Carolina Press Book, if that is possible. There is still ample time for it to be ready for use in 1948-49.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure 1

GSM:ee

5 Re: Projects — Readings on the South

November 28, 1947

Mr. Paul B. Foreman
Oklahoma A & M College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Foreman:

Thank you for your letter of November 25. We continue to be ready to work with you in almost any way that you might decide upon.

Our forth coming pamphlets on Housing and Social Security do include all thirteen Southern States.

Your suggestion about a book of readings is most interesting. Cullen Gosnell at Emory has something of this sort in mind and he and the Council are now trying to fit the readings together, only we are taking the South as a whole rather than a specifically Negro aspect.

I will get hold of readings in Social Psychology.

I look forward to hearing from you after your Fort Worth meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

November 25, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell

I appreciate your letter of 21 November relative to the possibility of projects for mutual sponsorship between the Council and the Southwestern Sociological Society. The planning committee of this society, responsible for seeking foundation support in a sustaining grant, meets in Fort Worth on the second week end in December. I'll have your letter with me to make the suggestion that we write in this idea as the way this society can sponsor public information releases.

Do your projected pamphlet releases on housing and on social security systems include Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana reporting? They might do; I suggested Hayes because his frame of reference and the Council's own community studies could be blended.

Any sort of aid such as I mention, is apt to be fly-by-night. Probably not a drop in the bucket really, but if we can set up a mutually acceptable project, I'd like to see it work out that we subsidize the Council and that the Southwestern sociologists individually get interested.

You mention budget deficits. It seems to me the Southern Regional Council might follow the lead of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues in one money-making respect. Just recently this association got out a Readings in Social Psychology, published by Holt, the royalties of which go back to the Association. I think there is a crying need for a similar book of readings on The Negro in The United States. Why couldn't the Council take the initiative here to set up a topical scheme and to enlist support of a judging panel for selection--the royalties going to the Council? If you read the preface in the Newcomb, Hartley, et al, Readings in Social Psychology, I'm sure the approach will be clear. Mozell Hill and I, two years ago, tried to make the most logical structuring of periodical resources we could do in that little bibliography on the Negro which we got out. This might serve as a point of departure in setting up categories and selection. Where there are evident gaps, it might be possible to fill them with a little planning.

I'll let you know what the committee reaction in Ft. Worth is.

Cordially,

Paul B. Foreman
Professor, Sociology

PBF/abb

SRC - Readings in the South

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

December 11, 1947

RECEIVED
DEC 12 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I hope you will not interpret my not having answered earlier your letter of November 21 as an indication of lack of interest in the project you suggested. It has taken a little time to get our thinking organized to the extent where we can give you the considered reaction, which I am sure you wanted.

First, let me say that the proposal seems to us well conceived, and we hope that it will be possible for the Press to work with you on it right on up through publication of the manuscript. If the proposal is well executed, it seems to us that the resulting volume might well be a worthy addition to the Press' list on the south. Before final decision is reached, however, even for a tentative contract, I think we should have to see a quite specific list of the materials to be included. I should like to have such a list examined by some of the people here in the fields in which the book would be used. I am sure that our evaluation of the manuscript and your consideration of items for inclusion in it would involve attention to (1) the intrinsic scholarly soundness of the materials, and (2) inclusion of materials in the political science, economics, and sociology fields on as balanced a basis as possible.

I believe it might be well for you and Professor Gosnell to go ahead with preliminary arrangements for permissions to reprint. We would, however, like to see, even before the manuscript is in final shape, a preliminary list of pamphlets and other materials. Will you please indicate to Professor Gosnell our very great interest in the work and our willingness to help in any way we can to bring the project to a successful conclusion.

Sincerely yours,

Porter Cowles

Porter Cowles
Acting Director

pc:v

SRC - Projects - Reading on the South
Cr-Rf-
Gosnell

December 12, 1947

Professor Cullen B. Gosnell
1162 Oxford Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Professor Gosnell:

This looks good. You and I must confirm about materials.

If you will call me at the office Monday I will come out to Emory during the day at your convenience.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

Economic Survey of the South

Article No. 11—THE CHANGING AGRICULTURE OF THE SOUTH

Impact of Mechanization

By HARRY E. RESSEGUIE
Chief, Washington Bureau
Fairchild Publications

SOUTHERN farmers are currently riding the crest of a wave of prosperity—but for many there are breakers ahead.

Since 1930 the income of farmers in the South has increased by nearly 200 per cent—from $2,164,434,000 in 1930 to $6,429,214,000 in 1946. This year it will be even greater.

As a result, the per capita farm income of the South increased from $139 per year in 1930 to $465 in 1946, an increase of 234 per cent. For 1947, the per capita farm income of the region probably will be in excess of $500.

During the 16-year period, the farm income of the South, both total and per capita, has increased at a more rapid ratio than has the farm income of the nation as a whole. This was so despite the fact that, during all of this period, the South had (and it still has) roughly half of the farm population of the country on one-third of the land. From 1930 to 1946, the total farm income of the nation increased from $9,024,616,000 to $25,322,896,000—180 per cent as compared with 200 per cent for the South—and the per capita income from $299 to $919—207 per cent as compared with 234 per cent for the South.

FROM FARM OPERATIONS

By far the greater part of the increased farm income in the South resulted from farm operations themselves—reflecting the greatly expanded production resulting from the war, higher yields per acre as a result of improved farming practices, the general prosperity of the country and the soaring prices for agricultural commodities.

However, $166,507,000 of the South's 1946 farm income was attributable to Government payments—such as soil conservation payments, those authorized under the Sugar Act, etc. Such payments amounted to about a quarter of 1 per cent of the region's 1946 farm income, in comparison with a figure of about a third of 1 per cent which such payments bore to the farm income of the country as a whole for the same year.

For 1946, Southern farmers received about 20 per cent of total payments of this kind—$166,507,000 out of 800 million dollars which the Government paid out during that year to farmers of the nation

The South was not only the first region in the Nation to avail itself of the financial and technical aid of the Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service (for which State legislation was necessary), but it also has led ever since in the adoption of the improved agricultural practices called for by this program.

As a result, both the Corn Belt and the Wheat Belt are probably in a more critical condition from a soil standpoint than is the South. This region, in all of the 13 States considered in this series, has an ever-expanding soil conservation program in progress. It is a program which is being promoted with almost religious fervor not only by farmers and farm organizations, agricultural journals and the State and Federal agricultural departments, but also by banks, railroads, power companies and other business factors of the region.

The soil conservation program was authorized by Congress in 1937 and the first State Legislature to enact a soil conservation district law under it was North

THE greatest impact which the economy of the South—and of the nation—will have to withstand during the next decade is the mechanization of Southern agriculture.

One group of experts—the subcommittee on the industrialization of the South of the Pace Committee, headed by Dr. John V. Van Sickle—has estimated that in the 20 years from 1945 to 1965 the workers in Southern agriculture displaced by tractors and mechanical cotton pickers may number as many as 2,116,000, for 680,000 of whom jobs must be found in manufacturing, with 1,436,000 who must be placed in non-farm occupations other than manufacturing.

This means, in the opinion of the Van Sickle group, that manufacturing in the South will have to expand during the 20-year period to provide employment for an additional 1,211,000 workers — a normal increase of 531,000, plus the 680,000 displaced farm workers who will enter manufacturing. This would make total manufacturing employment in the South 4,159,000 in 1965 as compared with 2,948,000 in 1946. Otherwise, there will probably be the greatest mass migration from the South to other regions of the nation that the country ever has witnessed.

To provide employment for these additional 1,211,000 factory workers by 1965 will require an additional investment of $10,051,000 in Southern manufacturing, it is estimated, on the basis of an average investment of $6,053 per worker.

These displaced workers will establish a new residence pattern, the group estimates, with 2,791,000 persons moving into urban areas and 3,675,000 remaining in rural areas. These last two figures include dependents.

The resulting increase in the size of Southern cities would require an additional investment in urban housing of $8,365,000,000, and the urban population of the South would reach 22,647,000 by 1965 instead of the normal expectation of 19,856,000.

If these estimates are sound (and the probability is that they are conservative), a total investment of $18,416,000,000 will be required in the South to provide additions to the region's manufacturing plant and urban housing set-up just to take care of that portion of the displaced farm workers which (plus the normal increase) may be expected to enter manufacturing. This was about 37 per cent of the total wealth of the region in 1937.

The Van Sickle group has estimated that the process of mechanization of Southern agriculture will take 20 years. That may be too long, but the

most individuals the word "mechanization" is inseparably associated, in the South, with cotton farming, and, whenever they hear that word, they associate it only with this branch of Southern agriculture.

There is much more to it than that, however. Mechanization means not only the production of such traditional Southern crops as cotton, sugar, rice, etc., with a minimum of hand labor, but also that the Southern farmer who mechanizes his farm—even though he is primarily a cotton farmer—will have to raise many new crops—wheat, oats and other small grains, sorghums, perennial pasture plants, etc., and, in many cases, will have to raise livestock as well in order to market these new crops economically. In other words, to farm efficiently under mechanization, he will have to diversify and to abandon the old one-crop method of agriculture.

This will be necessary because the heavy investment in machinery which mechanization requires—estimated at $16,000 for a 350-acre farm in the Mississippi Delta—makes it essential that it be used the maximum number of days throughout the year, which is only possible in a diversified system of agriculture.

This is illustrated by the 1947 operations layout of Price McLemore, one of the leading exponents of mechanized agriculture in the South, who, on a 2,000 acre farm in the Eastern Hilly section of the Cotton Belt, employs only four men and has raised cotton for 8 cents a pound.

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In many parts of the South where large scale agriculture is practiced and mechanization—at least for ground preparation and cultivating—has made some progress, the same trend toward diversification of agriculture can be noted. Driving through the Missiissippi Delta—the very heart of the Cotton Belt—one is struck by the number of grain elevators, belonging to large cereal firms such as the Quaker Oats Co., which rear their bulk skyward at many of the railroad stations in the region.

Diversification and mechanization of Southern agriculture go hand in hand, therefore, and both got underway in the 1930's when the Government, through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, placed quotas on cotton acreage. Owners of large farms and plantations, unable to plant their customary acreage of cotton, turned to other crops to keep their land productive. The new crops did

Impact of Mechanization

By HARRY E. RESSEGUIE
Chief, Washington Bureau
Fairchild Publications

SOUTHERN farmers are currently riding the crest of a wave of prosperity—but for many there are breakers ahead.

Since 1930 the income of farmers in the South has increased by nearly 200 per cent—from $2,164,434,000 in 1930 to $6,429,214,000 in 1946. This year it will be even greater.

As a result, the per capita farm income of the South increased from $139 per year in 1930 to $465 in 1946, an increase of 234 per cent. For 1947, the per capita farm income of the region probably will be in excess of $500.

During the 16-year period, the farm income of the South, both total and per capita, has increased at a more rapid ratio than has the farm income of the nation as a whole. This was so despite the fact that, during all of this period, the South had (and it still has) roughly half of the farm population of the country on one-third of the land. From 1930 to 1946, the total farm income of the nation increased from $9,024,616,000 to $25,322,896,000—180 per cent as compared with 200 per cent for the South—and the per capita income from $299 to $919—207 per cent as compared with 234 per cent for the South.

FROM FARM OPERATIONS

By far the greater part of the increased farm income in the South resulted from farm operations themselves—reflecting the greatly expanded production resulting from the war, higher yields per acre as a result of improved farming practices, the general prosperity of the country and the soaring prices for agricultural commodities.

However, $166,507,000 of the South's 1946 farm income was attributable to Government payments—such as soil conservation payments, those authorized under the Sugar Act, etc. Such payments amounted to about a quarter of 1 per cent of the region's 1946 farm income, in comparison with a figure of about a third of 1 per cent which such payments bore to the farm income of the country as a whole for the same year.

For 1946, Southern farmers received about 20 per cent of total payments of this kind—$166,507,000 out of 800 million dollars which the Government paid out during that year to farmers of the nation as a whole. This was not an unreasonable proportion. It emphasizes again that the South's gains in farm income during this 16-year period have resulted principally from farm operations themselves.

But Southern agriculture's advances during this period have not been confined to the financial. In the 10-year period from 1937 to 1947, the South has led the Nation in the adoption of the improved agricultural practices grouped under the general heading of soil conservation.

It has become commonplace to talk about the "worn out, eroded soil of the South," and there are still millions of acres of the region which warrant that description. It also is true that up until the time (1937) when the Roosevelt administration first made the soil-conservation program available to the farmers of the Nation (as a substitute for the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which the Supreme Court had found unconstitutional) there was no region in the Nation which had depleted its soil to a similar extent.

Today, however, it is a different story.

The South was not only the first region in the Nation to avail itself of the financial and technical aid of the Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service (for which State legislation was necessary), but it also has led ever since in the adoption of the improved agricultural practices called for by this program.

As a result, both the Corn Belt and the Wheat Belt are probably in a more critical condition from a soil standpoint than is the South. This region, in all of the 13 States considered in this series, has an ever-expanding soil conservation program in progress. It is a program which is being promoted with almost religious fervor not only by farmers and farm organizations, agricultural journals and the State and Federal agricultural departments, but also by banks, railroads, power companies and other business factors of the region.

The soil conservation program was authorized by Congress in 1937 and the first State Legislature to enact a soil conservation district law under it was North Carolina—on March 22, 1937—with Georgia following suit only one day later.

On Aug. 4, 1937, the first soil conservation district in the Nation was organized—the Brown Creek Soil Conservation District in Anson County, N. C. Six of the 13 Southern States passed soil conservation district laws in that year—North Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Florida, Oklahoma, and South Carolina. In 1938, Virginia, Louisiana and Mississippi joined the procession; in 1939, Alabama, Tennessee and Texas; and in 1940, Kentucky, the last in the group, took similar action.

By Jan. 1, 1947, all 48 States had passed district laws and by June 30, 1947, a total of 1,865 soil conservation districts had been established, of which 614 were in the South.

On that date, according to the forthcoming report of the Soil Conservation Service of United States Department of Agriculture (the chief of which, Howard H. Bennett, is himself a Southerner), the South had 32.9 per cent of all the soil conservation districts which had been organized in the country; 52.7 per cent of all the operating units in such districts (2,018,488 out of 3,827,385); 53.1 per cent of the farms in the country operating under soil conservation practices (2,361.907 out of 4,445,774), and 42.6 per cent of the total acreage in soil conservation districts (424,120,764 acres out of 994,111,542).

A GREATER LEAD

When some of the figures relating to specific soil conservation practices are considered, the South has an even greater lead over the other regions of the Nation.

Under contour cultivation (a "must" for the prevention of erosion on hilly land), the South has 8,891,505 acres out of a national total of 13,176,567 acres—67 per cent.

In cover crops necessary for the rehabilitation of eroded land and for the prevention of further erosion, the South has 4,762,873 acres out of a national total of 5,178,582 acres—92 per cent.

Under strip-cropping practice (another safeguard against erosion), the South has 981,923 acres out of a national total of 3,400,121 acres—29 per cent.

Southern farmers have con-

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THE greatest impact which the economy of the South—and of the nation—will have to withstand during the next decade is the mechanization of Southern agriculture.

One group of experts—the subcommittee on the industrialization of the South of the Pace Committee, headed by Dr. John V. Van Sickle—has estimated that in the 20 years from 1945 to 1965 the workers in Southern agriculture displaced by tractors and mechanical cotton pickers may number as many as 2,116,000, for 680,000 of whom jobs must be found in manufacturing, with 1,436,000 who must be placed in non-farm occupations other than manufacturing.

This means, in the opinion of the Van Sickle group, that manufacturing in the South will have to expand during the 20-year period to provide employment for an additional 1,211,000 workers — a normal increase of 531,000, plus the 680,000 displaced farm workers who will enter manufacturing. This would make total manufacturing employment in the South 4,159,000 in 1965 as compared with 2,948,000 in 1946. Otherwise, there will probably be the greatest mass migration from the South to other regions of the nation that the country ever has witnessed.

To provide employment for these additional 1,211,000 factory workers by 1965 will require an additional investment of $10,051,000 in Southern manufacturing, it is estimated, on the basis of an average investment of $6,053 per worker.

These displaced workers will establish a new residence pattern, the group estimates, with 2,791,000 persons moving into urban areas and 3,675,000 remaining in rural areas. These last two figures include dependents.

The resulting increase in the size of Southern cities would require an additional investment in urban housing of $8,365,000,000, and the urban population of the South would reach 22,647,000 by 1965 instead of the normal expectation of 19,856,000.

If these estimates are sound (and the probability is that they are conservative), a total investment of $18,416,000,000 will be required in the South to provide additions to the region's manufacturing plant and urban housing set-up just to take care of that portion of the displaced farm workers which (plus the normal increase) may be expected to enter manufacturing. This was about 37 per cent of the total wealth of the region in 1937.

The Van Sickle group has estimated that the process of mechanization of Southern agriculture will take 20 years. That may be too long, but the minimum time required for the change, in the opinion of informed observers, is 10 years.

AT LEAST A DECADE OFF

It would be impossible for implement manufacturers to turn out the necessary mechanical cotton pickers—the capsheaf in the mechanization pattern—in less than a decade, it is estimated. There were less than 100 spindle-type, two-row mechanical cotton pickers available for this year's harvest according to reliable figures, and these were mostly handbuilt. There were approximately 13,000 stripper-type pickers of the type used in the High Plains area of Texas and Oklahoma, but these cannot be used in other areas.

International Harvester Co. is starting production of its spindle-type picker this year at its new Memphis plant, and expects to have from 1,500 to 2,000 on the market by the time of the 1948 cotton harvest. It is expected that Allis-Chalmers, which holds the Rust cotton picker patents (also a spindle-type), will also turn out some of these machines at its new Gadsden (Ala.) plant in 1948, although all that Allis-Chalmers has thus far announced for production is a light, all-purpose tractor to compete with International's Farmall Cub.

The J. I. Case Co. and the Oliver Co., principal producers of the stripper-type pickers, also are expected to turn out increased quotas for 1948, and there may be some new entrants into the field—(Saco-Lowell, the textile machinery manufacturer, was only recently assigned a patent for a mechanical cotton picker).

Most of the present spindle-type machines, which will pick Delta or Eastern area cotton, are huge machines costing, with tractor, in the neighborhood of $8,000. There are persistent rumors that, before long, there will be on the market a small, inexpensive spindle-type picker, which a farmer with 50 acres or more of cotton to pick, can afford to buy.

John Rust, the first proponent of a mechanical cotton picker and the first inventor to turn out a practical machine, told the writer last summer in Memphis that, while he was not privy to the plans of Allis-Chalmers, he believed his redesigned machine, whose patents they had leased on a royalty basis, could be placed on the market at from $700 to $800—without tractor—a price any fair-sized cotton farmer could afford.

This, of course, is the history of most other modern farm machinery. The first combines were huge battleships of the plains and cost proportionately, but the agricultural implement manufacturers have brought them down in size and cost so that almost any farmer can afford one. The old stationary threshing machine, through the genius of the Tennessee Valley Authority's Agricultural Engineering Department, has been reduced to a mobile type that can be hitched behind an ordinary automobile. The same reduction in size and price is now happening to the sizz cultivator—invented by a practical cotton farmer, Price McLemore of Waugh, Ala.—which, next to the cotton picker itself, is one of the greatest labor saving devices ever offered the cotton farmer.

With so many imponderables in the situation, therefore, the question is not whether mechanization will come to Southern agriculture—with all of its implications—but how soon?

The word "agriculture" is used advisedly. To most individuals the word "mechanization" is inseparably associated, in the South, with cotton farming, and, whenever they hear that word, they associate it only with this branch of Southern agriculture.

There is much more to it than that, however. Mechanization means not only the production of such traditional Southern crops as cotton, sugar, rice, etc., with a minimum of hand labor, but also that the Southern farmer who mechanizes his farm—even though he is primarily a cotton farmer—will have to raise many new crops—wheat, oats and other small grains, sorghums, perennial pasture plants, etc., and, in many cases, will have to raise livestock as well in order to market these new crops economically. In other words, to farm efficiently under mechanization, he will have to diversify and to abandon the old one-crop method of agriculture.

This will be necessary because the heavy investment in machinery which mechanization requires—estimated at $16,000 for a 350-acre farm in the Mississippi Delta—makes it essential that it be used the maximum number of days throughout the year, which is only possible in a diversified system of agriculture.

This is illustrated by the 1947 operations layout of Price McLemore, one of the leading exponents of mechanized agriculture in the South, who, on a 2,000 acre farm in the Eastern Hilly section of the Cotton Belt, employs only four men and has raised cotton for 8 cents a pound.

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Diversification and mechanization of Southern agriculture go hand in hand, therefore, and both got underway in the 1930's when the Government, through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, placed quotas on cotton acreage. Owners of large farms and plantations, unable to plant their customary acreage of cotton, turned to other crops to keep their land productive. The new crops did not fit into the established man-mule system of cotton farming. The Southern planter who turned to wheat, oats or sorghums during AAA days found he would have to plant and harvest these crops on a mechanized basis just as the farmer in the wheat and corn belts had done for years.

By the time the cotton acreage quotas were lifted, there had been such an exodus of former agricultural workers, sharecroppers and tenants from the Cotton Belt—and the day labor required in cotton chopping and picking had attained such a relatively high rate of wages—that it was unthinkable to return to the old system of production.

Unless a depression as great as that of the 1930's should drive hundreds of thousands of former sharecroppers and tenants back to the farm and reduce wages to the level of that era, there never will be such a return.

In another few years, at the present rate, it will be impossible to return to the old system, even though the manpower to do so is available at the old rates, for the cabins and jerry-built houses in which lived the surplus population required to operate a man-and-mule system of cotton production are rapidly being torn down. There will be no place to house the workers even if they should desire to return.

The statistics of the trend which has been outlined in the foregoing paragraphs are startling.

Average cotton acreage for the 1943-1946 crop years was only 47 per cent of the 1928-1932 average—19,394 acres as compared to 41,403 for the earlier period. Yet the total production for the 1943-1946 period was only 29 per cent less—an average of 10,316 bales per year compared with 14,656 bales for the earlier period.

One of the reasons for this fine showing was an increase in yield of 50 per cent per acre—an average of 254 pounds per acre in the 1943-1946 period as compared with 169 pounds per acre in the 1928-1932 period.

During the period from 1930 to 1945, there was a 21 per cent decrease in the total farm population of the South—from 15,486,000 in 1930 to 12,279,000 in 1945.

During the same period, there was a 33 per cent decrease in the number of sharecroppers and other tenants on Southern farms—from 1,710,680 in 1930 to 1,139,463 in 1945, a net loss of 571,217. These are families, not individuals, so it is probable that the total is from 1,500,000 to 2 million persons. Sharecroppers—white and black—decreased 40 per cent—from 722,582 families to 433,878 families (a decrease so embarrassing to the old Sharecroppers' Fund, a relief organization, that it is planned to change its name). All other farm tenants of both races decreased from 988,108 families to 705,585 families—a decline of 29 per cent.

If some of these changes in the farm population of the South seem enormous, they are nothing to what will occur when the transition from the present stage of mechanization in cotton culture—fairly complete mechanization up to the harvest in most of the important crop areas—moves into complete mechanization.

A ONE-HALF REDUCTION

Studies made by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station in 1943 showed that the cost of grow-

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Southern Series

ALABAMA • ARKANSAS • FLORIDA • GEORGIA • KENTUCKY • LOUISIANA • MISSISSIPPI • NORTH CAROLINA • OKLAHOMA • SOUTH CAROLINA • TENNESSEE • TEXAS • VIRGINIA

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structed 374,696 miles of terraces (also for thepre vention of erosion) out of a national total of 442,498 miles—85 per cent.

They also have drained 1,105,-653 acres of farm land out of a national total of 1,811,697 acres—61 per cent of the whole.

All the foregoing figures are as of June 30, 1947.

Having taken the lead in soil conservation, the South is not resting on its laurels. The forthcoming report of the Soil Conservation Service for fiscal 1947 will show that, of the cumulative total of 476,128 soil conservation plans which had been put into effect up to June 30, 1947, the South had 302,592—64 per cent. It had 47 per cent of the acres which had been treated during the 10-year period of 1937-1947—30,919,716 out of 65,316,476 acres.

It also had 59 per cent of the new soil conservation plans prepared during fiscal 1947—75,352 out of 126,970—and 47 per cent of the acreage included in such plans—16,939,991 acres out of 36,633,289.

LAND CONVERSION

Land conversion is another phase of soil conservation. Tired, wornout, marginal land must be taken out of cultivation; other acres of good land which have gone wild must be brought back into cultivation; and still other acres must be shifted to permanent hay, to orchards and vineyards, to pasture or to woodland. In this phase of soil conservation, the South also is doing an active and constructive job.

As of June 30, 1947, the report of the Soil Conservation Service will show, the South had 63,746,-956 acres involved in land conversion programs, of which 23,-230,045 acres had been under cultivation before the plans for their conversion were formulated.

These plans—now being worked out—call for the retirement of 2,031,449 of these cultivated acres and their conversion to a more suitable use.

Before the plans were made, only 534,588 acres of the total

H. L. Mitchell

President of the National Farm Labor Union, Memphis, Tenn.

Texas acreage eliminated, the increase for the remaining 12 States of the region is 158 per cent.)

ECONOMY BALANCING

This trend on the part of the Southern farmer toward balancing his traditional crop economy is one of the most significant of the present day phenomena of the region.

Dr. Clarence Poe, editor of the Progressive Farmer, one of the leading farm publications of the South, has waged a fight for several decades in an effort to develop such a trend.

Writing in 1934 on the topic: "The Farmer and His Future," published as part of a symposium on various phases of the Southern scene under the title: "Culture in the South," (University of North Carolina Press, 1934), Dr. Poe referred to the region's then almost exclusive concentration on cash crops as a "one-armed system of farming."

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By 1946, however, the region's agricultural income attributable to livestock and its products had jumped to $2,320,537,000 out of a total of $6,262,707,000. (All the foregoing figures are exclusive of Government payments which cannot be attributed to a specific crop or type of farming.)

This means that, for 1946, the Southern farmer's income from livestock and its products had jumped to 37 per cent of the total—while increasing 362 per cent over 1930

The ideal proportion has not yet been reached, but neither does the trend show any sign of diminution, as the previously cited figures on the large acreage being converted to permanent hay and pasture as a part of the soil conservation program indicate.

This is a trend which can not be missed by an observer who spends any amount of time in the South and who reads the newspapers. He will find that a State such as Alabama, for instance, can get just as excited about a fat stock show as Texas or any other range State. And he will find that not only have arenas been built all over the State in which to hold such shows, but that a great deal of the State's area north of Montgomery, once almost a 100 per cent cotton-raising region, has been converted to livestock production.

There are many other areas throughout the South where this situation is being duplicated. Florida has for some time been one of the important sources for feeder cattle for Middle Western states; the latest trend in that State is for growers in the lush areas in the Everglades to finish off and market their own cattle. Oklahoma is second only to Texas in livestock production and many other States such as Arkansas and Mississippi are rapidly increasing their livestock population.

These facts are borne out by figures of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

CATTLE GROWTH.

The total of all cattle in the 13-State region has increased

Migratory Farm Workers Present an Acute Problem

As the farm population of the South decreases—principally through reductions in the numbers of sharecroppers and other tenants—there is not only a greater dependence on migratory labor in the South itself, but many former farm workers from that region are forced to join the streams of migrant workers which flow annually from South to North, following well-defined routes and timed to the seasonal ripening of the various crops.

There are three of these routes which originate in the South itself, and another which flows up and down the Pacific Coast.

The three Southern routes originate respectively in Florida, Louisiana and Texas. The stream of migrants which originates in Florida moves, after the citrus and winter vegetable harvests of that State are over, up the Atlantic Coast, working in the potato, peach, strawberry or bean harvests, and finally winding up in the Connecticut valley tobacco harvest or the Maine potato harvest. That which originates in Louisiana moves up the Mississippi valley, while the Texas stream moves up through Oklahoma, Kansas and into the Dakotas or Minnesota. It is principally concerned with cotton, wheat and sugar beets.

The Eastern and Central streams are composed principally of Negroes; the Texas-Dakota stream, mostly of Mexican residents of Texas, commonly referred to as "Tex-Mex." Unlike the old wheat harvest migrants, these present-day migrants travel in family groups.

There is no definite information as to the number of these agricultural migrants. The Federal Inter-Agency Committee on Migrant Labor, headed by Maj. Gen. G. B. Erskine, which submitted its report in March, 1947, estimated that they might total from 1 to 5 millions—a figure, the committee pointed out, which "equals the populations of from four to 12 of our 48 States." Howard Whitman, a competent investigator, who wrote a series of articles on the situation for Collier's in September of 1947, gave outside figures of from 600,000 to 4 million. He said the Home Missions Council of North America estimated the migrants' number at 2,500,000.

Aside from the fact that such a large floating population—even at the minimum figures—is definitely undesirable for obvious reasons, such as the limited opportunities for education available to the children of such families — there are current and acute problems incident to these movements, particularly those arising from transportation and housing.

At present, these migrants are transported largely in trucks belonging to the labor contractors who arrange the movements of the crews. As mechanization progresses in cotton producing areas in the South (particularly in Texas), the jumps from job to job become longer and longer; the strain on the workers' health and comfort become greater, and that on their pocketbooks more extortionate. The Erskine Committee recommended extension of the Interstate Commerce Act to cover private transportation of such workers across State lines and regulation by States of intrastate transportation of this type.

Every recent investigator of the housing provided for these migrants has found deplorable and sometimes almost indescribable conditions. The Erskine Committee found overcrowding and unsanitary conditions. These conditions will be worse before they are better, because Congress has ordered the closing by Jan. 30, 1948, of the 52 permanent and 72 temporary labor camps which were provided for the housing of migrant workers during the war. The Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture is endeavoring to induce cooperative groups of farmers to take over the operation of these camps, and H. L. Mitchell, president of the National Farm Labor Union, AFL, has tried to induce

Continued from Page Four

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These plans—now being worked out—call for the retirement of 2,031,449 of these cultivated acres and their conversion to a more suitable use.

Before the plans were made, only 534,588 acres of the total was in permanent hay and only 18,506,561 acres in permanent pasture — both essential to transforming the South's traditional dependence upon cash crops calling for clean, row cultivation such as cotton, tobacco and corn (the most soil-depleting type of agriculture) to an agricultural economy in which crops and livestock are in harmonious balance.

When these plans now being worked out are completed, the South will have an additional 1,845,160 of its acres in permanent hay and an additional 5,372,-132 acres in permanent pasture, which will mean that it will be well on its way toward its ideal of a balanced agriculture. (The latter figure becomes even more significant, if the great range area of Texas—over half of the roughly 24 million acres which will be in permanent pasture after these plans are completed—is first eliminated. With the Texas acreage included, the increase in permanent pasture for the region as a whole is 29 per cent; with the Texas acreage eliminated, the increase for the remaining 12 States of the region is 158 per cent.)

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Pointing out that there were two great arms for producing agricultural wealth — plant production for crops and animal production for livestock, dairying and poultry-raising, Dr. Poe said:

"The Southern farmer has made the mistake of depending almost exclusively on plant production."

However, the efforts of Dr. Poe and other advocates of a balanced agriculture for the region have borne fruit. Along with other improved agricultural practices has come a considerable increase in the livestock population in almost every Southern State and this has been reflected in an increased percentage of income from farm marketing for the region credited to livestock and its products.

LIVESTOCK INCOME.

In 1930, about the time that Dr. Poe wrote his article for the University of North Carolina's symposium, the region secured only 23 per cent of its agricultural income from livestock and its products. This amounted to only $502,700,000 out of a total agricultural income for the year of $2,164,434,000.

By 1946, however, the region's agricultural income attributable to livestock and its products had jumped to $2,320,537,000 out of a total of $6,262,707,000. (All the foregoing figures are exclusive of Government payments which cannot be attributed to a specific crop or type of farming.)

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There are many other areas throughout the South where this situation is being duplicated. Florida has for some time been one of the important sources for feeder cattle for Middle Western states; the latest trend in that State is for growers in the lush areas in the Everglades to finish off and market their own cattle. Oklahoma is second only to Texas in livestock production and many other States such as Arkansas and Mississippi are rapidly increasing their livestock population.

These facts are borne out by figures of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

CATTLE GROWTH.

The total of all cattle in the 13-State region has increased from approximately 15 million in 1930 to nearly 24 million in 1946—an increase of 60 per cent.

In the same period, the number of dairy cattle in the region has increased, in round numbers, from 5 million to 7,500,000 — an increase of 50 per cent. One of the most important trends in the South, as was pointed out in an earlier article in this series, is the number of milk processing plants being scattered throughout the region by the big dairy products organizations—Pet, Borden, Carnation, etc. Many of these organizations are building plants of far greater capacity than the immediate milk flow of the surrounding region, in the expectation that the number of dairymen and dairy cattle in the area will rapidly increase—an expectation which seems certain to be realized.

The Southern farmer is no longer the one-armed man described by Dr. Poe in the 1930s. More and more he is using both of his arms.

The trouble with an agricultural system based on crop production alone, Dr. Poe said, is that the average small farmer is under-employed. He quoted a Texas Experiment Station bulletin issued as early as 1920 to explain why.

Thirty-two acres of cotton, it was pointed out, require only 1,-651 hours of labor throughout the year (on the man-mule, one-row system) which is an average of only a little more than five hours daily for one man for 313 working days out of the year. This provided an income of $165.

On the other hand, a 166-acre diversified farm, in addition to the 32 acres of cotton, can support four milk cows, 90 stock cattle, 75 hogs and 70 hens from 134 acres of grains, and can furnish from seven to 10 hours labor daily for two men. After paying the hired man $450 (or three times as much as the all-cotton farmer received), the owner of this farm would have an income of $1,359 left for himself.

That the preaching of the agricultural schools, departments and publications on this subject has finally borne fruit is reflected in the statistics of increased livestock population in the South which have just been quoted.

FARM TENANCY

One of the chains which has held back Southern agriculture for years is the farm tenancy system.

Like another phenomena of the region, the mill village, farm

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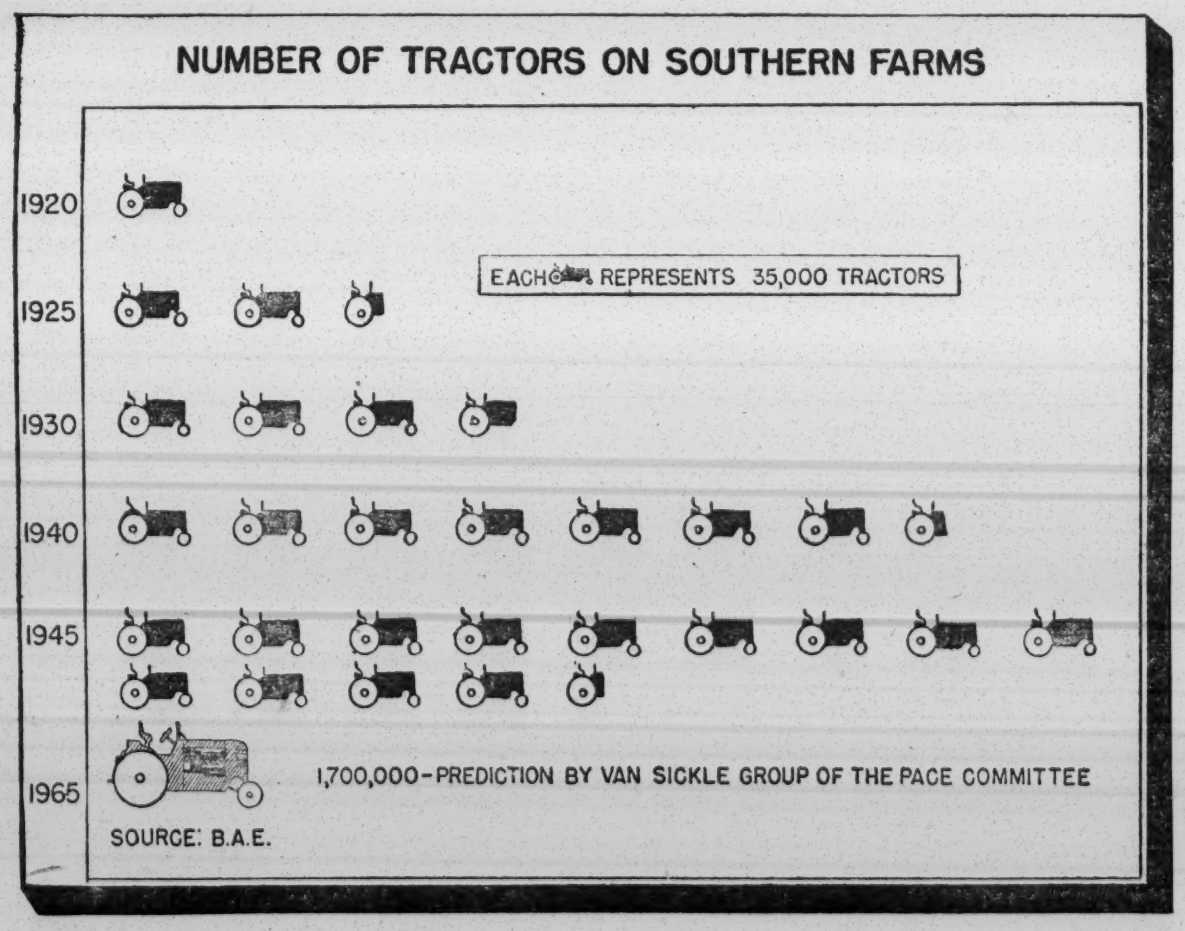

Migratory Farm Workers Present an Acute Problem

As the farm population of the South decreases—principally through reductions in the numbers of sharecroppers and other tenants—there is not only a greater dependence on migratory labor in the South itself, but many former farm workers from that region are forced to join the streams of migrant workers which flow annually from South to North, following well-defined routes and timed to the seasonal ripening of the various crops.

There are three of these routes which originate in the South itself, and another which flows up and down the Pacific Coast.

The three Southern routes originate respectively in Florida, Louisiana and Texas. The stream of migrants which originates in Florida moves, after the citrus and winter vegetable harvests of that State are over, up the Atlantic Coast, working in the potato, peach, strawberry or bean harvests, and finally winding up in the Connecticut valley tobacco harvest or the Maine potato harvest. That which originates in Louisiana moves up the Mississippi valley, while the Texas stream moves up through Oklahoma, Kansas and into the Dakotas or Minnesota. It is principally concerned with cotton, wheat and sugar beets.

The Eastern and Central streams are composed principally of Negroes; the Texas-Dakota stream, mostly of Mexican residents of Texas, commonly referred to as "Tex-Mex." Unlike the old wheat harvest migrants, these present-day migrants travel in family groups.

There is no definite information as to the number of these agricultural migrants. The Federal Inter-Agency Committee on Migrant Labor, headed by Maj. Gen. G. B. Erskine, which submitted its report in March, 1947, estimated that they might total from 1 to 5 millions—a figure, the committee pointed out, which "equals the populations of from four to 12 of our 48 States." Howard Whitman, a competent investigator, who wrote a series of articles on the situation for Collier's in September of 1947, gave outside figures of from 600,000 to 4 million. He said the Home Missions Council of North America estimated the migrants' number at 2,500,000.

Aside from the fact that such a large floating population—even at the minimum figures—is definitely undesirable for obvious reasons, such as the limited opportunities for education available to the children of such families — there are current and acute problems incident to these movements, particularly those arising from transportation and housing.

At present, these migrants are transported largely in trucks belonging to the labor contractors who arrange the movements of the crews. As mechanization progresses in cotton producing areas in the South (particularly in Texas), the jumps from job to job become longer and longer; the strain on the workers' health and comfort become greater, and that on their pocketbooks more extortionate. The Erskine Committee recommended extension of the Interstate Commerce Act to cover private transportation of such workers across State lines and regulation by States of intrastate transportation of this type.

Every recent investigator of the housing provided for these migrants has found deplorable and sometimes almost indescribable conditions. The Erskine Committee found overcrowding and unsanitary conditions. These conditions will be worse before they are better, because Congress has ordered the closing by Jan. 30, 1948, of the 52 permanent and 72 temporary labor camps which were provided for the housing of migrant workers during the war. The Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture is endeavoring to induce cooperative groups of farmers to take over the operation of these camps, and H. L. Mitchell, president of the National Farm Labor Union, AFL, has tried to induce the Governors of the several States in which they are located to take responsibility for them. Neither has had much success to date and elimination of the camps on Jan. 30 seems destined.

The Erskine Committee recommended the continuance of these camps and the enactment of State laws to give authority to State labor commissioners to license and regulate labor camps.

The National Farm Labor Union (successor to the old Tenant Farmers Union) is not only endeavoring to organize these migratory workers, but also to supervise their transportation and housing by entering into direct contracts with canners and other large growers of vegetables and fruit crops for their employment. In an interview at the union's headquarters in Memphis last summer, president Mitchell defended this practice, saying that it was a time-honored one in trade union circles and citing the hiring halls of the seamen, longshoremen and musicians as examples.

In changing its name from the Sharecroppers Union to the National Farm Labor Union, and shifting its activities largely from the Delta to Florida, Louisiana, Texas, California and other origin points of the streams of annual migrants, the NFLU gave support to the claims of cotton farmers, and of Federal and State agriculture officials, that mechanization of cotton culture had not yet worked any great hardship on the workers who have been displaced.

It is Mr. Mitchell's viewpoint that the migrant problem is the more pressing at the moment and that the situation will not become acute in cotton as long as industrial conditions generally are good or until mechanization has progressed considerably further than at present.

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The New Agricultural South

Continued from Page Five

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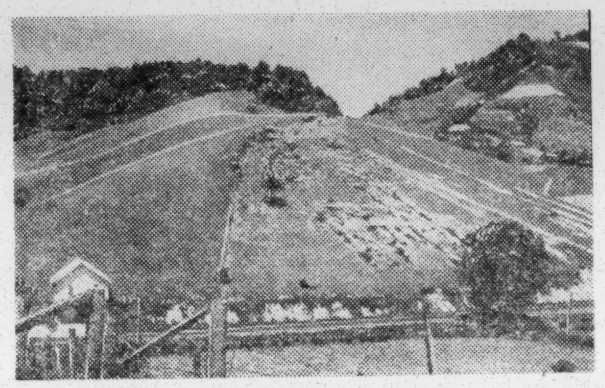
But once the system was intrenched, it became stronger each year. It became harder and harder for a tenant, white or black, to attain farm ownership. The trend continued in this direction until 1930, with many farmers each year losing control of their own land and joining the ranks of the tenants and sharecroppers. Of the situation at that time, Dr. Rupert B. Vance of the University of North Carolina has written in his volume on the human geography of the South, "All These People":

"Tenancy is more prevalent in the South than in any other region. The link between tenancy and cotton production seems just as close today as ever. Once we leave the cotton farms, tenancy does not show up much worse in the South than in other parts of the Nation. In 1930, the rate of tenancy for non-cotton farms was just 32 per cent for the entire country. In the 16 States of the Census South, tenancy averaged 38 per cent for non-cotton farms, but 73 per cent of all cotton farms were tenant operated — a ratio almost double that of non-cotton farms."

Dr. Vance properly points out that tenancy does not mean the same thing in all parts of the country, and that, in the Midwest, "many tenants are better off than landowners, and their decision to

Trust Co. of Georgia

A Dallas, Ga., farmer is revamping his land into terraces so that it will not wash away into red clay gullies. This is one of the most important soil conservation practices—one in which the South leads.



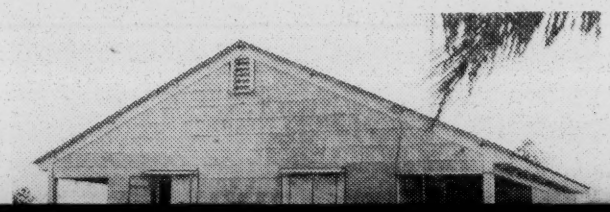
TVA

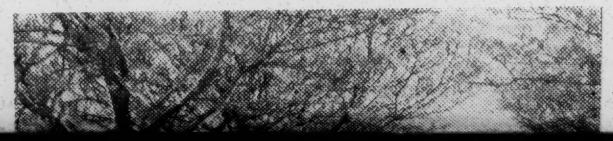
A striking example of soil conservation in Madison county, N. C., showing treated and untreated fields.

TVA

The type of cattle and pasture crops now being raised on worn-out cotton land; purchased for $15 an acre in 1938, the land has been restored with phosphate and lime.

Urban workers are now trucked out from cities to cotton plantations for cotton chopping and picking. These casual workers have replaced sharecroppers and tenant farmers on many Southern cotton farms and will themselves be replaced by machines as the process of mechanization spreads in the South.





Between the latter years the percentage of the Nation's total farm mortgage debt held by the Farmers Home Administration increased 393 per cent — from 38 million dollars to 190 million dollars, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics points out in its 1947 issue of its annual "Balance Sheet of Agriculture." It is significant, however, that, between 1946 and 1947, the holdings of this agency increased only 3.3 per cent, reflecting the brakes applied to its operation by Congress.

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As a result, Congress in 1946 authorized a new insured mortgage program for the agency, by which loans can be made by private lenders on a 40-year basis for not more than 90 per cent of the reasonable value of the farm and improvements, at 3½ per cent interest, which are insured by the Farmers Home Administration on the same basis that the Federal Housing Administration has been insuring home loans for the past decade. The agency was given authorization to insure 100 million dollars of such loans each year, but not until this year were the insurance funds made available. Consequently, it was not until late in 1947 that the new system

The New Agricultural South

Continued from Page Five

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"In the Southeast, where the cropper is nearest in lineal descent to the ante-bellum slave and the landlord has the prestige of position and independence," says Dr. Vance, "the various tenure levels come near to representing fixed social levels."

The situation as portrayed by Dr. Vance and other writers on the farm tenancy situation in the South during the 1930's and early 1940's seemed pretty hopeless, but a combination of the crop quotas imposed by the Agriculture Department on cotton, tobacco and other crops, the war and the coming of mechanization to the Southern farm, have resulted in such improvements in the tenancy situation in the region during the 15-year period from 1930 to 1945 as were almost beyond visualization at the earlier date.

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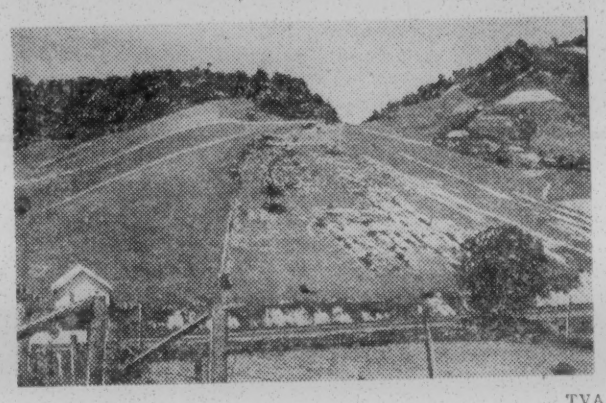

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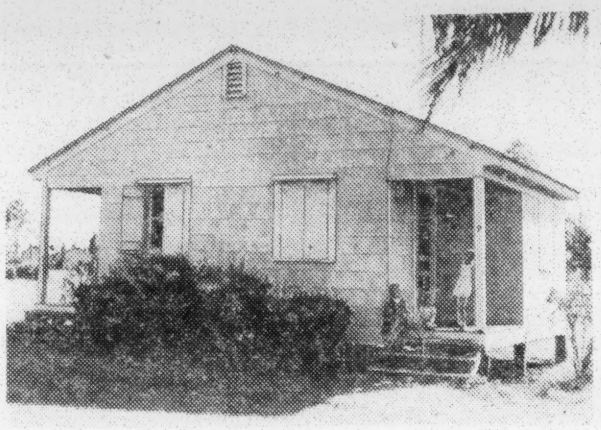

Type of migratory labor camp conducted by the Federal Government during the war years. These camps have been ordered liquidated by Congress by Jan. 31, 1948, and unless they are taken over by cooperative groups of farmers, will pass out of the picture.

A grove of tung trees near Picayune, Miss., the center of tung nut growing in the South. Tung nuts are a new Southern crop which amounted to 5 million dollars this year, but like many other Southern agricultural commodities, faces world competition.

STRIKING CHANGES

Some of the more striking of these changes as revealed by the 1945 census of agriculture are:

From 1930 to 1945, white farm owners increased 22.5 per cent in number; non-white owners increased 4 per cent.

White share croppers decreased 56.8 per cent; non-white share croppers decreased 31.2 per cent.

All other types of white tenants decreased 26.7 per cent; the same classes of non-white tenants decreased 32.2 per cent.

Numerically, white share croppers decreased from 380,356 families in 1930 to 164,215 families in 1945; white tenants of all other types decreased from 684,220 families in 1930 to 501,604 families in 1945.

Non-white share-croppers decreased in the same period from 392,217 families in 1930 to 269,663 families in 1945; all other non-white tenants decreased from 303,888 families in 1930 to 203,981 families in 1945.

Thus, in the 15-year period, there has been a reduction of 621,218 families among all types of farm tenants in the South and the total has shrunk from 1,760,681 families in 1930—probably 7 million individuals — to 1,139,463 families in 1945—still numbering between 4,500,000 and 5 million individuals.

From 1940 to 1945, the decrease in tenancy and the increase in farm ownership was particularly rapid. In its summary of its 1945 farm census, the Bureau of the Census said:

"The number of farms operated by owners was 188,000 more in 1945 than in 1940... Almost 90 per cent of the number of farms operated by owners occurred in the South. Almost 500,000 fewer farms were operated by tenants in 1945 than in 1940 . . . About three-fifths of the decrease in the number of farms operated by tenants occurred in the South."

INCREASED OPPORTUNITIES

This trend is gaining momentum every year and is directly related at the moment to the increased opportunities for non-farm employment in the South, to high farm wages, and to the mechanization of Southern farms, particularly the cotton farm. It is no wonder that the Department of Agriculture concluded in 1940 in its study, "Technology on the Farm," that the traditional share cropper and tenancy mode of farm organization was passing even before the arrival of the mechanized cotton picker. This trend will be examined still further in the section of this article which is devoted to mechanization.

One of the agencies which has been responsible, to a considerable degree, for the great swing from tenancy to farm ownership in the South (as well as in other regions of the Nation) is the USDA subsidiary now known as the Farmers Home Corp., the lineal descendant of the old Resettlement Administration and the later Farm Security Administration.

Through the 10-year period of Government fiscal years from 1938 to 1937 inclusive (ending June 30, 1947) the Farmers Home Corp. and its predecessor, the Farm Security Administration, has made 47,104 loans to farm tenants, farm laborers and others desiring to become farmers in their own right, of which 31,806 or 68 per cent were in the 13 Southern States which make up the subject of this series.

These loans amounted to $293,876,773, of which $173,430,681, or 59 per cent, was covered by the 31,806 loans made in the South.

The average amount of these loans for the 10-year period ranged from $4,182 in Georgia to $7,970 in Texas.

During the year ending June 30, 1947, FHA made 5,087 such loans (on a 40-year basis under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act), of which 3,379 or 66 per cent were in the South. The average of these loans ran considerably higher than that shown in the agency's 10-year average, reflecting the inflation in farm prices. In Georgia, for instance, the average loan during fiscal 1947 was $5,380, compared with the 10-year average of $4,182; while, in Texas, the 1947 average was $9,562, compared with $7.970.

NOT ONE LOSS

The Government has yet to lose one cent as a result of such loans —or on the many other types of loans made by FHA and its predecessors. These collectively total, from Oct. 31, 1946, the sum of $1,035,088,899 on which, as of June 30, 1947, more than $785,598,000 or 75.9 per cent had been repaid.

Dillard B. Lasseter, FHA Administrator, a Southerner himself, is rather bitter, therefore, over the action of Congress in reducing the agency's operating funds and loan authority. On June 30 of this year, he told a conference at Fisk University that this would necessitate a reduction in FHA's production loans to about two per county per year. An official statement of the agency Aug. 25, 1947, said that, since Congress had allocated only 15 million dollars for direct farm ownership during the year ending June 30, 1948, it would be able to make only about 2,000 such loans for this period, in comparison with 5,650 such loans made in the year ending June 30, 1947. The inadequacy of the authorization is seen in the fact that at that time (June 30, 1947), 71,000 applications for such loans were pending, of which 35,000 were from veterans who, under the statute, must receive preference.

The restriction on direct loans by the agency is rendered more incongruous by the fact that this type of borrower has, as a matter of record, usually repaid his loan in a shorter time than required. At the time of the transfer from the Farm Security Administration to FHA (March 31, 1946), active farm ownership borrowers had repaid 59 per cent more on their loans than the amounts required to keep them current on the basis of 40 equal annual instalments, according to Mr. Lasseter. Most barrowers were repaying on the variable payment plan and more than 5,000 borrowers had paid in full, many years before final payments were due.

BANKERS' PROTEST

Restrictions which were placed upon direct loans by the agency were brought about largely by protests of organized bankers, as a part of the banking industry's general campaign against Government lending agencies competing with banks, insurance companies and other privately-owned lending organizations.

This protest on the part of organized bankers was occasioned by their alarm at the great changes which had taken place in the farm credit field since 1930 —and particularly between 1940 and 1947.

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LEADING THE WAY

As was the case with the soil conservation movement, the South was the first to take advantage of the new plan. The first insured farm ownership loan of this type was made at Americus, Ga. (home of Rep. Stephen Pace) on Oct. 3, 1947. The third was made in Geneva county, Ala., and was for $6,550. It was made by the Citizens' Bank of Geneva. The president of this bank, James Johnson, Jr., announced at the time that his bank would be glad to finance any similar loan approved by the county FHA.

The future history of this new type of farm ownership loan will determine whether the private banking interests of the country will live up to their responsibilities.

It must be conceded, however, as pointed out in the banking article of this series, that there is a tremendous interest on the part of banks and bankers' organizations in the South in everything pertaining to agriculture in the region. This interest is shared by all sections of the banking interests in the region, including the Fereral Reserve Banks, the State bankers' associations, and the individual banks—even those individual banks in large cities which do not make direct loans to farmers but can benefit from their interest in agriculture only through their correspondent banking business or through their loans to finance the movement of crops.

It is perhaps significant that Oklahoma, where the State Bankers' Association has for the past five years vigorously pursued a campaign to stimulate interest in soil conservation, is second only to Texas in the number of acres brought under soil conservation practices. (The Oklahoma bankers' campaign has since been taken up by a number of bankers' association in other Southern States.)

So much for some of the more favorable phases of Southern agriculture. It is now necessary to look at the reverse side of the picture.

DANGERS AHEAD

The opening paragraph of this article pointed out that, for many sections of Southern agriculture, there were breakers ahead.

To a great extent the dangers faced by Southern agriculture are due to the fact that most of its

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Southern Series

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basic commodities either sell in world markets or are affected by world production. This makes them sensitive to the dollar situation abroad, which, for some time at least, will be affected by such long-range efforts to rehabilitate the economies of foreign nations as the Marshall Plan.

Thus, without knowing the outcome of the relief and rehabilitation programs now being formulated, even govenmental experts admit the impossibility of making any long-range forecast for American agriculture generally, or for Southern agriculture in particular. It is obvious even to the casual observer, however, that the South's principal agricultural commodities such as cotton, tobacco sugar, rice, etc., do not have the favorable long-term outlook enjoyed by other American agricultural commodities such as wheat. The particular dangers faced by some of the principal Southern agricultural commodities are as follows:

1. Cotton:

(a) **The Export Situation:** For many years, cotton was the principal agricultural commodity exported from this country. With the development of cotton production in other countries (stimulated by the efforts of the British cotton manufacturing industry) and the tremendous growth of synthetic fiber industries in Germany, Italy and Japan just prior to World War II, however, exports of raw cotton (which had averaged 6,754,138 bales annually for the period 1905-1940, inclusive), dropped to an all-time low of 1,111,897 bales in 1941.

Had it not been for the war, which boosted the consumption of cotton in this nation and among its allies to an all-time high, this would have had drastic repercussions on the economy of the South and of the nation.

UNCERTAIN OUTLOOK

Exports of raw cotton (and of cotton goods) have continued at high levels since the war and this favorable situation may continue for another year. However, the

II), "the pressure of their financial circumstances will be in the direction of rebuilding their synthetic fiber industries as a means of maximizing their own resources and minimizing their expenditures abroad for clothing fibers."

The experts point out, too, that a recently completed economic study of Japan shows that, in 1936, in each dollar's worth of cotton goods exported, the cost of imported raw materials was about 43 cents; whereas, for each dollar's worth of rayon textiles, the cost in foreign exchange was only 10 cents. Only continued shortages of coal, power and transportation in these countries have, through hampering production of synthetic fibers, made possible the large exports of American cotton to them since the war.

(c) **The impact of merchanization on the cotton economy of the South:** This will be discussed in greater detail in another section of this article so it will be touched on here only briefly.

It should be pointed out, however, that, while mechanization, when it becomes complete, may, by reducing the cost of cotton, help to save some of the domestic and world markets for the South's premier crop, it will bring its own problems with it. (In passing, some experts think mechanization may not be complete for another 10 years. Some think cotton can be produced profitably under full mechanization for from 8 to 12 cents a pound.)

Experts of the Pace Committee estimate that, by 1956, the South may require additional investments in industrial production facilities of as much as 10 billion dollars (more than one-fifth the total estimated wealth of the region in 1937) to provide employment for the agricultural workers who will be displaced by mechanization. Unless this investment is forthcoming and can be profitably made, mechanization may save cotton's markets only at the expense of the economy of the South and the Nation.

2. Tobacco

Impact of Mechanization

Continued from Page Four

ing and harvesting cotton was reduced one-half when harvested mechanically as compared to hand harvesting. Since not more than from 3 to 5 per cent of the 1947 crop was grown under complete mechanization, it will be seen that a further displacement of the farm population of the South is inevitable. This phase of mechanization will be discussed further.

The degree of mechanization which has been reached on Southern farms will be visualized more easily when it is known that between 1930 and 1945 the number of farm tractors in the region increased 249 per cent—from 134,162 in 1930 to 468,055 in 1945—while nationally the number of tractors owned by farmers increased only 163 per cent—from 920,021 in 1930 to 2,421,745 in 1945. The Van Sickle group expects the number of tractors in the South to increase to 1,691,000 in 1965.

However, the fact that the South still has a long way to go to achieve mechanization is indicated by a recent Bureau of Agricultural Economics study on wages by type of farm and farm work. This study showed that the value of the machinery on the average Cotton Belt farm in 1945 was only $533 as compared with $2,451 for the wheat belt (where mechanization is complete), $1,682 for the corn belt, and $1,094 for the nation as a whole. Thus, the Southern farmer's investment in machinery is only about a fifth of that of the wheat farmer, less than third of the investment of the corn farmer, and less than half the national average.

A corrolary to the increase in the number of tractors in the South and elsewhere is the consequent decrease in the horse and mule population, which results in the freeing for other purposes of crop land and manpower formerly use for the feed of these work animals.

Between 1915 and 1939, motor equipment displaced nearly 10 million horses and mules on the nation's farms, freeing some 30 million acres of cropland and 15 million acres of pasture for other purposes, the Interbureau Committee of the United States Department of Agriculture estimated in 1945. At the same time, they estimated that the horse and mule population of the South would be reduced to 4,678,000 by 1950—1,170,000 below the 1937-1941 average.

This would free from 5,265,000 acres of land (on the basis of the above figures) to 17,550,000 acres (since some authorities estimate that 15 acres of land are required to provide one year's feed for a work animal), and the full time of 11,215 men for a year (the same authorities estimate 30 days work is required to provide one work animal's grain and

marginal producer and will be even more so in the future. As mechanization progresses, he will either be forced into a more profitable (and less competitive) type of farming, or into non-farm work. It is this group, as well as the remaining sharecroppers and tenants, that will be affected by future displacements of the Southern farm population resulting from mechanization. All of the studies of current cotton production problems emphasize this point.

Dr. Frank J. Welch, dean of the School of Agriculture at Mississippi State University, told the cotton mechanization conference at Greenville, Miss., last August that, of the total number of farms harvesting cotton in 1939, 54 per cent produced only four bales or less—with an average yield of only 150 pounds of lint cotton per acre as compared with a yield of 269 pounds per acre for those which produced more than four bales. Stated another way, Dr. Welch said, 54 per cent of the total cotton farms included 27.8 per cent of the total cotton acreage but produced only 17.8 per cent of the crop.

Another side of the same picture is brought out by the Bureau of the Census in a special study of the 1945 Agricultural Census relating to the so-called multiple-unit cotton farms, which, in effect, means those operated under the tenant system.

This study, which was made of the 1944 crop, shows that 10 per cent of the cotton farms reporting for that crop year grew 40 per cent of the crop.

Approximately 123,000 of the 1,201,000 farms reporting cotton in 1944 produced more than 4,500,000 bales or two-fifths of the 1944 crop, J. C. Capt, director of the Bureau of the Census, reported.

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Continued from Page Six

basic commodities either sell in world markets or are affected by world production. This makes them sensitive to the dollar situation abroad, which, for some time at least, will be affected by such long-range efforts to rehabilitate the economies of foreign nations as the Marshall Plan.

Thus, without knowing the outcome of the relief and rehabilitation programs now being formulated, even govenmental experts admit the impossibility of making any long-range forecast for American agriculture generally, or for Southern agriculture in particular. It is obvious even to the casual observer, however, that the South's principal agricultural commodities such as cotton, tobacco sugar, rice, etc., do not have the favorable long-term outlook enjoyed by other American agricultural commodities such as wheat. The particular dangers faced by some of the principal Southern agricultural commodities are as follows:

1. Cotton:

(a) **The Export Situation:** For many years, cotton was the principal agricultural commodity exported from this country. With the development of cotton production in other countries (stimulated by the efforts of the British cotton manufacturing industry) and the tremendous growth of synthetic fiber industries in Germany, Italy and Japan just prior to World War II, however, exports of raw cotton (which had averaged 6,754,138 bales annually for the period 1905-1940, inclusive), dropped to an all-time low of 1,111,897 bales in 1941.

Had it not been for the war, which boosted the consumption of cotton in this nation and among its allies to an all-time high, this would have had drastic repercussions on the economy of the South and of the nation.

UNCERTAIN OUTLOOK

Exports of raw cotton (and of cotton goods) have continued at high levels since the war and this favorable situation may continue for another year. However, the experts of the Department of Agriculture, the State Department, the U. S. Tariff Commission and the National Cotton Council who prepared the report on Project VI for the Pace Committee ("Foreign Market Outlets for American Cotton and Cotton Manufacturers") are not too optimistic over the outlook.

They estimate continued exports of from 3.5 to 4 million bales annually for 1948 and 1949 and from 3.3 to 4.5 million bales annually up to the mid-1950's (with possibly another 250,000 to 400,000 bales annually in the form of cotton piece goods) but qualify these predictions dolefully as follows:

"It ought to be noted that the assumption used in arriving at the conclusions indicated by the table frankly tend to be optimistic. Should actual conditions of industrial activity in the United States and abroad fall short of the favorable conditions predicated, the probabilities of attaining these volumes of trade either for the world as a whole or for the United States would be materially lessened. Under those circumstances the probability of sustaining the value of the trade would be still more remote."

(b) **From growing competition of synthetics both at home and abroad.** From the domestic angle, this situation will be treated more fully in the article of this series which will discuss the rayon and synthetic industries (80 per cent of which are in the South). The foreign situation, as affecting raw cotton exports, has been discounted by the Pace Committee experts in their estimates quoted above.

However, these experts point out that, in such countries as Germany and Japan (the latter having been the principal purchaser of this country's raw cotton up until shortly before World War II), "the pressure of their financial circumstances will be in the direction of rebuilding their synthetic fiber industries as a means of maximizing their own resources and minimizing their expenditures abroad for clothing fibers."

The experts point out, too, that a recently completed economic study of Japan shows that, in 1936, in each dollar's worth of cotton goods exported, the cost of imported raw materials was about 43 cents; whereas, for each dollar's worth of rayon textiles, the cost in foreign exchange was only 10 cents. Only continued shortages of coal, power and transportation in these countries have, through hampering production of synthetic fibers, made possible the large exports of American cotton to them since the war.

(c) **The impact of merchanization on the cotton economy of the South:** This will be discussed in greater detail in another section of this article so it will be touched on here only briefly.

It should be pointed out, however, that, while mechanization, when it becomes complete, may, by reducing the cost of cotton, help to save some of the domestic and world markets for the South's premier crop, it will bring its own problems with it. (In passing, some experts think mechanization may not be complete for another 10 years. Some think cotton can be produced profitably under full mechanization for from 8 to 12 cents a pound.)

Experts of the Pace Committee estimate that, by 1956, the South may require additional investments in industrial production facilities of as much as 10 billion dollars (more than one-fifth the total estimated wealth of the region in 1937) to provide employment for the agricultural workers who will be displaced by mechanization. Unless this investment is forthcoming and can be profitably made, mechanization may save cotton's markets only at the expense of the economy of the South and the Nation.

2. Tobacco

The embargo placed on tobacco imports by Great Britain casts a threatening shadow over tobacco production in the South, since it is a principal agricultural crop in four States of the region—North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky. While the outcome is still in doubt, it seems likely that it will be a long time before the region will again harvest a bumper crop of over 2 billion pounds of leaf, as it did in 1946 and again in 1947.

Tobacco growers have formed a special export association, Tobacco Associates, Inc., headed by J. B. Hutson, former head of the Commodity Credit Corp., to promote export sales of their crop and to endeavor to eliminate, either by direct or Governmental action, some of the barriers to world trade in this commodity which now exist.

Government aid for a price support plant which cost around 25 million dollars annual seems assured. However, unless the markets of Great Britain and other foreign nations which have formerly taken large quantities of American tobacco can be opened to imports, Government-supported tobacco will only pile up in the warehouses as did American cotton during the 1930s—with little prospect of such great accumulations being liquidated as profitably to the Government as was the case in cotton.

Various international projects in which this country is engaged, such as the Marshall Plan, the International Trade Organization, etc., may operate eventually to relieve the situation for Southern tobacco raisers, but, in the meantime, the future of a crop which contributed $862,264,000 to the farm income of the South in 1946 is in grave doubt —a fact attested by the collapse

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Impact of Mechanization

Continued from Page Four

ing and harvesting cotton was reduced one-half when harvested mechanically as compared to hand harvesting. Since not more than from 3 to 5 per cent of the 1947 crop was grown under complete mechanization, it will be seen that a further displacement of the farm population of the South is inevitable. This phase of mechanization will be discussed further.

The degree of mechanization which has been reached on Southern farms will be visualized more easily when it is known that between 1930 and 1945 the number of farm tractors in the region increased 249 per cent—from 134,162 in 1930 to 468,055 in 1945 —while nationally the number of tractors owned by farmers increased only 163 per cent—from 920,021 in 1930 to 2,421,745 in 1945. The Van Sickle group expects the number of tractors in the South to increase to 1,691,000 in 1965.

However, the fact that the South still has a long way to go to achieve mechanization is indicated by a recent Bureau of Agricultural Economics study on wages by type of farm and farm work. This study showed that the value of the machinery on the average Cotton Belt farm in 1945 was only $533 as compared with $2,451 for the wheat belt (where mechanization is complete), $1,682 for the corn belt, and $1,094 for the nation as a whole. Thus, the Southern farmer's investment in machinery is only about a fifth of that of the wheat farmer, less than third of the investment of the corn farmer, and less than half the national average.

A corrolary to the increase in the number of tractors in the South and elsewhere is the consequent decrease in the horse and mule population, which results in the freeing for other purposes of crop land and manpower formerly use for the feed of these work animals.

Between 1915 and 1939, motor equipment displaced nearly 10 million horses and mules on the nation's farms, freeing some 30 million acres of cropland and 15 million acres of pasture for other purposes, the Interbureau Committee of the United States Department of Agriculture estimated in 1945. At the same time, they estimated that the horse and mule population of the South would be reduced to 4,678,000 by 1950—1,170,000 below the 1937-1941 average.

This would free from 5,265,000 acres of land (on the basis of the above figures) to 17,550,000 acres (since some authorities estimate that 15 acres of land are required to provide one year's feed for a work animal), and the full time of 11,215 men for a year (the same authorities estimate 30 days work is required to provide one work animal's grain and fodder).

This will be a welcome addition to the South's area of crops for human consumption, since the Interbureau Committee also estimates that, in eight Southern States alone, from 14 to 15 million acres of crop and pasture land will be needed to produce food and feed crops sufficient to supply an adequate diet to the farm population of those States, in addition to that in use in 1937.

The speed with which mechanization is progressing in the South is emphasized by the fact that by Jan. 1, 1947, the horse and mule population of the region had already dropped below the estimates that the Interbureau Committee had estimated for 1950.

On this date there were only 4,512,009 horses and mules in the South, according to Albert Brodell of BAE--166,000 less than the best-informed group in the nation had estimated only two years ago would be reached in 1950.

The importance of mechanization for those cotton farmers who intend to remain in business is indicated by a study made by E. L. Langsford of the BAE of the hours of man labor needed per acre for cotton production in specified areas and by different methods of production.

The range shown by this study was from 141 hours per acre for one-row mule cultivation and hand-picking in the Delta to 6.4 hours per acre for a completely mechanized operation in the High Plains area with four-row tractor cultivation and two-row mechanical stripping. On the rich Delta lands, where the stripper cannot be used, a completely mechanized operation with a four-row tractor and flame cultivator and a one-row mechanical picker reduced the man-hours per acre required to 25.

Since it has become a conviction with cotton producers that they can save the markets for their fiber only by getting the cost of production down to a point where cotton can be profitably raised at from 12 to 14 cents a pound, it is obvious that as competition increases no large producer can afford to employ a system which requires 220 times the number of man-hours—nor even one which requires six times more hours than complete mechanization.

DEPENDENCE ON LARGE GROWER

The large grower is the individual on whom the nation must depend for its cotton in the future, it is apparent. The small cotton grower, who makes only three or four bales a year, always has been a marginal producer and will be even more so in the future. As mechanization progresses, he will either be forced into a more profitable (and less competitive) type of farming, or into non-farm work. It is this group, as well as the remaining sharecroppers and tenants, that will be affected by future displacements of the Southern farm population resulting from mechanization. All of the studies of current cotton production problems emphasize this point.

Dr. Frank J. Welch, dean of the School of Agriculture at Mississippi State University, told the cotton mechanization conference at Greenville, Miss., last August that, of the total number of farms harvesting cotton in 1939, 54 per cent produced only four bales or less—with an average yield of only 150 pounds of lint cotton per acre as compared with a yield of 269 pounds per acre for those which produced more than four bales. Stated another way, Dr. Welch said, 54 per cent of the total cotton farms included 27.8 per cent of the total cotton acreage but produced only 17.8 per cent of the crop.

Another side of the same picture is brought out by the Bureau of the Census in a special study of the 1945 Agricultural Census relating to the so-called multiple-unit cotton farms, which, in effect, means those operated under the tenant system.

This study, which was made of the 1944 crop, shows that 10 per cent of the cotton farms reporting for that crop year grew 40 per cent of the crop.

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This tendency to concentration in ownership in cotton farming has probably only begun. Agricultural specialists agree that, in some of the older cotton growing sections, such as the Piedmont, the Coastal Plains, etc., mechanization can come about only if farms increase in size to a point where the ownership of mechanized equipment is profitable. Dr. H. P. Cooper, director of the South Carolina Experiment Station at Clemson, S. C., indicated at the cotton mechanization conference last August that this might call for a farm large enough to plant 100 acres of cotton annually. If diversification is combined with mechanization, such a farm might have to be 600 to 700 acres in size.

One of the most interesting phenomena of future agricultural censuses, therefore, will be the data on the increase in size of farms in the 10 cotton growing States. The 1945 census indicates the beginning of this trend, since it shows not only that the average size of the Southern farm increased from 123 acres in 1940 to 132 acres in 1945, but also shows, even more significantly, the fact that farms of 1,000 acres and over increased from 26,521 in 1940 to 32,000 in 1945, and that farms of from 500 to 999 acres increased from 47,737 in 1940 to 53,000 in 1945.

This concentration of farm ownership in the Cotton South is being accompanied by a trend toward geographical concentration of cotton production.

Cotton is grown to some extent in 12 of the 13 Southern States, but is important only in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas. These 10 States include 13 of the 14 cotton production areas into which the experts of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics divide the cotton-growing areas of the country, according to type of soil. (The 14th, the irrigated area, lies in the States of Arizona, New Mexico and California.) These cotton production areas are shown in the accompanying map.

THE COTTON PRODUCTION AREA

A forthcoming special study by Mr. Langsford of the production, yield and acreage data for the 1943-1946 seasons, compared with similar data for the 1928-1932 season (bringing up to date an earlier study published in 1944), would seem to indicate that the center of the cotton production area is moving westward and inland, and that, as mechanization progresses, it will tend to center in six of the 13 cotton production areas in the South. (The conclusions are the writer's, not those of Mr. Langsford, who made the study for BAE.) These areas are the Mississippi Delta, the Eastern Hilly, the Piedmont, the High Plains area of Texas and Oklahoma, the Low Plains area of Oklahoma and the Gulf Coastal Plains of Texas.

Four of these areas (the Delta, and the High, Low and Gulf Coastal Plains) are admirably adapted for mechanization and are the areas in which the greatest progress has been made in mechanization and in increased yield per acre. While both the Eastern Hilly and Piedmont areas have a more rugged terrain and so are less adaptable to large

Continued on Page Fifteen

MONROE, N. C.

Lowest Tax Dollar in State
Special Industrial Area Developed
Labor Pool—99.9% Native Born
Abundance of Raw Materials
Ideal Transportation, Power & Water Rates
Inquire Industrial Engineer

"The inherent qualities which made cotton the best fabric for hundreds of uses should enable it to command a higher price than its competitors. Failure to recognize cotton's outstanding qualities and to tell consumers about them through advertising, has resulted in lost markets for cotton and in lower sales for distributors."

—Frank A. McCord, National Cotton Council.

CARDED YARNS
4's To 14's Single and Ply
White and Tinged

ENTERPRISE MANUFACTURING CO.
COLERIDGE, N. C.

As Ruttenber Sees It

By EDWARD M. RUTTENBER

VARIOUS estimates on the holiday take are being submitted by retail executives. The consumer element has not been heard from. Over-fed and financially flabby the average citizen is suffering from a terrible reaction. "Stunned" is a better word to describe the survivors of the 1947 escapade.

The retail men's wear trade is looking about for an encore and a first class promotion man with the right contacts could name his own price. Until about the middle of January very little will be done to warm up the consumer element and the last of the turkey hash will have disappeared by the time the merchants turn on the charm. In dollars and cents the year 1947 hung up a new high but in volume the traffic took a tumble, which is not to be wondered at considering the prices asked for fair-to-middling output. The holiday merchandise offered very little that was original, outstanding for quality or represented a big buy for the money. The things worth acquiring ran into small fortunes.

In shirtings we are far, far behind on quality. The good old broadcloths have been succeeded by something that loses its sparkle after the first washing. Men could use some of the fine English products that once featured holiday buying; fabrics that wore to tissue-paper fragility with the years and retained their luster until the last immersion. To talk about the "good old days" is poppycock at best but in fabric production and especially shirtings there is room for improvement, prices considered. And that goes in a general sense.

If the holiday was taken over by any one element I might state that the neckwear people filled the role of friendly conquerors. The Madison avenue geniuses said yesterday that records would be topped with no noticeable falling off in volume as a result of high prices. A great deal of $5 neckwear was sold in New York but there was an abundant supply of less costly merchandise for those who found money problems oppressive. The cravat boys maintain a firm hold on popular fancy and will run off a series of promotions to keep this grip on masculine vanity, so said. Having conquered the promised land they intend to make more friends and influence more people.

It is said that when people have been over-generous they suffer a violent reaction that approaches the miserly. The holiday binge was somewhat similar to a spree and its effect may take the shape of violent remorse. The better to dispell such vapors both wholesalers and retailers must put on a very pretty show during January and February.

"Supply and demand play little or no part in the department store pricing formula. Regardless of thinness of supply and breadth of demand for certain goods, once they are in the retailers' stocks, the prices originally placed remain unchanged. At this very moment we have innumerable items in our store carrying subnormal markups because of our reticence to advance prices in line with higher costs to us."

—Samuel Einstein, G. Fox & Co.

Starting in Business

Retailers

Richard Thomas, Inc., to sell men's clothing, by Richard Thomas, formerly with the Esquire Store, 12-14-16 North Royal street, Mobile, Ala.

O & B Clothes, Inc.: Will open a men's clothing and furnishings store, 132 Washington street, Binghamton, N. Y.

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Market Trends

WOOLENS—WORSTEDS

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By CHAS. E. B. DICKINSON

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Sellers of woolens were far more optimistic than they had been and they were hopeful that the run on gabardines that has been so unusual would be modified soon. Of course, there is no real reason for the attitude, and it partakes more of hope than of reason.

Those who are doing unusually well on gabardines cannot see any reason for the assumption that the concentration will be modified. All they can see is that they can ship far more than they have, and that, seemingly, there is no end to the interest. It is pointed out, however, that there is not the concentration visible on the backs of wearers hereabouts.

There is a rush to buy overcoatings of the lighter and medium weights. Twenty-four and 28 ounces are preferred. Coverts and flannels are sought and manufacturers making the latter have visions of manufacturers being forced into the wool market and of a consequent rise in fiber prices. This is estimated at a possible 25 per cent for woolen wools.

WORSTED DEMAND STRONG

The demand for worsteds continues strong. It is pointed out that it is likely that goods will be allotted not only for fall, 1948, but also for spring, 1949. It is recognized, however, that spring, 1949, is well ahead and that with the potentials in the situation what they are, it would be well to go carefully.

The interest in blue unfinished goods continues strong. Somewhat less is heard of the interest in blue serges, the chief outlet for which was for sailors on shore leave. Reports were current of heavy shipments of gabardines well to use reason now, instead of realizing trouble later.

It has been pointed out, too, that the market has moved out of the area of protection that was afforded all during the war and for a year after, by the ability to buy wool on a world basis. This was far under our quoted prices for domestic wool.

With the removal of controls, world wool prices rose to the equivalents of ours and still more. We are, therefore, graduated from that situation and on our own in competition with the movements of world economy.

Incomes are twice what they were in prewar days and there are close to 60 million people gainfully employed. As long as that situation continues, there can be little reason for underestimating the buying power of this country.

RECOVERY REMARKABLE.

The recovery from the position in which the pessimism of the early months of this year and the latter part of last year left the wool textile industry, has been remarkable. There never was any reason for the attitude assumed and it only acted to embarrass the pessimists by leaving them without the merchandise with which to do business in wanted goods, when the time came that they were needed.

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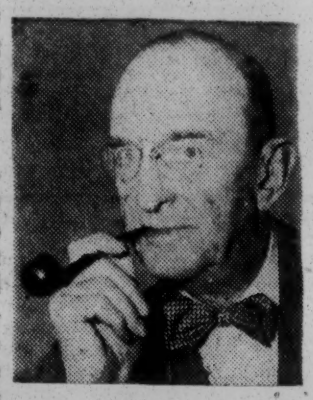

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Association Activities

SAN FRANCISCO MANUFACTURERS' AND WHOLESALERS' ASSOCIATION: Its mid-season market will be held **Jan. 18-24.**

NEW YORK CREDIT MEN'S ASSOCIATION AND NEW YORK CHAPTER, NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CREDIT: Will jointly sponsor a seminar on human relations in business, **Jan. 19, 26** and **Feb. 2,** 6:30 to 8:30 o'clock, McAlpin Hotel.

AK-SAR-BEN MEN'S APPAREL CLUB: Its spring show will take place **Jan. 31-Feb. 3,** Paxton Hotel, Omaha.

SOUTHEASTERN MEN'S APPAREL CLUB: Its fall and winter show will be held **May 24 to 26,** Atlanta Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta.

IOWA RETAIL CLOTHIERS ASSOCIATION: Its 44th annual convention will be held **Jan. 11-12,** Dec. Moines, Ia.

NATIONAL RETAIL DRY GOODS ASSOCIATION: Its 37th annual convention will take place **Jan. 12-16,** Hotel Pennsylvania.

SOCIETY OF THE PLASTICS INDUSTRY: Its third annual technical session and exhibit of the low-pressure industries division will be held **Jan. 15-16,** Edgewater Beach Hotel, Chicago.

NEW YORK BOARD OF TRADE, DRUG, CHEMICAL AND ALLIED TRADES SECTION: Its 22d annual dinner will take place **March 11,** Waldorf-Astoria.

PHILADELPHIA TEXTILE SALESMEN'S ASSOCIATION: Will instal new officers **Jan. 15,** Adelphia Hotel.

NEW YORK CLUB OF CLOTHING DESIGNERS: Will hold a men's and women's wear fashion show, **Jan. 16,** Central Needle Trades High School auditorium.

ILLINOIS MEN'S APPAREL CLUB: Has selected its 1949 show dates: **May 15-19** and **Oct. 30-Nov. 3,** Palmer House, Chicago. Its 1948 shows will take place **May 9-13** and **Nov. 14-18,** Palmer House.

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It has been noted that sellers would be pleased to know that prices for the fall season, 1948, represented the top for the present movement. They recognize future possibilities and think it is well to use reason now, instead of realizing trouble later.

It has been pointed out, too, that the market has moved out of the area of protection that was afforded all during the war and for a year after, by the ability to buy wool on a world basis. This was far under our quoted prices for domestic wool.

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The recovery from the position in which the pessimism of the early months of this year and the latter part of last year left the wool textile industry, has been remarkable. There never was any reason for the attitude assumed and it only acted to embarrass the pessimists by leaving them without the merchandise with which to do business in wanted goods, when the time came that they were needed.

The removal of the fear of the attitude of Western Europe had a salient effect on the attitude here. For a time, there was fear of an economic collapse, but that faded with the outcome of the French elections. The year, as a whole, has been far better than many feared. But the longer headed believed this was likely to occur. Now there is a feeling that the oncoming year will be equally successful—perhaps more so.

Anyway, the business is in hand in memo form for the fall season and while sellers have not been able to quote prices, buyers have been willing to act to get in line for deliveries and have assumed the attitude, "We know that you will be on the market, whatever that is."

HAYWARD-SCHUSTER CO., INC. 51 MADISON AVE. WOOLENS W. W. GOTTSCHLING SELLING AGENT

Rillenberg Brothers Woolens 235 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Woolens & Worsteds L. BACHMANN & CO. INC. Selling Agents 257 FOURTH AVENUE · NEW YORK

TRUE PAL FABRICS PLAY BOY VIL. DUNN WOOLEN MILLS Dunn Textile Company, Inc. 51 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

COLEMAN & COMPANY EST. — FACTORS — 1912 468 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK CITY

Hamburger WOOLEN COMPANY, INC. 45 E. 17 ST. N. Y. WOOLENS AND WORSTEDS

Brunswick FINE WORSTEDS Sales Office, 257 4th AVENUE, N. Y.

THE KENT MFG. CO. KENT-HAMPTON SALES, INC. 51 Madison Avenue, New York HAMPTON LOOMS OF VIRGINIA ESTABLISHED 1882

Hayward WOOLEN COMPANY EAST DOUGLAS, MASSACHUSETTS J. G. Jacob, Selling Agent SALES OFFICE: 450 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

FAITH for fine coatings FAITH MILLS, INC. 51 Madison Ave., New York 10 Averill Park, New York

worcester coatings Laboratory tested for durability—built for quality and smartness The Worcester Knitting Co. 1441 Broadway, New York 18 PE. 6-1823

RAYON TOPS Standard Grades Rayon Noils & Staple Fibre ANDREW K. HENRY 158 SUMMER ST., BOSTON, MASS.

WATCH FOR LIMERICK'S LIMERICK EACH TUESDAY

OVERCOATINGS horner TOPCOATINGS 200 FIFTH AVENUE, N. Y.

HOUGHTON WOOL CO. 253 Summer St. Boston Expert Opinion Approves Houghton standard TOPS

Labor in the South

Bulletin No. 898

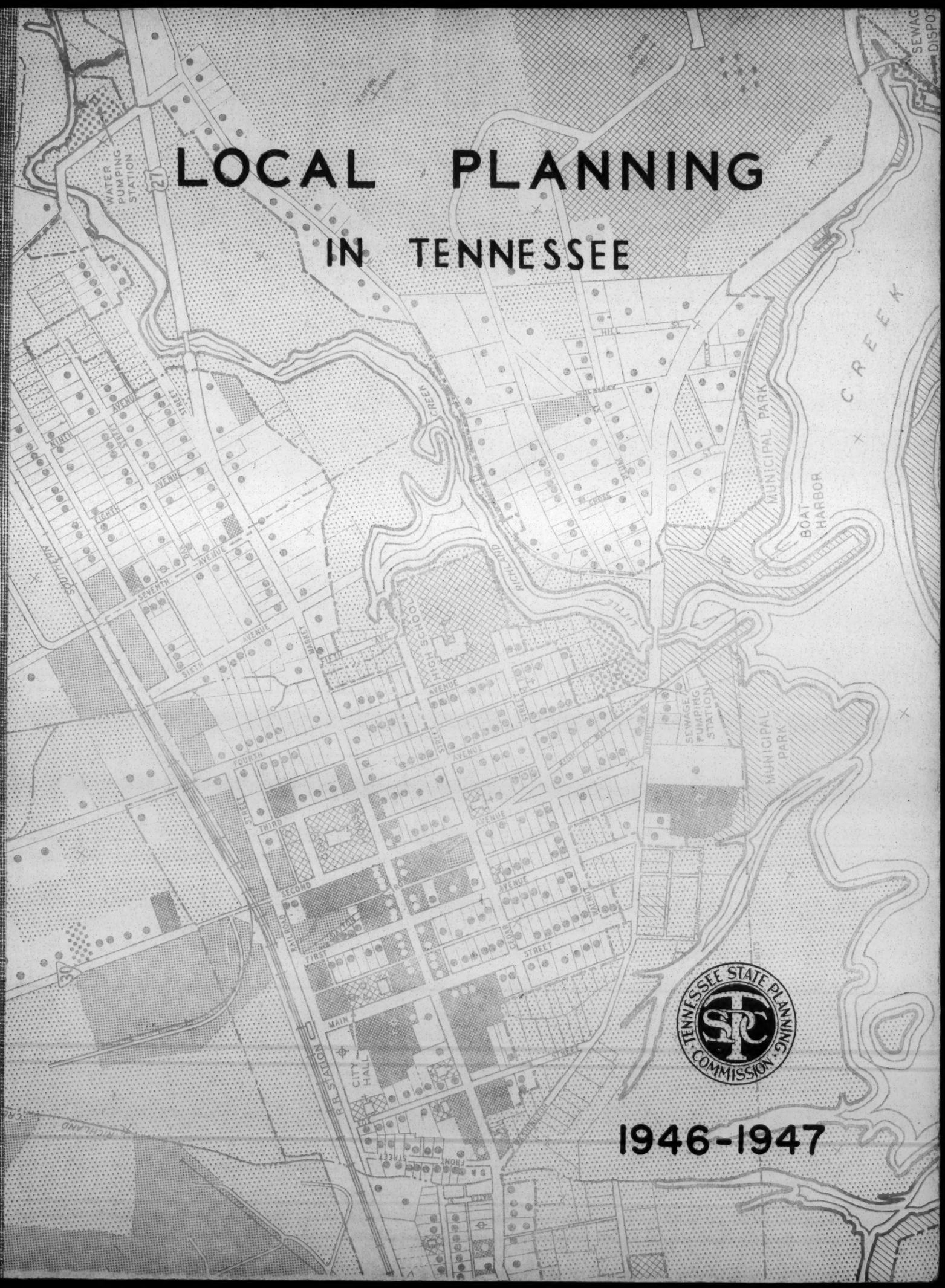
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

GEORGIA WORKERS EDUCATION SERVICE

LOCAL PLANNING

IN TENNESSEE



TENNESSEE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION

1946-1947

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Regional Planning

1907

Resource-Use Education

A Tool For Regional Development

JOHN E. IVEY, JR.

Given adequate natural resources and human resources, what is it that determines whether a society will prosper? Or, to put it another way, why is it that in some societies the people, in spite of the fact they have adequate natural resources at their disposal, still find it difficult, and sometimes impossible to achieve satisfactory levels of living?

These questions pose a problem which has been weighing heavily on educational leaders in the southern United States. For in the southern region this is not an academic matter; southern leaders know full well that in modern society natural resources, no matter how great their potential value, make little or no contribution to living until the people have the skills, machines, capital, attitudes, and the motivation to use resources to satisfy their individual and group needs.

For decades, research specialists have been adding to a veritable mine of information on the status and opportunities for use of the natural and social resources of the Southeast. Scientific facts on the status of resources of the region paint a picture of a people using but a small part of the wide variety of resources potentially at their disposal. Cotton and tobacco largely dominate commercial agricultural activity. The region's industry pours into the stream of commerce manufactured products which, in general, represent primary stages of manufacture. The workers, both in agriculture and industry, earn income well below amounts received in other regions of the nation.

Potentialities of the South have been set forth in bold terms, well based on scientific inventory. Diversified farming, decentralized industries drawing on agriculture for raw materials, higher levels of finished-goods manufacture, rural and urban housing developments, more adequate public services for health, education, welfare, and government—all these activities are examples of potential areas of regional improvement.

The gap between potentiality and the present status of living in the Southeast seems to exist for the most part because the people of the region, their natural resources, their leaders, and available scientific information have not been united into living and working arrangements which spell progressive change. It is comparatively easy for the scientist to sit in his office and blueprint "desirable" social changes, or determine *what* needs to be accomplished. This has been done in many research documents. There still remains, however, the job of discovering *how* that scientific evidence and conclusion can be brought into the sphere of human action. Therefore, to the people of the Southeast, a major task in regional development lies in discovering not only *what* needs to be done but *how* the job is to be undertaken—how the people and scientific information are to be more effectively united.

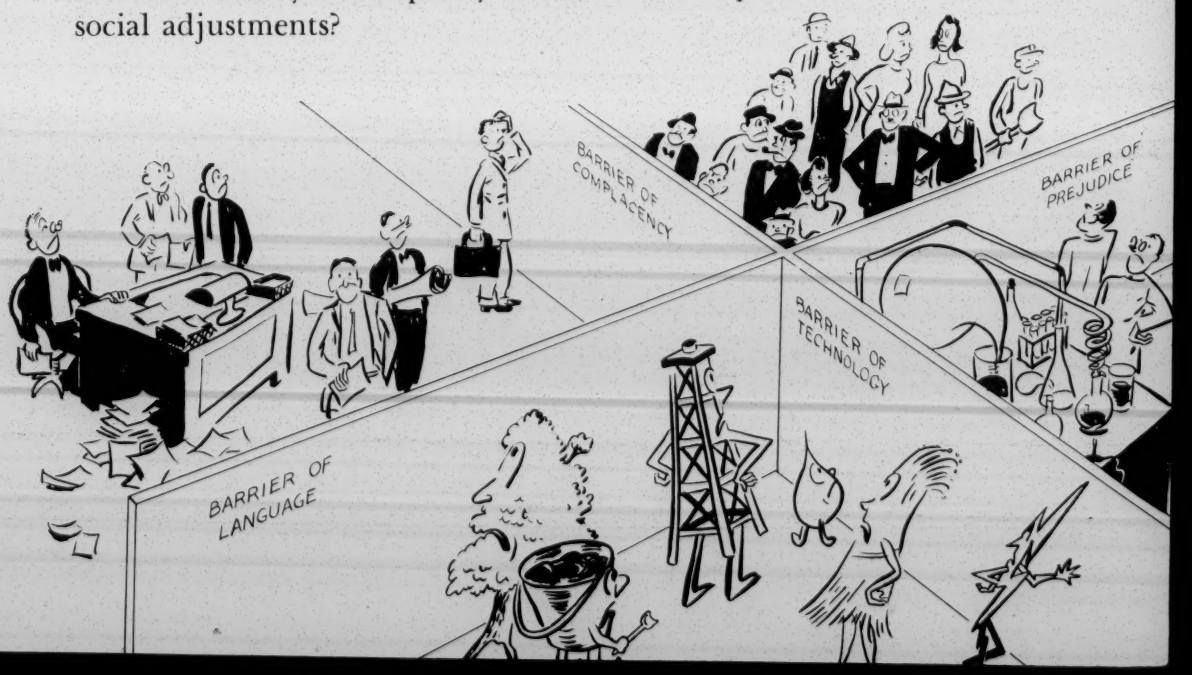
Regional development implies change, change in existing ways of living and working; successful social change requires satisfactory adjustment among the various aspects of social environment. Regional development, then, is essentially a concept denoting a *process* of achieving higher and higher levels of adequacy in social adjustment. If we are to discover *how* science is to contribute more effectively to this process of regional development, it is necessary to identify (1) the types of relationships involved in social adjustment within a region; (2) where the process of developing these relationships actually takes place; (3) what kinds of public activity are essential to the process of regional development; and

(4) how education can stimulate the process of regional development.

Regional Development as a Problem of Relationships

Regional development, as a total problem, has two major aspects, closely interrelated. On the one hand, it is essentially a job of bringing about increasingly adequate relationships between people and their natural resources. Scientists and technicians in transportation, communication, agriculture, industry, and other fields of production possess the "know how" for this undertaking. On the other hand, regional development is a job of bringing about a more satisfactory relationship among the people themselves. This problem permeates law, government, medicine, religion, education, business, finance, and other such institutional systems in which social leadership functions among a maze of human values and attitudes. The social scientist—psychologist, sociologist, public administrator, economist, and educator—possesses much specialized information for application in these fields.

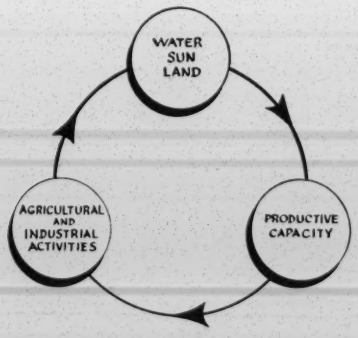
There are two criteria, almost truisms, on which one can judge the adequacy of relationships between men and their natural resources and among men living and working together in a given society: (1) what is the long-run effect on natural resources; and (2) what is the long-run effect on the welfare of men and their ability and capacity to work out adequate social adjustments?



The natural environment, left untouched by man, exhibits a tendency or strain toward biological balance. Water, sun, and land function in a unified process which gives a geographical area a certain productive capacity. The agricultural and industrial activities carried on in an area can be said to be effectively geared to the sustained productive capacity of the natural environment only when they contribute to the continuance of a unified relationship between the water, land, and sun.

For example, when men farm their land in a manner that speeds erosion, or continually saps the fertility from the soil, without ever using soil building practices, they are destroying the productive capacity of the area. When a forest area is cleared in one cutting and the land left to inroads of erosion from rain, a valuable wood producing unit has been destroyed, and the productive capacity of the uncovered land will be greatly diminished with the increasing severity of erosion.

Even when men use natural resources so as to maintain their natural productive capacity, there are some resources, such as iron, coal, and oil, which, unlike water, sunlight, plants, and trees, are not renewable. They represent exhaustible resources which cannot be replaced. Consequently, over a long period of time men should use inexhaustible resources in such a manner as to draw as little as possible on their exhaustible resources. There are cases, for example, where hydro-electricity, made from an inexhaustible resource—water—can be substituted for power furnished by oil or coal, exhaustible resources. In such situations, the long-run



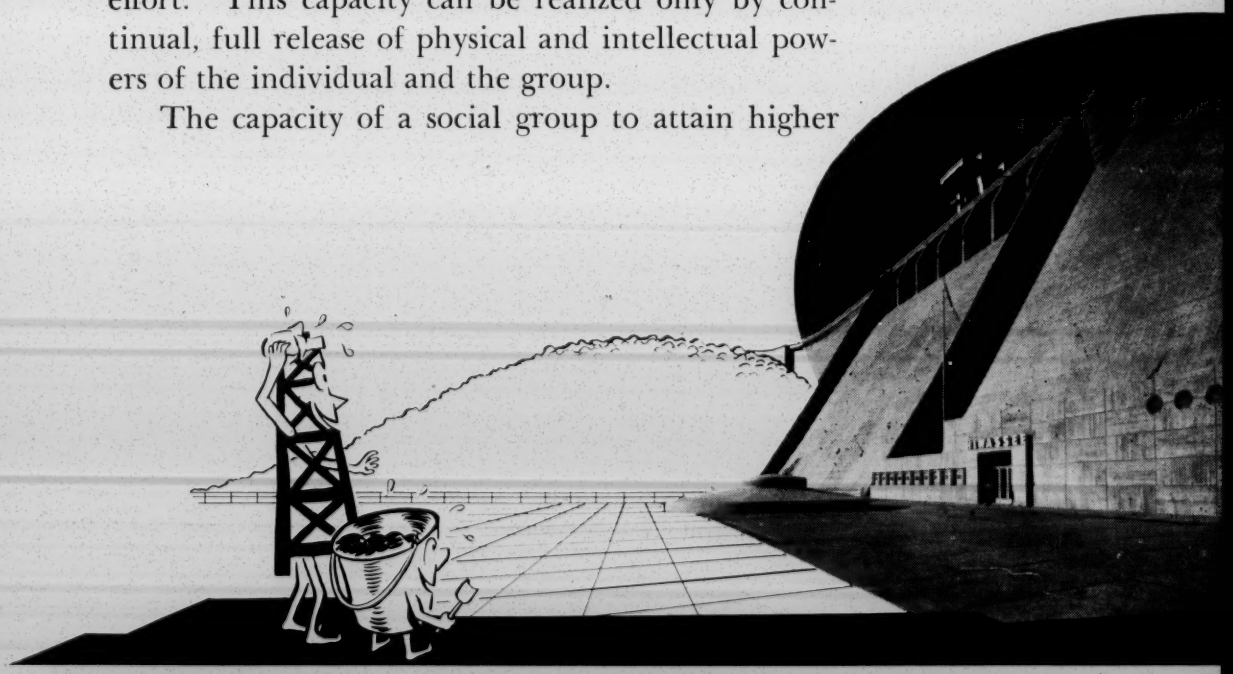
necessity for preservation of exhaustible resources would demand that water power be used whenever possible.

Thus, we have two criteria of the adequacy of the use relationship from the standpoint of what happens to the natural environment as a result of its use by man: (1) the maintenance of a sustained productive capacity of natural resources by strict observance of the unified relationships among the various elements of the natural environment; and (2) the use of exhaustible resources in such manner as to prolong their availability by substituting inexhaustible resources whenever possible.

Now, to get to the second measure of the adequacy of relationship between men and natural resources and of the relationship among men: "What is the long-run effect on men?" Are men using the land so that they avoid nutritional deficiencies by producing food which is rich in minerals and vitamins? Do all men have access to medical and educational facilities so that they develop to the maximum of their physical and psychological capacity? Do all men have the opportunity to participate in economic and social activities so as to make a maximum contribution in the processes of living and working?

The assumption underlying each of these questions is that every normal individual and each group possesses a sustained capacity for socially productive effort. This capacity can be realized only by continual, full release of physical and intellectual powers of the individual and the group.

The capacity of a social group to attain higher

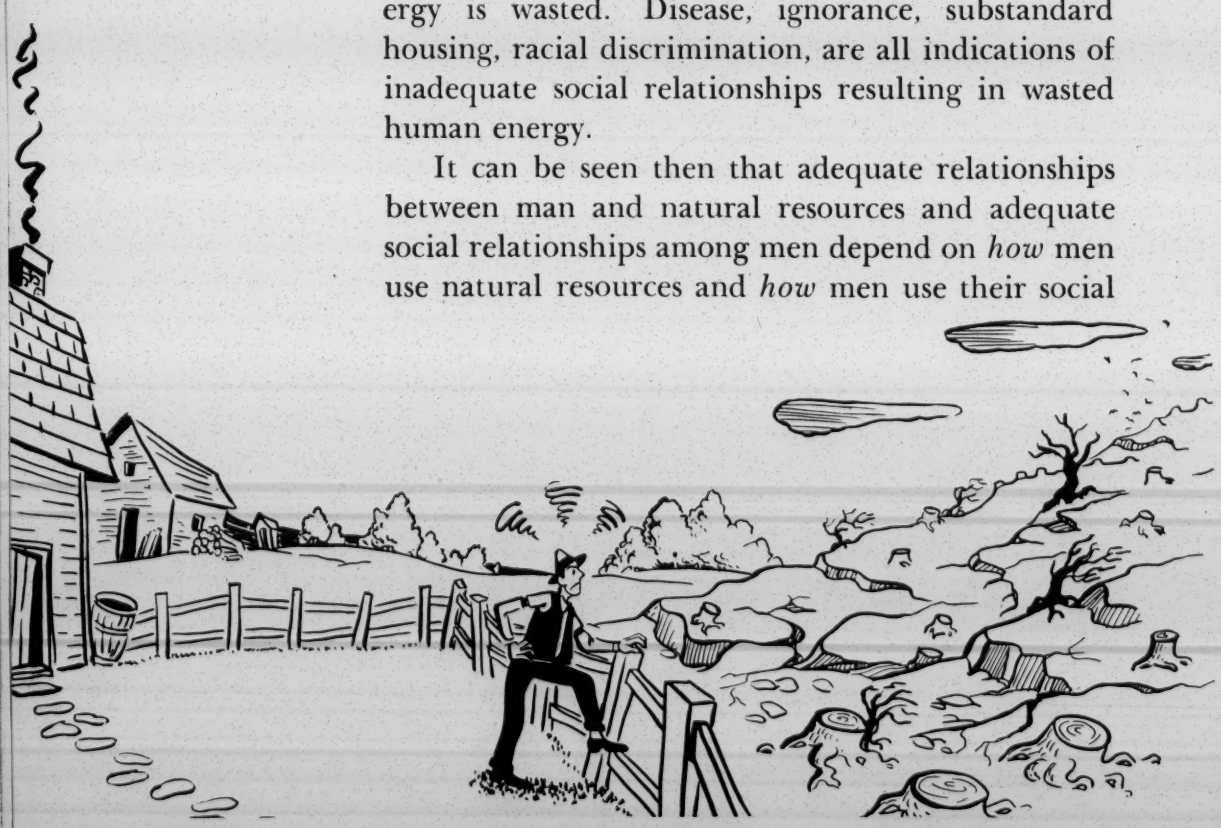


levels of adequacy in social relationships can be measured on three highly interdependent points: the extent to which (1) the physical capacity of each individual is developed; (2) the intellectual capacity of the individual is developed; and (3) group customs, technological facilities, and social institutions are organized to provide ways and means for individuals to identify and develop procedures for meeting physical and intellectual needs.

These three points indicate the importance of social attitudes, values, and motivation which condition individual thinking and action as participants, for example, in business, government, religion, education, and family relationships. For it is through these established types of social relationships that individual needs are defined and met. Just as man uses certain elements of his natural environment and calls them his natural resources, he also uses these established types of social relationships as resources to meet needs. They are, in a very real sense, man's social resources.

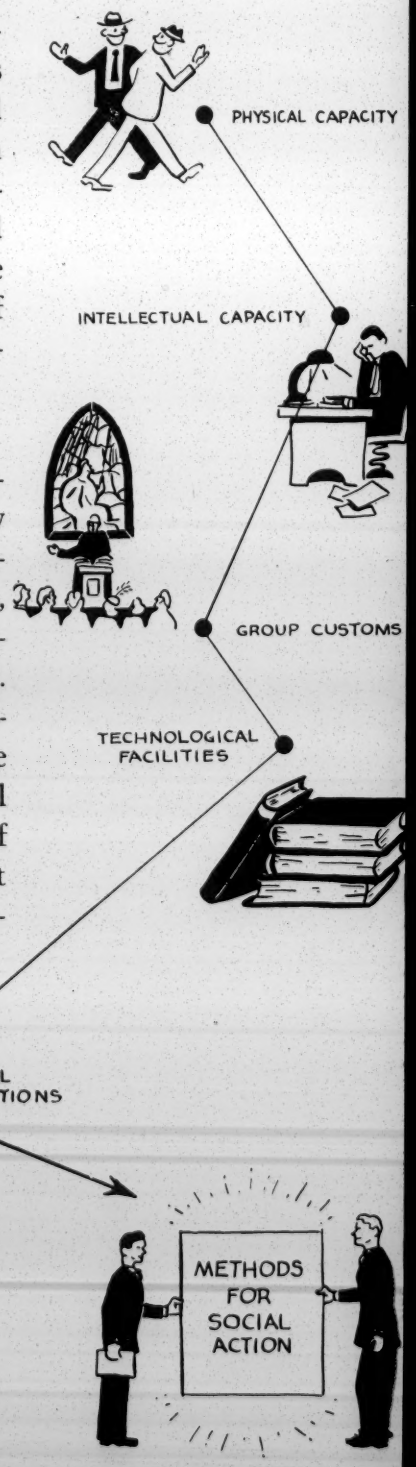
When existing social relationships do not facilitate, or when they oppose, the full release of all individual and group creative energies, human energy is wasted. Disease, ignorance, substandard housing, racial discrimination, are all indications of inadequate social relationships resulting in wasted human energy.

It can be seen then that adequate relationships between man and natural resources and adequate social relationships among men depend on *how* men use natural resources and *how* men use their social



resources to define and meet needs. Every environment, physical and social, has a productive capacity; the degree to which it is developed and maintained is one main guide line for judging the adequacy of the way men are using their natural and social resources.

Since the effective use of natural and social resources depends upon human energy, the basic problem of regional development is the full training and use of the human beings in the region. Given adequate natural resources, the realization of a region's productive potentiality turns on the techniques and procedures of uniting the natural resources with human energy, physical and mental. It is this process of achieving a more sufficient relationship and adjustment between the human potentiality and the productive potentiality of the natural resources of an area that is the basic problem in regional development.



Community Action in Regions

In the United States men are brought into relationship with their natural and social resources by three highly interrelated focal points of social organization and action: local communities, States, and the nation. It is upon these levels of organization that Americans solve their problems of living.

The region, as a level of social organization, represents a group-of-States area. It lies between the State area and the national area of action. Regional action is necessitated because there are problems of living which cut across State lines and which cannot be effectively met except through inter-State cooperation.

In the Southeast problems such as flood control, soil erosion, interterritorial freight rates, cotton and tobacco production, race relations, and many others, affect the lives of people in many States. To work effectively toward solutions of these problems there must be a framework of inter-State action. In this sense, regional organization and action can be thought of as an integrating facility among States.

Federal action on the regional level should be viewed primarily as a means of strengthening the ability of States and communities to solve their own problems through inter-State cooperation, on the one hand, and through State-Federal collaboration, on the other hand. The operation of the Tennessee Valley Authority has well demonstrated the sound principle that a regional agency, while serving as an integrating facility in a seven-State area, can successfully pursue a policy of working with and through State and local agencies and institutions. In the field of agriculture the T. V. A. works through the various State land grant colleges; in health it collaborates with State departments of health; and similar procedures are followed in conservation, education, and many other phases of regional development.

Yet, within a framework of inter-State organization, the processes of regional development, being essentially problems of human development, find their mainsprings firmly rooted in the communities of the area. It is in their communities that people live and work; the family, church, business, school, government, and State and Federal services take concrete form. Human motivation is the real force; social attitudes and values guide human behavior. On the basis of these social values, right and wrong are evaluated; wants and desires are formulated and given expression in the way men work and live.

The adequate development of the South can be measured only in the extent to which there is achieved a richer quality of community life. This fact places the responsibility for southern develop-

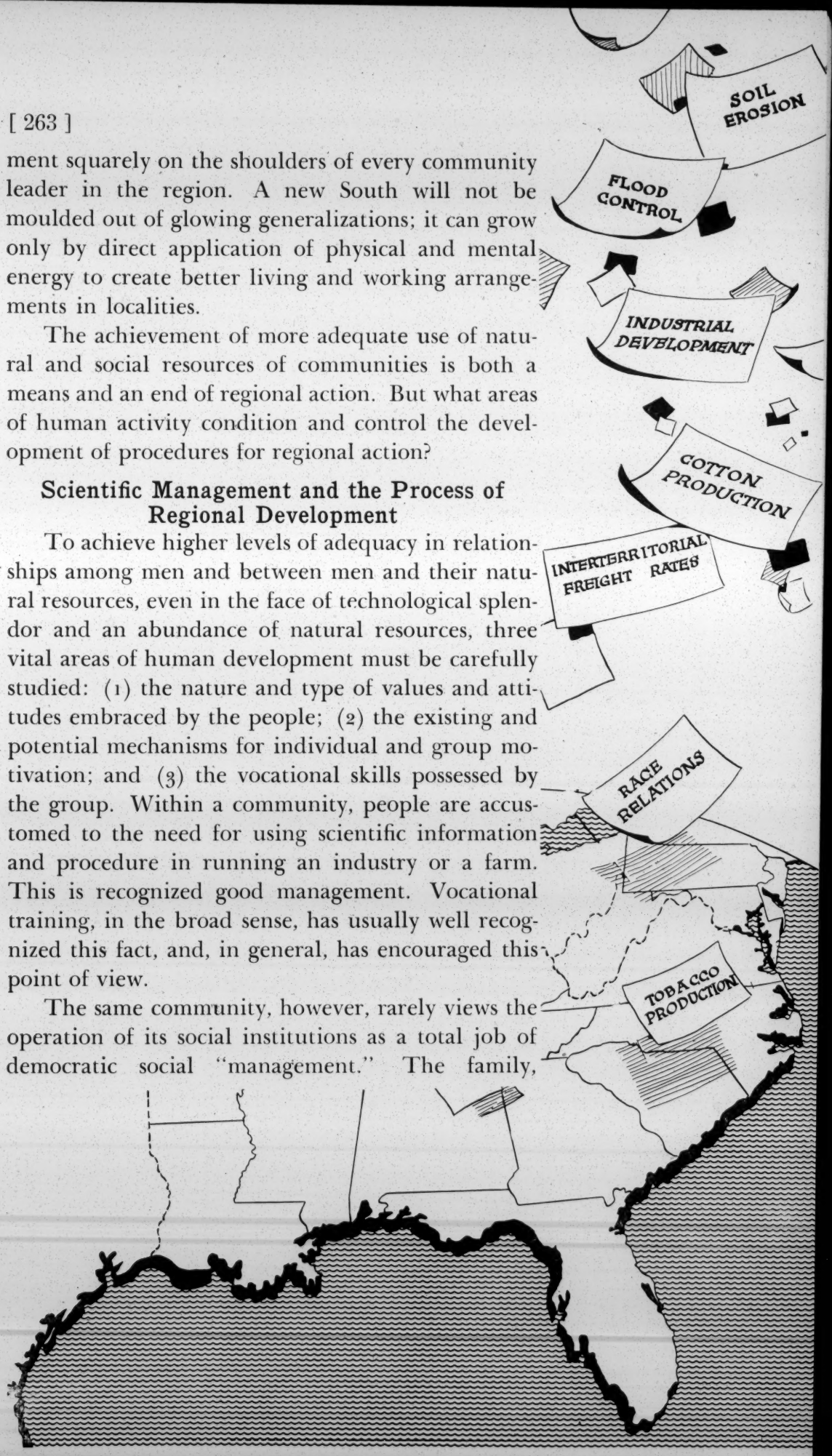
ment squarely on the shoulders of every community leader in the region. A new South will not be moulded out of glowing generalizations; it can grow only by direct application of physical and mental energy to create better living and working arrangements in localities.

The achievement of more adequate use of natural and social resources of communities is both a means and an end of regional action. But what areas of human activity condition and control the development of procedures for regional action?

Scientific Management and the Process of Regional Development

To achieve higher levels of adequacy in relationships among men and between men and their natural resources, even in the face of technological splendor and an abundance of natural resources, three vital areas of human development must be carefully studied: (1) the nature and type of values and attitudes embraced by the people; (2) the existing and potential mechanisms for individual and group motivation; and (3) the vocational skills possessed by the group. Within a community, people are accustomed to the need for using scientific information and procedure in running an industry or a farm. This is recognized good management. Vocational training, in the broad sense, has usually well recognized this fact, and, in general, has encouraged this point of view.

The same community, however, rarely views the operation of its social institutions as a total job of democratic social "management." The family,

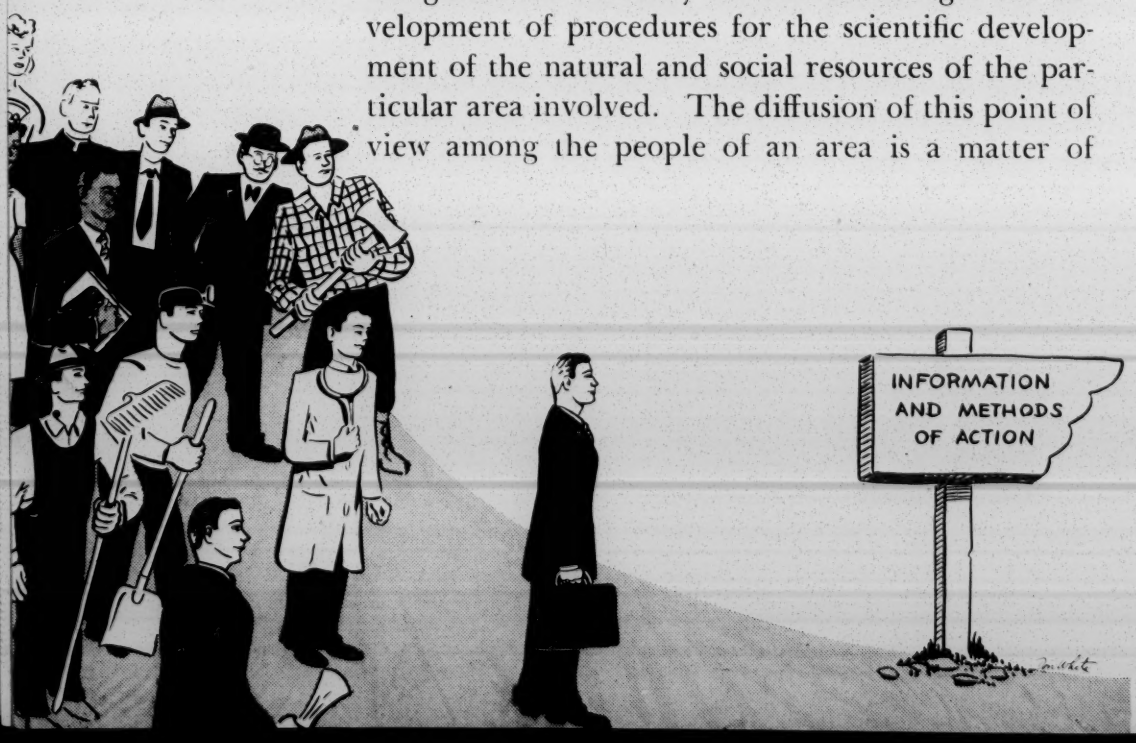


church, school, business, and government are expected somehow to meet the needs of the people without any special over-all attention. People have not yet generally accepted the fact that man has the scientific information necessary to allow him to manage more effectively the total social resources of a community.

By use of scientific information the people of a region can achieve more adequate relationships with their natural resources. Capital, technology, and business organization can be applied to problems of production, distribution, and use of commodities.

To achieve more adequate relationships among men there must be a similar democratic use of scientific management in the field of human relations. Experience has shown that the solutions of such problems as health, housing, social security, labor relations, education, and government in a democracy cannot, and need not, be left to some "invisible hand." Today, adequacy in use-relationships of man to natural resources depends more than ever upon adequacy in social relationships among men.

The major premise here is that the *processes* of regional development cannot be effectively and permanently set in motion unless there is generally accepted among the people a point of view which recognizes the necessity for and encourages the development of procedures for the scientific development of the natural and social resources of the particular area involved. The diffusion of this point of view among the people of an area is a matter of

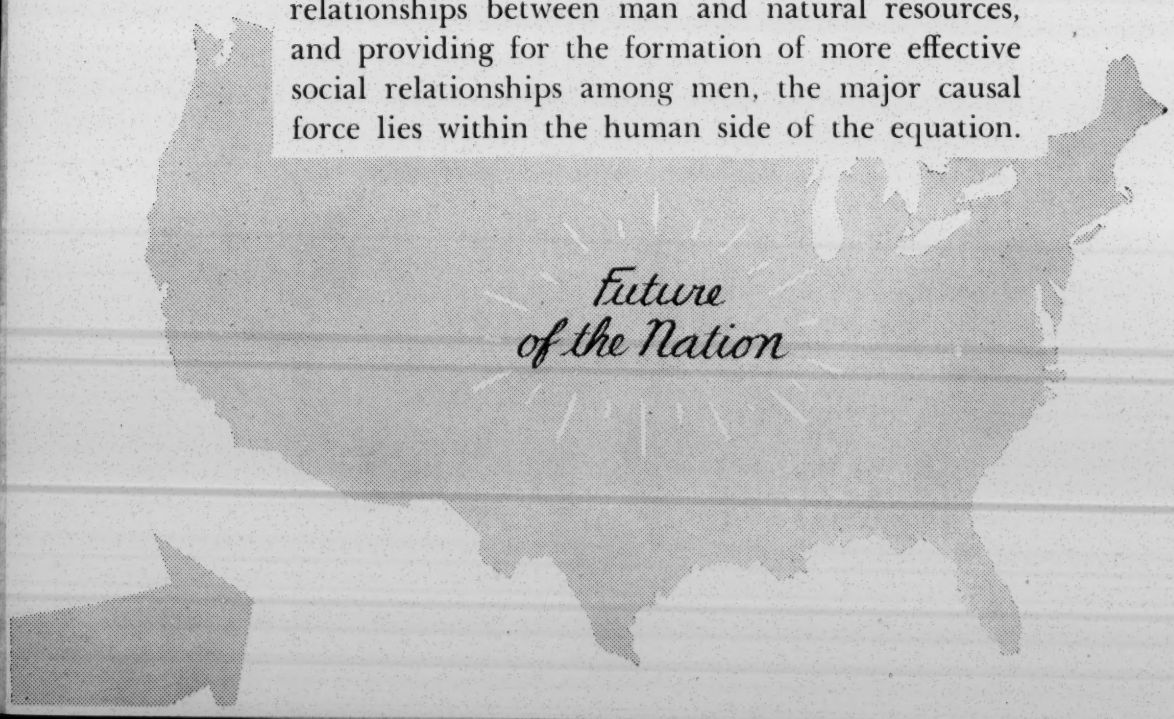


stimulating the development of values and attitudes which become reflected in activities of individuals. Vocational skills in the use of natural resources—farming, forestry, mining, industry—and vocational skills of bankers, doctors, lawyers, merchants, educators, public administrators, and others, cannot make a maximum contribution to regional development unless guided by information and a general philosophy based on *broad* principles of scientific resource management.

In the United States democratic processes are basic in developing procedures of scientific resource management. These processes require maximum individual and group participation in (1) identifying what objectives are to be pursued; (2) deciding how, or through what procedures, the objectives are to be attained; (3) implementing procedures agreed upon.

This process of reaching individual and group decision and of taking group action can be no more effective than the information, point of view, and experience which enter into the judgments made. At once it becomes apparent that education, in the very broadest sense, must be the major social process underlying the development and implementation of regional programs for scientific management of natural and social resources.

The role of education also is underscored when it is remembered that, in developing more adequate relationships between man and natural resources, and providing for the formation of more effective social relationships among men, the major causal force lies within the human side of the equation.



Machines and natural resources cannot be brought into effective productive relationship until men have the skills, attitudes, and motivation to organize adequate working and living arrangements. One can logically conclude, then, that the future of the South largely rests on the development of dynamic educational procedures which provide the region's people with skills, attitudes, and motivation to continually use available research facts for the scientific management of the area's natural and social resources.

Education for Scientific Resource Management

What kind of education would contribute to realization of a better quality of living in the South and other American regions? How can it be made realistic, down to earth? How can the task be begun? These are basic problems which must be faced frankly without using the well-known ender of many ideas for progress, "it can't be done."

Education, viewed as total life experience, cannot be drawn into neat, labeled compartments. At the same time, experiences are not educational until they have some significance for, or use in, the life of the individual or group. It would seem, then, that educational experiences designed to improve the quality of living in the South must find their focal points in terms of the individual and group problems of living.

From this point of view there can be no absolute or generalized statement as to what *content* of education would contribute to the improvement of the quality of life. Problems of living, while often reflecting general similarities among communities and among States of a region, are unique in their local incidence. Consequently, because of differences in types of problems, or in the nature of similar problems, within a region, education must look to functional guides and emphases as standards for attainment.

Elements of Resource-Use Education

Educational experiences planned with the objective of stimulating scientific resource manage-

ment, while built within a group's problems of living, should have at least five functional elements.

First, the basic facts which people learn pertaining to their resources and problems should always hold in proper perspective (1) the interrelationships and unity of the various elements of the natural environment and man's role in maintaining that unity; (2) how individuals and groups can use their total environment to develop the maximum individual and social welfare and satisfactions; and (3) the measures of adequacy of resource-use relationships in terms of the inherent productive capacity of the natural environment and of the social environment. This latter point can be gauged specifically by observing (a) what is the long-run effect of man's activities on the productive capacity of the natural environment; and (b) what is the long-run effect of man's activities of his own inherent productive capacity.

These considerations for resource-use education can be restated as a series of focal points which provide a basis for an integrated approach to the total curriculum, for example:

1. How the physical and biological materials and forces of environment provide a unified medium for life.
2. How man uses the biological and physical forces and materials of environment to meet his wants.
3. How the group life of man can be developed to keep it geared to the productive capacity of the physical and biological forces and materials of environment.
4. How man keeps healthy—physically and mentally.
5. How man develops the intellectual, physical, and spiritual capacity to use and enjoy his environment.
6. How group life contributes to and erects barriers to the full development of human capacity and environmental capacity.

7. How the values and customs of a society contribute to and erect barriers to the full development of human capacity and environmental capacity.
8. How man invents new methods for use of the natural and social aspects of environment so as to achieve full environmental capacity.

Notice that each of the above statements refers to *how* various processes take place in environment. The purpose of the *how* in each case is gauged in terms of its effect on life. In this sense, these focal points offer guides for selecting those aspects of various scientific fields which are directly pertinent to living.

Obviously nearly every environment which supports life has unique characteristics either in its physical materials and forces or in the social (cultural) materials and forces. Such unique characteristics of a given environment can serve as the starting point for application of the more general scientific principles incorporated in the categories stated above.

As an example, it is possible to present a system of questions which can serve as a framework for analysis of resource-use problems either in their local incidence, the community, or in their larger state, regional, or world impact.

1. What problem situations in environment are to be taken as indications of unscientific development of natural, human and/or social resources?
2. What usable and reliable descriptive study materials are available on these problems?
3. From an examination of such materials and field observations:
   a. What patterns of resource use can be recognized and defined as being casually related to these problems?
   b. What human groups are involved?
   c. What larger social institutions or organizations (social resources) are involved?

d. What social values or group attitudes are in conflict?
e. What natural resources are involved?
f. How are these resources being used in relationship to each other?
g. Where are inadequate use relationships between man and his resources revealed?
h. How long have such relationships been existent?
i. Has the existence of such use-patterns exhausted or damaged the natural, human, and social resources involved? If so, how?

4. What use-patterns of readjustment are needed?
5. What natural, human, and social resources that were formerly used inadequately are now available for new uses to meet the defined need?
6. What examples of adjustment may be studied?
   a. Are there any case studies or examples of areas that have made adequate adjustments to similar resource-use situations?
   b. Can these experiments be examined for effective technique and process and applied to the situation under study?
7. What will adjustment require?
   a. What changes or modifications in the nature or use of resources will be required in making the adjustment?
   b. What new natural, human, and social resources will be required?
   c. How can they be produced or created?

Subject matter in resources use should be considered not as understandings and skills to be gained through a special course or special program, but as an essential part of all formal and informal education. The biological and physical sciences, social sciences, and humanities, as conceived in formal education, can find basic points of integration on these subject matter themes. The entire curriculum of the public schools, through progressive stages of development, should infuse these principles into

existing courses and activities. College and university instructional programs face similar opportunity for emphasis and integration. Public and private agencies working with the resources and problems of an area should use these principles as guides for program development.

A second element in resource-use education is the matter of creating motivation to use resources in the most effective manner. Facts, even if thoroughly known, must exert some driving force on the individual before they effectively condition his thinking and acting. It is, therefore, necessary to surround information with appeals which are likely to precipitate action. Films, novels, group discussions, radio, newspaper editorials, church programs, as well as all types of written materials offer many avenues of attack on the problems of individual and group motivation.

A basic aspect of developing motivation to follow scientific resource-use practices is the development of individual and group responsibility for maintaining adequate use relationship between men and their natural and social resources. Soil erosion should be interpreted as reflecting irresponsible robbing of the land. Community problems such as substandard housing, venereal diseases, racial discrimination, objectively viewed, should be seen as symbols of failing community leadership. The inadvertent kindling of forest fire should incur the same community wrath as the deliberate burning of a factory or school house. The dumping of sewage into streams that might otherwise serve recreational

or water supply needs should be viewed with the same public anger as an act of dumping garbage into the center of a public playground. The adequate use of resources will not result unless motivating forces and attitudes creating an acceptance of responsibility are woven into the processes of resource-use education.

As a third element in resource-use education, people must be assisted to develop perception in knowing when they need further information. A part of this problem lies in cultivating attitudes which create a desire in people to use new scientific facts. Another part of the problem lies in assisting people to become aware of *sources* of information. State departments of health, conservation, education, State planning boards, State agricultural extension services, agricultural experiment stations, to mention only a few, are sources of information which is given in the form of reading materials, consultation, and technical assistance.

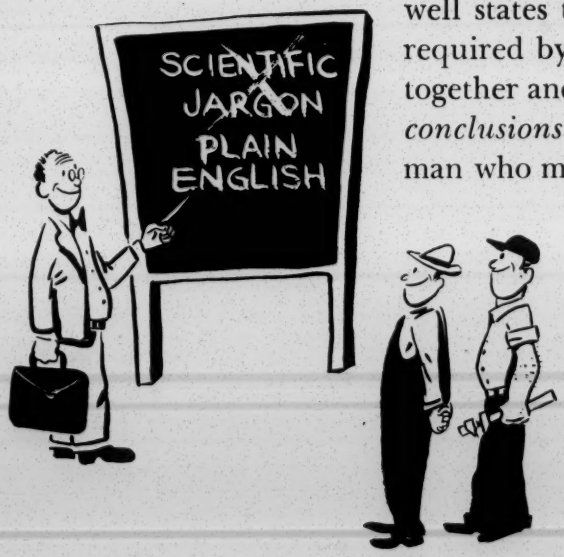
A fourth basic element in resource-use education, if it is to be integrated effectively with democratic processes, is that there be provision for people to become experienced in group decision making and group action. Assisting individuals to develop facility in group participation, while an educational problem itself, is essential to scientific management of social resources. The work of government, health service, public school, church, business clubs, P.T.A., and many institutionalized agencies, depends on group participation for its effectiveness.

Group action can result in uniting existing social resources more closely with newly developed needs, or can create new forms of social resources to meet the needs. As new needs become recognized in a community, e.g., substandard housing, stream pollution, racial discrimination, nutritional deficiencies, existing agencies have to find ways of meeting these problems, or the people have to organize new facilities to meet them.

When a large number of rural people began to discover that electricity could be made available to them through cooperative arrangements, this new form of group activity was started over large areas of the region. This represents a social resource, an invention of a new facility of group action in meeting a human need. A technical facility, electrical equipment, was brought into relationship with a need recognized by a group, through social invention, or social engineering. Individual experience in group decision making and group action is essential to this type of achievement.

Another aspect of developing facility in group participation lies in the relationship which must exist between the layman and the expert or specialist. This is a key matter in uniting people with scientific information. It is also intimately related to the problem of individual and group awareness as to *sources* of scientific information and services. To realize the full fruits of the democratic process in group decision making and planning, the experts or scientists, and laymen must be brought face to face in solving problems and implementing decisions.

An essential part of this relationship is that different kinds of experts, working in special fields that are related in their effect upon the people, should live together and work together. Mr. Lilienthal well states the principle that "unless specialists are required by appropriate managerial methods to live together and work together, they will not *unify their conclusions* so that they will make sense to the layman who must put the results to use in their lives."[2]



This second aspect of developing facility for group participation, the expert-layman relationship, is a basic two-way educational process. It breathes life into the expert's speciality; he sees his scientific findings woven into the fabric of life; he sheds his scientific jargon and, if necessary, relearns simple English as a tool for scientific expression. The layman can find self-expression and sense his part in group processes of living; a new spirit of motivation and accomplishment can spring from his group activities. Science and the expert bring new tools of thought and action, vividly real as seen in everyday application.

A fifth element in resource-use education is that there should be provision for people to develop skills, or "know how" in implementing decisions. One facet of this problem is solved by bringing the expert into the picture because he serves as a tie between the people and the technical services of the agency, business, or organization he represents. He can thus bring community problems into contact with the social resources available.

But when new skills are required, as in agriculture, industry, trades, or professions, there must be facilities for training. Adult education classes, vocational education in the public schools, apprenticeship experience in business, either in the community or in other areas—all these offer possible procedures for developing skills, more strictly of a vocational nature. No program for scientific management of a region's resources can expect to reflect success if it depends solely on "broad understandings" of sci-

Theirs is the responsibility and power of a democracy.

entific resource-use principles. Nor can it attract and hold the interest of the people.

The type of training called for here will in the main have to be given to people where they live. Colleges, universities, State and federal agencies, and private business represent social resources which can be drawn on to do the job. Its realization would demand, however, a concept of coordinated public vocational education based on the resource-use potentialities of the communities in which people live.

A Problem in Administration

From this brief discussion of elements of resource-use education, it is apparent that, just as education is viewed as total life experience, effective educational procedures to assist people in developing facility for scientific management of their resources must attempt to unite the people with all those influences and forces which can contribute to making life experience more adequate. All agencies and organizations—public, private, professional—working with or interested in the resources and problems of a region, its communities and States, have a stake in the problem of achieving this unity of educational effort. Some agencies have more direct responsibilities, e.g., the public schools, the churches, colleges and universities, agricultural extension services, agricultural experiment stations, State planning boards, State departments of education, health, welfare, conservation, and, in addition, many regional and federal agencies and organizations. These agencies, added to private business, constitute the social resources of the region. They must achieve some unity of objective and cooperative coordination of educational effort.

From this point of view, resource-use education can, in part, be seen as a gigantic job of educational administration. Educational techniques, media, curricula, agency and institutional relationships are points of focus which require continual appraisal as to their effectiveness in contributing to scientific resource use. Each phase of appraisal would in

some way be evaluated in light of the five elements of resource-use education.

A review of these elements reveals that each represents some aspect of interdependence among different varieties of educational and research activity. To create a recognition of the essential unity of the parts of the natural environment, including man's behavior in use of resources; to get the layman familiar with sources of scientific information; to develop motivation and a feeling of responsibility for scientific use of resources; to bring experts into working relationships with laymen; and to provide for training in new resource-use practices—all these matters, if they are to be successfully pursued, require new levels of cooperative coordination in administration of progams for education, research, and action.

Educational Administration Applied to Resource-Use in the Community

The anchor points for achieving regional development through administrative integration of educational and research activity must be deeply rooted in the philosophy and action of the local public school. The processes of scientific resource management, in final analysis, are set in motion in the community area of social organization. Throughout the greater part of the United States the school is the major center for community activities. In most cases, it is the only source of formal educational activity. Therefore, the responsibility of the local school in resource-use education is inescapable.

It also is obvious that in successful education

for scientific resource management the school principal, county superintendent, and State department of education must fit into a broadly conceived concept of public administration. On the one hand, they face the responsibility of assisting a rising generation to attain competence in use of their natural and social resources. On the other hand, these public school administrators must serve as catalytic agents in bringing the facilities of other educational and research agencies into effective contact with the people on community level.

In carrying out these responsibilities, the school principal and superintendent, collaborating with their staffs and lay leaders in their area, should (1) develop actions within their school systems which will increase the effectiveness of resource-use education within the school and will relate resource study, in part, to the resource needs of the area; and (2) examine the effectiveness of their procedures for working with other public and private agencies serving the resource-use needs of their people and who have materials and consultants that would be useful in the public school program.

If local schools are to go successfully through this process of thinking and action, and in turn facilitate effective scientific resource management in their communities, the State departments of education, State universities, land grant colleges, teachers' colleges, and many other State and Federal agencies will find opportunities to gauge their programs more effectively in line with problems of living in the areas they serve. Teacher training, both in-service and pre-service, processes of curriculum development and integration, school administration, and working relationships with and among non-school agencies—all these matters will have to be oriented, in part, to meet an area's needs for resource-use education.

Integrated Programs for Colleges and Universities

In a program of regional development, the in-

stitutions of higher learning should serve as "step up" transformers. They should provide the facility for infusing new power into the battery of skills and motivation which keep the wheels of social and economic progress turning.

The land-grant colleges and universities face new opportunities to reexamine their functions and organization in terms of the resource-use needs of their service areas. Fast transportation, new media of mass communication make it possible, as never before, for institutions to fuse the research, extension, and teaching functions into the total life of their state and region.

The new crop of engineers, lawyers, teachers, doctors, agricultural specialists, ministers, business men and others should excel in technical skills. But they should also possess a high motivation for public service. They should be humbled by the power of knowledge they possess and use it for the maximum development of the resource-use capacity of their areas.

In-service assistance programs for ministers, newspaper editors, county and state officials, business men, engineers, and many others, would provide opportunity for college faculties and students to work off campus. Also the college campus could become the scene of institutes and conferences designed to fill the needs of leadership training for the state's citizens.

Institutions of higher learning can and should maintain high respect for the great cultural traditions of history, literature, and art. But at the same time their curriculum, research, and administrative methods should reflect a close contact with the pressing problems and issues of the present and a concern for scientifically shaping the future in cooperation with all agencies involved.

Regions and Social Action

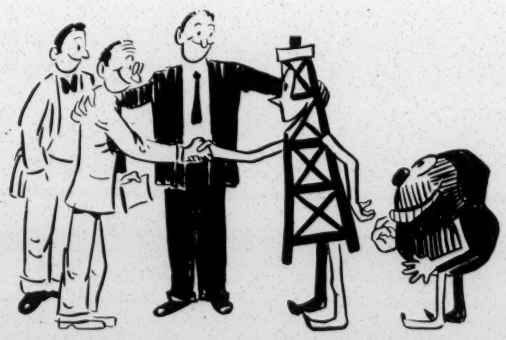
Education as a process thus furnishes an instrument to weave science and human need into new patterns of social action. The resources of a region

form the frame for these new patterns of social action. Science reveals the alternative uses to which resources may be put in the process of achieving the capacity of men and their environment.

The supreme goal is to find ways of resource use which release the full power of man's intellectual and physical capacity consistent with nature's laws. Resource-use education within the regional framework suggests one way of achieving the integration of social effort toward that goal.

[1] An abbreviated form of this article was prepared as an address for the 1945 Conference of the American Association of School Administrators. It was published in the 1945 Official Report of the American Association of School Administrators.

[2] David E. Lilienthal, *TVA—Democracy on the March* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, pp. 121-122.



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Economic Survey of the South

Article No. 12—LABOR IN THE SOUTH

15% of Nation's Industrial Labor Force Is Now in South

By JOHN T. NORMAN
Washington Bureau,
Fairchild Publications

THE men and women who labor in the mills, mines and factories of the South now make up more than 15 per cent of the nation's industrial labor force. Their human energy and skills are absolutely essential to each new surge of industrial growth in the region.

The labor power of these men and women is a commodity, the purchase of which must be measured as part of the costs of production. Workers themselves are consumers, and their wages determine in large part how much of the goods produced in the South can be consumed by the people of the region.

The South has no shortage of human resources. Back in 1940, 37 million of the nation's 132 million persons lived in the South. The working force, both industrial and otherwise, totaled 13,800,000 in that year. By 1945, the population of the South increased to about 43.5 millions, and the South's labor force to about 19,600,000.

OUT-MIGRATION

The region, authorities say, has the nation's greatest potential rate of growth. Its labor force is young and mobile. But for years there has been a heavy migration of workers out of the South. There also has been a strong migration trend within the region—from tht farms to the towns and cities, from the Southeast to the Southwest.

Behind this out-migration is the pressure of a high birth rate. Between 1935 and 1939, for example, the net reproduction rate of the Southern farm population was found to be 80 per cent greater than the rate necessary to reproduce itself. In the absence of a heavy out-migration, the population of the South could double during every generation of 28 years.

Illustrating the mobility of Southern workers, it was found that during the war years 3,200,000 Southerners moved from one county to another county within their own State; another 1,600,000 moved from their native State to another State within the South.

On the relative youthfulness of the working population, the medium age of Southern workers in 1940 was 25 years; in that same

the South (13 States) totaled about 1,657,500 in 1939, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In the midwar period (1943), it rose to 2,836,100. By August, 1946, the situation was said to be "getting back to normal." Industrial employment then totaled 2,315,300. In the first half of 1947, there were several signs that "getting back to normal" did not mean that the total would skid on down to the 1939 level. In fact, the annual average for industrial employment in the South in the first half of 1947 was not 1,657,500, but rather 2,381,000.

I. Where the Jobs Are

Before the war, the non-durable goods group of industries, led by textiles, provided more than two-thirds of industrial jobs in the South. Shipbuilding and aircraft production mushroomed across the South and along the Gulf Coast during World War II. Durable goods industries took the lead in

thing to the relative position of the 13 Southern States in terms of their industrial importance. BLS recalls that North Carolina was first before 1940, when it accounted for 18 per cent of all industrial workers. Prewar, Georgia ranked second with 12 per cent; Tennessee, third with more than 10 per cent; Texas, fourth with about 10 per cent. By 1943, Texas had stepped out into the lead. Southwestern States (Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Arkansas) now have one-fourth of industrial workers in the region. Wartime industrial employment increased in North and South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, but the proportion was less.

II. Unionization

There is really nothing new about "Operation Dixie," special campaigns set off relatively recently by the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor to organize workers in the South.

Back in 1898, Samuel Gompers, then head of the AFL, convinced his executive council that organizers should be sent into Dixie. And in 1899, President Gompers told an AFL convention that Southern workers were taking an interest in the movement and were forming union locals. Just before the turn of the century, Mr. Gompers himself served as an organizer for the United Garment Workers during the only break in his long presidency of the AFL up to his death.

Even before the AFL started to organize southern workers there was an organization known as the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor. Formed in 1869 by a group of Philadelphia garment workers, the Knights of Labor enrolled some 30,000 southern members by 1886. Members included craftsmen, mill workers and poor farmers. All races were admitted. When the Populist movement attracted farmers in the late 1880's, the Knights of Labor began to fade.

The union movement in the South has had numerous ups and downs—something which also is true nationally, of course. The first important upward surge in the South might be said to extend from 1890 to about 1902. The lead was taken in the building trades, printing trades, and railroad shops. Cotton mill unionism

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On the relative youthfulness of the working population, the medium age of Southern workers in 1940 was 25 years; in that same year, it was 31 years elsewhere. In 1940, 52 per cent of the South's labor force was under 35 years of age, compared with 46 per cent under 35 in the North and 44 per cent in the West.

One other significant point: Some 900,000 workers in the South picked up new industrial skills during the war.

Historically, the South usually has more workers than it has jobs. Only in wartime has the labor supply been tight and the bargaining position of the worker "firm." Today, in a period of post-war full employment, that bargaining position is still relatively firm.

In one Southern city, a recent survey showed a continuing shortage of skilled workers, but employers reported no difficulty in hiring unskilled hands. It is an axiom of the labor specialists that the skilled worker always is the last to feel that softening of the labor market. In the South, however, industrial employment is marked by a higher proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled workers to skilled workers than elsewhere in the nation.

Manufacturing employment in the South (13 States) totaled about 1,657,500 in 1939, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In the midwar period (1943), it rose to 2,836,100. By August, 1946, the situation was said to be "getting back to normal." Industrial employment then totaled 2,315,300. In the first half of 1947, there were several signs that "getting back to normal" did not mean that the total would skid on down to the 1939 level. In fact, the annual average for industrial employment in the South in the first half of 1947 was not 1,657,500, but rather 2,381,000.

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Textile mill products (primarily cotton textiles) currently is the No. 1 employer of factory workers. Before the war textiles had 30 per cent of all industrial workers; after the war, 25 per cent. Others are:

1. Lumber and basic timber products accounted for 12.5 per cent of all industrial jobs both before and after World War II.

2. Food processing now accounts for 12.5 per cent.

3. The chemical industry accounted for 6 per cent in 1939, and has been surging ahead since, both during the war and in the postwar period.

4. Apparel and other finished textile products was the South's No. 5 employer of factory hands in 1946. It gained 43 per cent over prewar.

5. Furniture and finished lumber products ranked almost on a par with apparel. In 1946, apparel employment was 129,400, while there were 122,700 furniture workers.

6. The iron and steel group was next in line. It accounted for 5 per cent of the South's total industrial jobs before the war, 7 per cent during the war, and 5 per cent again after the war.

7. Transporation equipment (planes and ships) occupied only a small corner in the industrial employment picture before the war. This was enlarged to 17 per cent during the war. It shrank back to less than 4 per cent when the war ended.

INDUSTRIAL IMPORTANCE

The war years also did something to the relative position of the 13 Southern States in terms of their industrial importance. BLS recalls that North Carolina was first before 1940, when it accounted for 18 per cent of all industrial workers. Prewar, Georgia ranked second with 12 per cent; Tennessee, third with more than 10 per cent; Texas, fourth with about 10 per cent. By 1943, Texas had stepped out into the lead. Southwestern States (Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Arkansas) now have one-fourth of industrial workers in the region. Wartime industrial employment increased in North and South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, but the proportion was less.

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WORK WEEK; BROAD COVERAGE

1. **No Southern State has legislation for an eight-hour day, a 48-hour week, and a six-day week, with broad coverage. Women workers are more broadly covered, but Alabama does not regulate hours for adults; other States go well above 48-hour week.**

MINIMUM WAGE LAWS:

1. **Four Southern States have enacted minimum wage legislation; men not covered.**

Arkansas law dates from 1915, covers women in specific industries. It specifies a minimum of $1.25 per day for "experienced" women workers.

Kentucky has wage-board type of minimum wage for women and minors. Top minimum is 30 cents per hour for women restaurant workers.

Louisiana law, also wage-board type, covers women and girls, but since 1938—when law was passed—no minimum wage order has been put into effect.

Oklahoma law, also wage-board, now covers women, but enforcement is prevented by injunction so the law is said to be inoperative.

Agricultural workers excluded in all four States.

INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK:

1. **Two Southern States, Texas and Tennessee, have home work laws.**

In Tennessee there is no licensing of employers who put out home work.

In Texas the home work law is administered by State Health Department. That law was passed in 1936; 10 years later, the State Health Department had not prohibited home work in any industry on grounds that it would injure health or welfare of home workers.

WAGE PAYMENT LAWS:

1. **Only Florida and Mississippi do NOT have some sort of law requiring monthly or semi-monthly payment of wages. These laws vary widely in other States, however.**

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS:

1. **All States except Mississippi have workmen's compensation laws—laws designed to assure payment of benefits to injured employes or to dependents of those killed in industry, regardless of fault. There are two types—compulsory and elective; under the elective system, the employer may reject the compensation plan, in which case his liability for injuries becomes broader under common law.**
2. **Only four States—Arkansas, Oklahoma, Kentucky, and Virginia—have compulsory laws, and in Kentucky and Oklahoma, coverage applies only to hazardous jobs. The Oklahoma law was broadened in 1947 to define hazardous employment as including any worker of an employer who procures an insurance policy covering such worker.**
3. **The law does not apply in any of the Southern States, except Louisiana, where employers have only a few workers. (Louisiana lists hazardous and extra-hazordous employments without placing a numerical limitation on exceptions.)**
4. **Death benefits paid to dependents of workmen covered by workmen's compensation were increased in laws passed in 1947 by Texas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Florida. In 12 Southern States having workmen's compensation laws, maximum percentage of wages in disability cases ranges from 50 to 66⅔ per cent.**
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6. **All compensation laws cover minors legally employed; in addition, the laws of Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia also cover minors illegally employed on the same basis as if they were legally employed. In Alabama and Florida, extra compensation is provided for illegally employed minors injured on the jobs covered. Laws of Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Tennessee do not cover minors illegally employed.**

CONCILIATION, MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION LAWS.

1. **North Carolina and Oklahoma have permanent conciliation and mediation services.**
2. **Labor commissioners in Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, and the commissioner of industrial relations in Kentucky, have authority to mediate or promote voluntary conciliation or mediation.**
3. **The Governor of Alabama and that State's Department of Industrial Relations are empowered to promote mediation.**
4. **Five States have no mediation or conciliation machinery. These are Florida, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.**
5. **Arbitration under special procedures for disputes is provided for in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Texas.**

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LAWS:

1. **The right to organize and bargain collectively is recognized by law in Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, but the Alabama law also recognizes right of employer to refrain.**
2. **Louisiana and Oklahoma have laws limiting the use of court injunctions in labor disputes.**
3. **Oklahoma puts limited restrictions on courts in labor disputes.**
4. **Blacklisting of workers is prohibited in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina Oklahoma, Texas and Virginia.**
5. **"Yellow dog" contracts are outlawed in Louisiana.**

UNION REGULATION LAWS:

1. **All States in the South except Kentucky, Oklahoma, and South Carolina have laws regulating unions. Most of these laws now are being tested in courts. Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia prohibit closed shop or other "union security" agreements.**
2. **Arkansas and Florida have "right to work" constitutional amendments. Arkansas passed a new "right to work" law in 1947.**
3. **Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia have laws regulating unions during strikes, picketing, organizational campaigns. Georgia and Texas passed new laws in 1947 restricting picketing and other strike activities. Texas passed another law prohibiting secondary boycott.**
4. **Alabama outlaws "wildcat" strikes. Florida,**

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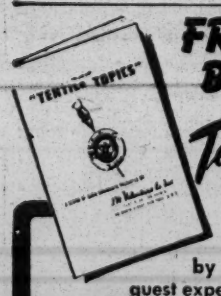

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Continued from Page Four

got a start at Augusta, Ga., in 1898, extending later to North Carolina and Virginia. By 1902, however, unsuccessful strikes broke the back of the cotton mill unions.

WAR IMPETUS

Not until World War I, did Southern workers demonstrate a really strong interest in unions. There was a manpower shortage. Prices were rising. There was a favorable attitude in Washington toward unions. Tobacco, iron and steel, coal mining and textile industries were organized. Lumber and furniture industires were not affected much by this cycle of unionism. In fact, the lumber industry came through World War II without extensive organization.

Along about 1922, the trade union movement in the South hit the skids again.

Between 1922 and 1929, union activity reappeared in North Carolina textile mills.

During these years, New England mills were having rough going. Bankruptcy and voluntary liquidation was widespread, although Southern mills were relatively prosperous. New England mills adopted industrial rationalization, developed efficiency systems and "readjusted the work load."

Southern mills picked up this technique, which workers called the "stretch-out." The "stretch-out" was put into operation quickly, without preliminary educational campaigns among workers. And the "stretch-out" contributed a great deal to a series of explosive cotton mill strikes in 1929, according to contemporaneous reports. In 1929, more of the cotton mill strikes were broken—lost by the workers—than were won.

In January 1930, the AFL set off a new organizing campaign at Charlotte, N. C. The spearhead pointed at textiles. This time a particular effort was made to convince employers that trade unionism was something to benefit both workers and management, but this persuasive technique failed and a more militant approach was taken. Meanwhile, a full-fledged business depression blossomed across the land.

Defeat of the United Textile caused union leaders to admit that the 1930 organizing campaign had failed. Then came the "flying squadron" technique of 1934—also ineffective.

SUCCESS UNDER 7-A

The next significant development in union organization came hand-in-hand with section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

With the help of 7-A, which recognized the right of workers to join unions and engage in collective bargaining, the United Mine Workers made a third effort to

VAN A. BITTNER

Director of the organizing committee, Congress of Industrial Organizations.

workers at Danville, Va., in 1931 organize the coal miners of Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee—and succeeded.

The AFL tobacco workers' union organized locals in North Carolina and Virginia. Iron and steel workers in Alabama joined unions. Oil workers in the Southwest also signed up. Textiles went through another stormy period under NRA when the "stretch-out" issue came up again.

In May, 1935, the Supreme Court declared NIRA unconstitutional. Yet the experts on the scene at the time declared that the labor movement in the South had grown considerably stronger under this short-lived legislation.

Soon after NIRA went out the window, Congress enacted the National Labor Relations Act. The right of workers to organize unions again was spelled out. Also in 1935, the committee for Industrial organization was formed within the AFL. Later to become the Congress of Industrial Organization, this group set out to organize workers on an industrial basis, rather than along craft lines.

Between 1935 and the end of World War II, both the AFL and CIO made tremendous progress in organizing workers.

SOME WEAK SPOTS

Yet, at the end of World War II, BLS was able to point to several weak spots in the pattern of Southern unionism, giving these examples:

1. Lumber industry — still "virtually untouched."

2. Textile mills—the bulk of them unorganized.

3. Chemical industry—unionism weak.

4. Food processing — completely unorganized.

5. Service trades—completely unorganized.

III. "Operation Dixie"

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ANTI-LABOR LAWS

Mr. Googe said the publicity also has given the Southern States Industrial Council and other anti-labor organizations an opportunity to make great gains in anti-labor

unions of the AFL; most street car men are in the AFL transit union; all paper and pulp mill workers are organized, except at two paper companies; printing trades, building trades, basic steel and mining also are well organized, with the CIO having steel and UMW the coal miners; light metal industries are divided between the AFL and CIO, with CIO having some of the Reynolds Metal plants while AFL has the Baton Rouge (La.) plant of Permanente and the Mobile (Ala.) and Alcoa (Tenn.) plants of the Aluminum Company of America. AFL also has organized the Dow Chemical Co.'s plant in Texas, says Mr. Googe, adding that the new agricultural machinery plants of International Harvester and Allis-Chalmers are either organized or are in the process of being organized.

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NLRB Election Results

IN THE 2,312 collective bargaining elections

Continued from Page Four

got a start at Augusta, Ga., in 1898, extending later to North Carolina and Virginia. By 1902, however, unsuccessful strikes broke the back of the cotton mill unions.

WAR IMPETUS

Not until World War I, did Southern workers demonstrate a really strong interest in unions. There was a manpower shortage. Prices were rising. There was a favorable attitude in Washington toward unions. Tobacco, iron and steel, coal mining and textile industries were organized. Lumber and furniture industires were not affected much by this cycle of unionism. In fact, the lumber industry came through World War II without extensive organization.

Along about 1922, the trade union movement in the South hit the skids again.

Between 1922 and 1929, union activity reappeared in North Carolina textile mills.

During these years, New England mills were having rough going. Bankruptcy and voluntary liquidation was widespread, although Southern mills were relatively prosperous. New England mills adopted industrial rationalization, developed efficiency systems and "readjusted the work load."

Southern mills picked up this technique, which workers called the "stretch-out." The "stretch-out" was put into operation quickly, without preliminary educational campaigns among workers. And the "stretch-out" contributed a great deal to a series of explosive cotton mill strikes in 1929, according to contemporaneous reports. In 1929, more of the cotton mill strikes were broken—lost by the workers—than were won.

In January 1930, the AFL set off a new organizing campaign at Charlotte, N. C. The spearhead pointed at textiles. This time a particular effort was made to convince employers that trade unionism was something to benefit both workers and management, but this persuasive technique failed and a more militant approach was taken. Meanwhile, a full-fledged business depression blossomed across the land.

Defeat of the United Textile caused union leaders to admit that the 1930 organizing campaign had failed. Then came the "flying squadron" technique of 1934—also ineffective.

SUCCESS UNDER 7-A

The next significant development in union organization came hand-in-hand with section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

With the help of 7-A, which recognized the right of workers to join unions and engage in collective bargaining, the United Mine Workers made a third effort to

VAN A. BITTNER

Director of the organizing committee, Congress of Industrial Organizations.

workers at Danville, Va., in 1931 organize the coal miners of Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee—and succeeded.

The AFL tobacco workers' union organized locals in North Carolina and Virginia. Iron and steel workers in Alabama joined unions. Oil workers in the Southwest also signed up. Textiles went through another stormy period under NRA when the "stretch-out" issue came up again.

In May, 1935, the Supreme Court declared NIRA unconstitutional. Yet the experts on the scene at the time declared that the labor movement in the South had grown considerably stronger under this short-lived legislation.

Soon after NIRA went out the window, Congress enacted the National Labor Relations Act. The right of workers to organize unions again was spelled out. Also in 1935, the committee for Industrial organization was formed within the AFL. Later to become the Congress of Industrial Organization, this group set out to organize workers on an industrial basis, rather than along craft lines.

Between 1935 and the end of World War II, both the AFL and CIO made tremendous progress in organizing workers.

SOME WEAK SPOTS

Yet, at the end of World War II, BLS was able to point to several weak spots in the pattern of Southern unionism, giving these examples:

1. Lumber industry — still "virtually untouched."

2. Textile mills—the bulk of them unorganized.

3. Chemical industry—unionism weak.

4. Food processing — completely unorganized.

5. Service trades—completely unorganized.

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There have been widely varying statements as to the membership goals of these drives—the figure 1 million was, for instance, most often used about CIO's "Operation Dixie" — but neither organization will now agree that there was ever a precise, long-range goal.

From the start, the major union groups were concentrating on workers in the same industries. They competed, for example, in the organization of workers in textiles, furniture, lumber, rubber, chemicals, packinghouses, steel and oil industries.

No one has been able to estimate how much time was lost in raids on plants already represented by a competing union. This fratricidal struggle was not helped by a speech which AFL President William Green delivered in 1946.

Mr. Green declared that Southern workers had nothing in common with the "foreign philosophies" of the CIO. The CIO immediately came back with a statement that 85 per cent of its organizers were Southern born, and 75 per cent were war veterans.

MEMBERSHIP GAINS

In October, 1947, the report of the AFL executive council to the 66th AFL Convention in San Francisco said an over-all membership gain of 425,000 was made in the South between June, 1946, and July 31, 1947. About 330,000 of these members were in new locals, new shops or firms or new bargaining units, it was explained. Some 65,000 of the total was picked up in plants where AFL already had locals.

A year earlier, the AFL annual convention was told that 120,000 new members had been signed up against a goal of 1 million new members in the South. By the end of January, 1947, the AFL had claimed 270,000 new members.

In the year ending October, 1947, the CIO said it had gained 280,000 new members, with the largest number of gains in North Carolina, Texas and Tennessee, Earlier (in January, 1947), CIO claimed between 150,000 and 170,000 new members in "Operation Dixie" membership campaigns carried on in 550 Southern plants.

The recriminations which marked the opening of the organizing campaigns by the AFL and CIO in 1946 were still going strong 18 monthes later.

"Throughout the Southern campaign," complained the AFL executive council, "a great deal of our energy has, of necessity, been expended in protecting our existing local unions from raids by the CIO's organization campaign invasion.

"The CIO Southern campaign was a complete failure in textiles and lumber. The first of this year they realized the failure of their invasion tactics and completely changed their strategy and, through 1947, have concentrated their activities, in a large measure, to raiding wherever possible our local unions . . . Their raids in lumber and the textile industry,

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ANTI-LABOR LAWS

Mr. Googe said the publicity also has given the Southern States Industrial Council and other anti-labor organizations an opportunity to make great gains in anti-labor legislation in State legislatures while CIO and AFL activities were concentrated on the organization of new industries.

Speaking of the current union picture, Mr. Googe says that all of the South's power companies, except those in Louisiana, are now organized by the AFL International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Here's the way he sums up the situation in other industries:

All railroad workers are organized either as members of the four unaffiliated operating brotherhoods or in the 17 non-operating rail unions of the AFL; most street car men are in the AFL transit union; all paper and pulp mill workers are organized, except at two paper companies; printing trades, building trades, basic steel and mining also are well organized, with the CIO having steel and UMW the coal miners; light metal industries are divided between the AFL and CIO, with CIO having some of the Reynolds Metal plants while AFL has the Baton Rouge (La.) plant of Permanente and the Mobile (Ala.) and Alcoa (Tenn.) plants of the Aluminum Company of America. AFL also has organized the Dow Chemical Co.'s plant in Texas, says Mr. Googe, adding that the new agricultural machinery plants of International Harvester and Allis-Chalmers are either organized or are in the process of being organized.

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The International Longshoremen's Association (AFL) has organized waterfront workers along the South Atlantic and Gulf Coast. The National Maritime Union (CIO) has considerable organization among the crews of the Mississippi river barges. The CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has organized back of the Gulf waterfront, with 22 locals, 65 contracts and 9,000 members reported from New Orleans and Baton Rouge, La.

In the textile and apparel fields the AFL-UTW, CIO Textile Workers' Union, AFL-UGW, CIO Amal-

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NLRB Election Results

IN THE 2,312 collective bargaining elections which the National Labor Relations Board held in the 13 States covered by this series, between the beginning of the AFL and CIO Southern organizing drives and the effective date of the Taft-Hartley law, workers chose the AFL in 758 contests, the CIO in 692 contests, unaffiliated unions in 197 cases, and rejected any union in 665 cases. (The organizing drives began in March, 1946; the Taft-Hartley law became fully effective Aug. 22, 1947.)

Here is the breakdown:

There were 238 contests involving an AFL union, a CIO union and the always present: "no union." The AFL won 65 of these; CIO 128; and "no union," 45. Workers eligible to vote in these contests totaled 64,380, and 53,859 valid votes were cast. The AFL got 18,557 votes; the CIO, 28,449; with 6,803 votes deciding the outcome of 45 contests where workers decided on having "no union."

There were 14 collective bargaining elections where Southern workers had a choice of the AFL, the CIO, an unaffiliated union, or "no union." AFL won none of these; CIO took five; unaffiliated unions won eight; and in one case the result was "no union."

Eligible voters in these 14 contests totaled 7,886; valid votes cast numbered 6,778. The AFL got 1,012; CIO, 2,655; unaffiliated unions, 3,030; "no union," 81.

The largest single group of collective bargaining elections—1,023—put up to workers the choice of whether they wanted the AFL or "no union." AFL won 675 of these; "no union," 348. Eligible voters totaled 93,250 and 79,555 valid votes were cast. The composite result: AFL got 45,630 votes; "no union," 33,925.

During this same period, there were 756 elections where the workers had a choice of a CIO union, or "no union." This group, incidentally, involved the largest number of eligible voters and valid votes cast. CIO won 538 contests; 218 resulted in "no union." Eligible voters totaled 95,746; valid votes cast, 83,446. Of the valid votes, CIO got 47,553; "no union," 35,913.

In elections where workers made a choice between the AFL, an unaffiliated union, or no union at all, they picked the AFL 18 times, the unaffiliated union, 28 times. In none of these 46 elections did they decide on "no union." Eligible voters in his smaller group of contests totaled 7,027; valid votes cast, 5,839. AFL got 2,462 ballots; unaffiliated, 3,204; "no union," 173.

When the choice was between the CIO, an unaffiilated union or "no union," the unaffiliated union won 31 contests; CIO, 21; "no union," four. In these 56 contests, the eligible voters totaled 23,852; valid votes cast, 20,397. The division of all votes in contests of this type; unaffiliated, 10,388; CIO, 8,922; "no union," 1,087.

In the final category where workers had a choice of an unaffiliated union or "no union" they picked the unaffiliated union 130 times, and "no union," 49 times. Eligible voters totaled 13,337; valid votes cast, 11,739. Unaffiliated unions got 9,294 votes, while 2,445 workers said they wanted no union.

In the seven combinations of collective bargaining balloting in the South as described by the NLRB in its special statistical study, the figures would tend to show (in some instances) that a smaller relative number of votes won "victories" for the "no union" column. For example, collective bargaining elections in the first category (AFL, CIO and "no union") reflected 45 "no union" decisions on the basis of 6,803 votes, while it took 18,557 votes to win 65 AFL victories.

Here are the totals of valid votes cast in each classification:

CIO—123,552 (four combinations).

"No union"—80,427 (seven combinations).

AFL—67,661 (four combinations).

Unaffiliated unions—25,916 (four combinations).

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IV. Unionism—The Longer View

Aside from progress made by special organizing campaigns, and disregarding temporarily the effects of State and Federal legislation deliberately designed to check or promote the growth of unions, there are certain factors within the South itself which either retard or assist the union movement.

Government labor experts, discussing these matter, first observe that when organized labor is going ahead nationally, it also goes ahead in the South; and when labor runs into lean years, unions everywhere are kept busy holding previous gains.

The general business outlook also affects unionism.

In the past, union strength in the South has ebbed during hard times, but as yet no definite pattern has been established on what will happen to the newer industrial unionism in the event of a major recession.

Some experienced organizers say that the best time to sign up new members is when an industrial decline has just begun. At such a time, they say, unorganized workers get wind of forthcoming wage cuts and lay-offs.

A lot of workers join a union because they believe in unions, or because the union can show collective strength in bargaining for better wages or improved working conditions. But when job security is threatened, union membership becomes a still stronger magnet.

In the depth of a depression, plants are closed and the jobs are just not available; then the unions must concentrate on holding their membership.

RETARDING FACTORS

Some factors in the South which are said to retard unionism over the long run include:

State and National Labor Law Summary

Continued from Page Four

Georgia, Louisiana have similar laws, with conditions.

5. **Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas have "anti-violence" laws outlawing gathering near any place where a labor dispute exists and forbidding the use of threats of force to keep other workers out of plants. The law also prohibits the use of threats, force or coercion to keep an employer from using any materials, equipment or service. Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Alabama have made violation of such laws a felony. (The United States Supreme Court has just agreed to hear a test case involving the Arkansas law.)**
6. **A Florida law prohibits picketing of homes, away from plants being struck; bans other "non-peaceable" picketing.**
7. **Florida, Texas and Virginia passed laws in 1947 regulating disputes in public utilities.**
8. **Texas passed a law this year prohibiting strikes by public employes.**
9. **As part of existing laws restricting "union security," Texas and Arkansas passed laws in 1947 prohibiting the automatic check-off.**

CHILD LABOR:

1. **Five States—North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana and Florida—set 16 years as the minimum age for factory employment. Texas has a 15-year law for factory work; other States have 14-year minimum for factory work. Some States have no minimums for non-factory employment outside school hours or cover no work outside school hours.**

APPRENTICESHIPS:

1. **Florida passed in 1947 a law creating an apprenticeship council within industrial commission; it is authorized to establish standards for apprentice agreements, to issue rules and regulations.**

SAFETY AND HEALTH:

1. **South Carolina passed a law in 1947 directing the State Health Board to make regulations for control of industrial plants, including protection of workers from fumes, gases, and dust.**
2. **Occupational disease laws were passed in 1947 by Tennessee and Texas. Neither law provides general coverage, but both list certain diseases which are compensable; in Tennessee, employers may reject the schedule and elect to be bound by full coverage.**

EQUAL PAY LAWS (FOR WOMEN WORKERS):

1. **No Southern State has such a law.**

organization of unorganized plants since the passage of the law. The tendency is to "mark time" while complex legal points are settled. However, it is generally agreed that it will be years before the law is clarified through administrative and court rulings even though a number of test cases already have been started. In addition, Congress may modify the act at any time. For example, there is again talk of prohibiting nationwide collective bargaining, although no major changes in the law are expected in 1948.

The Taft-Hartley Act prohibits the closed shop. Some unions and employers are continuing closed shop agreements by contract, entirely outside of the 1947 Labor-Management Relations Act. In such cases, of course, the National Labor Relations Board has nothing to do with it. NLRB General Counsel Robert N. Denham emphatically disapproves of such contracts.

The Taft-Hartley law does not prohibit union shop agreements, if the majority of workers in a plant vote for it, but some Southern States have passed State laws outlawing the union shop. It is important to note that, if the State laws are more restrictive, then these laws take precedence over the Taft-Hartley law.

Another phase of "union security" is the check-off of union dues. With the automatic check-off (prohibited by the Taft-Hartley Act) union treasuries had a sure source of income to pay expenses and hire organizers.

The Federal law does allow voluntary check-offs, providing each worker submits a written statement that he wants a check-off of dues from his wages for at least a year. Unions now advise locals to get cards signed in duplicate for this purpose.

Passage of the Taft-Hartley law, with its restrictions on other forms of "union security," has made it much more important, from the union's point of view, to win employer consent to the inclusion of the voluntary check-off in a collective bargaining agreement. Because of the importance of the check-off to the financial stability of unions, there have been a number of signs in the South recently that union officials negotiating new agreements with management are willing to make concessions in other matters to assure keeping the check-off in any new contract.

"NO STRIKE" CLAUSE

Under the Taft-Hartley law, unions can be sued for violation of "no strike" agreements. To avoid such suits, many agreements now have dropped the "no strike" clause, with unions insisting that all claims, demands and actions be covered by the collective bargaining contract itself.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, which provides for a 40-cent-per-hour minimum wage on all employment in interstate commerce (and commerce has been broadly defined by administrations rulings

tion. In his reply, the industrialist explained that he considered it inevitable that there would be an increasing amount of unionization in the South and his company wanted to locate its plant in a community where it would not disturb the community pattern if Wolverine signed a contract with a union.

5. The day of the "run-away" plant is nearly over. A number of Southerners report that industries no longer are moving into the South to get away from the union. While a few cases of "run-away" plants still can be found, there also are other cases where new plants are built in established industrial areas of the South with management agreements with the unions negotiated almost immediately.

V. Negro Workers

Negro workers are an important part of the Southern labor force. In 1940, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the percentage of Negroes in both agriculture and non-agricultural jobs in the 13 States covered by this series was:

Mississippi, 52	**Arkansas, 26.6**
South Carolina, 41.1	**Virginia, 25.9**
Louisiana, 38.1	**Tennessee, 20.9**
Alabama, 37.5	**Texas, 16.3**
Georgia, 36.9	**Kentucky, 9.4**
Florida, 32.	**Oklahoma, 7.9**

North Carolina, 28.2

Dr. H. H. Chapman, director of the Bureau of Business Research at the University of Alabama, says that most of the job opportunities in the South for Negroes are in agriculture. But, he adds, there are a number of cases where Negroes now are finding employment in heavy industrial work—in foundries, for example. Mr. Chapman estimates that 40 per cent of the coal miners in Alabama are Negroes.

Labor policies of big national concerns locating plants in the South undoubtedly will have an increasingly important effect on the status of Negro industrial workers. International Harvester Co. is one of these concerns which emphasizes "equal opportunity for all."

Sara Southall, assistant personnel director for the company (and a graduate of Vanderbilt University), says whites and Negroes all are hired on the basis of their qualifications and no effort is made to set up certain percentages of plant employment for Negroes.

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Government labor experts, discussing these matter, first observe that when organized labor is going ahead nationally, it also goes ahead in the South; and when labor runs into lean years, unions everywhere are kept busy holding previous gains.

The general business outlook also affects unionism.

In the past, union strength in the South has ebbed during hard times, but as yet no definite pattern has been established on what will happen to the newer industrial unionism in the event of a major recession.

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In the depth of a depression, plants are closed and the jobs are just not available; then the unions must concentrate on holding their membership.

RETARDING FACTORS

Some factors in the South which are said to retard unionism over the long run include:

7. Southern industrialization, on a broad base, is of fairly recent vintage. Many Southern workers switched from the farm to industry and therefore have had no previous experience as union members. When employes speak of this, they say Southern workers are more "docile."

2. Southern industry tends to have many small units and fewer large factories. This makes the organizer's job more difficult.

The CIO, for example, had no difficulty in organizing the Masonite Corp. plant at Laurel, Miss., but workers at 15,000 saw mills and lumber mills scattered across the South are not organized.

3. The South's labor supply situation seldom works to advantage of the worker, except in wartime.

4. The position of Negro workers in Southern industry also complicates the picture. Race prejudice has been used to break unions. And it is said the unions themselves probably held back their own growth in the past by refusing to admit Negroes. Negro workers make up an important segment in several Southern industries — lumber, coal mining, iron and steel, naval stores.

HELPFUL FACTORS

On the other side of the ledger, a number of factors are listed as helping the growth of unions in the South. These include:

1. Workers know more about unionism as time goes by. This helps the growth of locals. A great deal of the recent CIO organizing in the South has been carried on by volunteer organizing committees.

2. Union officials contend that public opinion in the South seems to be swinging their way. Entire communities do not rise up to fling out organizers; at least, not as often as they used to.

It is true that you will still hear, in Texas, for example, such comment as:

"We don't have much use for unions here."

Yet unions are no longer "foreign" to the South. The acceptance pattern seems strongest in communities where industry is concentrated; the most hostility is shown in smaller, rural communities with only one or two unorganized small plants.

In Alabama, incidentally, State CIO officials are not encouraging locals to set up their own cooperative stores. They contend that they want to avoid opposition from small merchants when organizing campaigns are started.

One story of how a union gained popular support is told by a Southern editor who visited Winston-Salem, N. C., in August, 1947. At that time the CIO and FTA had just won a strike against the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

This editor said he found that the average small businessman in the city was rather pleased that the CIO had won the strike and forced the tobacco company to raise wages. This feeling apparently was linked with the belief that, if wages in the city's largest industry were increased, their small businesses also would benefit.

3. Until recently, the National Labor Relations Act assisted union growth in the South. With the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, the Wagner Act has gone through basic modification. It will take time to measure the full impact of the new law, although Southern union officials say now that the new law will slow down the rate of union growth because of its restrictions on union activity.

4. In the new industrialization, a large number of national concerns are locating plants in the South, and some of these arem ore willing to reach agreements with unions. There also are more willing to reach agreetake the initiative in arranging collective bargaining agreements with the same union which has already organized their Northern plants.

COMMUNITY PATTERN

Not too long ago the Chamber of Commerce in Tupelo, Miss., was attempting to sell the Wolverine Tube Co. on locating a new plant there. The company subsequently picked a site in Alabama. The Tupelo organization wrote a letter to the president of the Wolverine Co., asking why the company had decided against the northeastern Mississippi location. In his reply, the industrialist explained that he considered it inevitable that there would be an increasing amount of unionization in the South and his company wanted to locate its plant in a community where it would not disturb the community pattern if Wolverine signed a contract with a union.

5. The day of the "run-away" plant is nearly over. A number of Southerners report that industries no longer are moving into the South to get away from the union. While a few cases of "run-away" plants still can be found, there also are other cases where new plants are built in established industrial areas of the South with management agreements with the unions negotiated almost immediately.

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Florida, 32.	**Oklahoma, 7.9**

North Carolina, 28.2

Dr. H. H. Chapman, director of the Bureau of Business Research at the University of Alabama, says that most of the job opportunities in the South for Negroes are in agriculture. But, he adds, there are a number of cases where Negroes now are finding employment in heavy industrial work—in foundries, for example. Mr. Chapman estimates that 40 per cent of the coal miners in Alabama are Negroes.

Labor policies of big national concerns locating plants in the South undoubtedly will have an increasingly important effect on the status of Negro industrial workers. International Harvester Co. is one of these concerns which emphasizes "equal opportunity for all."

Sara Southall, assistant personnel director for the company (and a graduate of Vanderbilt University), says whites and Negroes all are hired on the basis of their qualifications and no effort is made to set up certain percentages of plant employment for Negroes.

This policy, she adds, extends to managerial positions. An increasing number of International Harvester Negro workers now hold technical, supervisory and managerial jobs with the company through the normal process of training and upgrading, Miss Southall explains.

In one Southern city, where International Harvester has a new plant, Miss Southall says all jobs listed in the original hiring were thrown open to whites and Negroes. Subsequently, she reports, the local Board of Education improved educational opportunities for Negroes. She thinks that this came about because the company had stated Negro workers would have a chance at jobs they previously had little hopes of getting.

Another International Harvester

Continued on Page Seven

State and National Labor Law Summary

Continued from Page Four

Georgia, Louisiana have similar laws, with conditions.

5. Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas have "anti-violence" laws outlawing gathering near any place where a labor dispute exists and forbidding the use of threats of force to keep other workers out of plants. The law also prohibits the use of threats, force or coercion to keep an employer from using any materials, equipment or service. Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Alabama have made violation of such laws a felony. (The United States Supreme Court has just agreed to hear a test case involving the Arkansas law.)

6. A Florida law prohibits picketing of homes, away from plants being struck; bans other "non-peaceable" picketing.

7. Florida, Texas and Virginia passed laws in 1947 regulating disputes in public utilities.

8. Texas passed a law this year prohibiting strikes by public employes.

9. As part of existing laws restricting "union security," Texas and Arkansas passed laws in 1947 prohibiting the automatic check-off.

CHILD LABOR:

1. Five States—North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana and Florida—set 16 years as the minimum age for factory employment. Texas has a 15-year law for factory work; other States have 14-year minimum for factory work. Some States have no minimums for non-factory employment outside school hours or cover no work outside school hours.

APPRENTICESHIPS:

1. Florida passed in 1947 a law creating an apprenticeship council within industrial commission; it is authorized to establish standards for apprentice agreements, to issue rules and regulations.

SAFETY AND HEALTH:

1. South Carolina passed a law in 1947 directing the State Health Board to make regulations for control of industrial plants, including protection of workers from fumes, gases, and dust.

2. Occupational disease laws were passed in 1947 by Tennessee and Texas. Neither law provides general coverage, but both list certain diseases which are compensable; in Tennessee, employers may reject the schedule and elect to be bound by full coverage.

EQUAL PAY LAWS (FOR WOMEN WORKERS):

1. No Southern State has such a law.

II. Federal Laws

In all, there are more than a dozen Federal laws directly related to labor, but principal attention in the South now is concentrated on the Taft-Hartley Act (properly, the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947), which drastically rewrote the 1935 National Labor Relations Act; on the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act (wage-hour law); and on the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, which sets standards for work done on U. S. Government contracts totaling more than $10,000.

The Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947 also is important because it modifies both the Wage-Hour Law and the Public Contracts Law in that it allows employes to "compromise" back wage claims and relieve employers of certain liabilities for back wage claims where they rely on rulings by the Wage-Hour Administrator.

The Taft-Hartley law does reassert the right of workers to organize; but it also limits that right (excluding, for instance, supervisory employes), places some restrictions on the scope of bargaining, forbids certain forms of bargaining units except under specified circumstances, and—perhaps most important from the unions' point of view, puts a crimp in what labor leaders call "union security."

The efforts of many of these leaders in the South are concentrated on maintaining "union security" despite the Taft-Hartley law or even more restrictive State legislation.

MARKING TIME

Meanwhile, several of them in the South report that they definitely have been slowed down in the organization of unorganized plants since the passage of the law. The tendency is to "mark time" while complex legal points are settled. However, it is generally agreed that it will be years before the law is clarified through administrative and court rulings even though a number of test cases already have been started. In addition, Congress may modify the act at any time. For example, there is again talk of prohibiting nationwide collective bargaining, although no major changes in the law are expected in 1948.

The Taft-Hartley Act prohibits the closed shop. Some unions and employers are continuing closed shop agreements by contract, entirely outside of the 1947 Labor-Management Relations Act. In such cases, of course, the National Labor Relations Board has nothing to do with it. NLRB General Counsel Robert N. Denham emphatically disapproves of such contracts.

The Taft-Hartley law does not prohibit union shop agreements, if the majority of workers in a plant vote for it, but some Southern States have passed State laws outlawing the union shop. It is important to note that, if the State laws are more restrictive, then these laws take precedence over the Taft-Hartley law.

Another phase of "union security" is the check-off of union dues. With the automatic check-off (prohibited by the Taft-Hartley Act) union treasuries had a sure source of income to pay expenses and hire organizers.

The Federal law does allow voluntary check-offs, providing each worker submits a written statement that he wants a check-off of dues from his wages for at least a year. Unions now advise locals to get cards signed in duplicate for this purpose.

Passage of the Taft-Hartley law, with its restrictions on other forms of "union security," has made it much more important, from the union's point of view, to win employer consent to the inclusion of the voluntary check-off in a collective bargaining agreement. Because of the importance of the check-off to the financial stability of unions, there have been a number of signs in the South recently that union officials negotiating new agreements with management are willing to make concessions in other matters to assure keeping the check-off in any new contract.

"NO STRIKE" CLAUSE

Under the Taft-Hartley law, unions can be sued for violation of "no strike" agreements. To avoid such suits, many agreements now have dropped the "no strike" clause, with unions insisting that all claims, demands and actions be covered by the collective bargaining contract itself.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, which provides for a 40-cent-per-hour minimum wage on all employment in interstate commerce (and commerce has been broadly defined by administrations rulings and court decisions since 1938), is now under review on Capitol Hill.

Unions want the minimum to be increased to 75 cents per hour and coverage broadened. Some Southern groups (Southern States Industrial Council, for example) and some Southern congressmen want the law repealed, or relaxed in terms of coverage and the 40-hour week provisions, without an increase in the hourly minimum.

The Wage-Hour Act also restricts child labor. Most of the law's opponents are willing to let these provisions stand. These sections make it unlawful to ship or deliver for shipment in interstate commerce any goods produced in plants where there has been "oppressive" child labor during the previous 30 days. Oppressive child labor is defined as employment of children under 16, except employment of children between 14 and 16 years of age in such occupations as the Secretary of Labor determines not to interfere with their schooling, health or well-being. In addition, the Wage-Hour Law prohibits employment of children between 14 and 16 in certain hazardous jobs. Industrial homework in seven apparel and related industries also is prohibited when such goods go into interstate commerce.

The Public Contracts Act prohibits employment of boys under 16 or girls under 18 on Government contract work. Southern cotton mills working on Government textile contracts cannot risk employing girls under 18. It is said that this has led to a situation in some places where the youngsters have stayed in school longer and have gotten enough education to decide that they do not want to go into the mills.

Unionism Growth In South Forecast

"In the process of establishing appropriate wage structures, the role of trade unionism obviously is great. Trade-unionism in the the South has a longer and more extensive history, and a more militant tradition, than most people commonly realize. During recent years, growth in labor organization in the region has been substantial. Undoubtedly, trade-unionism has become a permanent part of the Southern industrial scene and there is every reason to believe that its present strength and influence will increase."

—Report, page 610, Study of Agricultural and Economic Problems of the Cotton Belt.

Southern Series

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Continued from Page Six

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Although Kentucky does not have a State law for racial segregation, Harvester put in separate toilet facilities for the two races, and divided the lunch room in the plant with a light railing. In Tennessee, where Harvester has another plant (Memphis), State laws do require such segregation.

Lack of factory training on the part of negroes leads International Harvester to believe that any problems which might come from the upgrading of negro workers will be postponed for several years. In Memphis, most of the negro workers will be employed in the foundry. The New Orleans twine plant probably will employ a majority of negroes.

"JIM CROW" LOCALS

Trade unions also have played an important part in improving the position of Negro workers. The CIO, for example, has been in the South since 1935 and has laid continuing stress on avoiding "Jim Crow" locals, although it has given in on occasion when faced with a showdown, as in the case of the CIO-TWU at the Dan River Mills, Danville, Va., and has insisted upon a policy of non-discrimination.

In Virginia, there are, on the other hand, a number of mixed CIO locals in the pulp and paper industry, some of which have Negro officers. According to Ernest B. Pugh, Virginia State CIO Director, the Negro locals at Danville were formed at the request of Negro workers themselves, because they wanted to have members of their own race for union officers.

Mr. Googe of the AFL believes the "Negro problem" is working itself out and will be solved during the next 10 years if the Federal Government does not attempt to carry out recommendations of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.

Leaders of Southern Chambers of Commerce

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"Available data, although inadequate in many respects, indicate that Southern firms have adjusted and can adjust to gradual reductions in South-North wage differentials in ways that are beneficial to Southern labor and Southern industry," he declares.

The wage differential argument shows up occasionally in labor-management disputes. During the telephone strike in the spring of 1947, Southern Bell Telephone Co. ran advertisements in newspapers, protesting that the demands of the strikers, if granted, would "upset the regional wage pattern." At least one Southern newspaper, the Raleigh News and Observer, blurted out, on its editorial page: "So what?"

"The South doesn't want to stay poor," declared Jonathan Daniels, editor of the Raleigh newspaper.

WAGE STRUCTURE

Wage differentials within the South are illustrated by at least one BLS "wage structure" survey. BLS found, in 1946, that the general level of wages paid by Southern sawmills differed by about 30 per cent between the lowest and highest wage States. The average for Virginia, Kentucky and Oklahoma ranged from 68 to 70 cents per hour. In Tennessee, North Carolina, Arkansas, Florida and Texas earnings averaged between 65 and 68 cents per hour. In South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, where more than half of all Southern sawmill jobs are located, the average hourly rate was 64 cents or less. Lowest hourly earnings were reported in Alabama. They amounted to 59 cents in 1946.

In the course of his study of wage differentials, Dr. Lester says he found that wage differentials between firms in a single labor market area are generally considerably larger than the North-South differential for comparable jobs in cotton textiles, furniture, and seamless and full-fashioned hosiery.

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of every 100 jobs in soft goods industries in 1947.

In the South, many women are employed in textile, apparel, food processing, tobacco and furniture industries; relatively few of them find jobs in heavy industries.

For the most part, women workers do not have to be singled out for special attention. What minimum wage legislation Southern States have enacted applies only to them, and to minors. There are quite a few cases where the hourly wage rates paid to women workers are less than the entrance rates for men doing the same type of work, but such practices seldom are put down in writing in collective bargaining contracts.

EQUAL PAY

None of the 13 Southern States have laws specifying that women shall receive equal pay for equal work, and in fact, few such laws have yet been enacted elsewhere. The "equal pay" laws are one interest of the Women's Bureau in the Labor Department.

A number of employers in the South, when interviewed on this subject, comment that their communities do not want any more industries which employ only women workers.

An official of one of the railroads in Georgia jokingly referred to one town in the State where the menfolks were getting content to stay at home and do the housework while the wives went out to earn cash money. A town such as this, he said, wants new industries which will provide work for the men.

Even where existing industries could use more women workers, as in the case of one town in Alabama, the State's industrial development committee advised local planners to get a new industry which will employ mostly men, and the other established plant will then be able to hire the wives and daughters of these new families.

A large part of the 900,000 Southern workers who acquired new skills during wartime were women who went into the factories while men were off to war. One manufacturer of piston rings in Tennessee, for example, had hired only men workers prior to the war. He hired women during the labor shortage, and now has decided to keep female workers on the assembly line because of their quick skill on precision work.

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The solution, according to Mr. Googe, lies in upgrading Negro workers by gradually giving them better jobs in sections of a plant staffed entirely by Negroes (rather than to attempt to mix Negro and white workers on the same job). Under such a plan, a cotton mill, for example, would set aside one section of its plant for Negro workers.

The President's Civil Rights Committee, headed by Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, strongly condemns such segregation. It recently recommended that segregation based on race, color or creed be eliminated totally from the American scene.

"There is no adequate defense for segregation," this committee declared.

This White House committee also urged prompt enactment of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act (FEPC) with provisions both for educating employers to cooperate, and legal sanctions to punish those who refuse to ban discrimination. States should enact similar laws, the committee said.

FEPC is, perhaps, the most controversial single legislative measure which might be called up on the floors of Congress. In previous years, action has been blocked every time by filibusters or threats of filibusters by Southern congressmen. And there is no sign yet that this technique cannot be used successfully time and time again.

But FEPC represents a frontal attack. There are other ways to combat segregation, according to the Civil Rights Committee. It is suggested, for example, that Congress refuse to vote dollar grants-in-aid for education, housing, health or anything else without prohibiting in the same law all types of segregation or discrimination based on race, creed or color.

VI. Wage Differentials

The controversy over Southern wage differentials has been going on for years.

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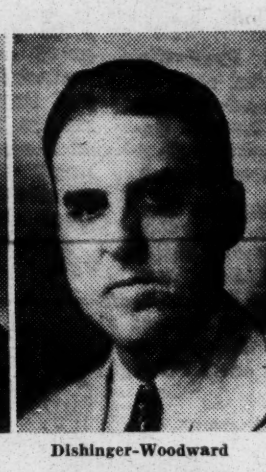

Dishinger-Woodward

LOUIS QUINN Secretary, Kentucky Chamber of Commerce

HAROLD COLEE Executive vice-president, Florida State Chamber of Commerce

VERBON E. KEMP Executive vice-president Virginia State Chamber of Commerce

The fast-disappearing North-South differential has received the most attention perhaps, but the economists now assert that wage differentials within the South, and within industries of the South, have a lot to do with industrial employment patterns.

When an unskilled factory hand gets only a little less per hour than the skilled worker in the same plant, for example, the unskilled worker may show little interest in attaining the skilled status.

Because the question lends itself to theorizing, the economists have done most of the talking. However, wage differentials are not abstractions; they are keyed directly to the issue of what Congress should do about Federal minimum wage legislation.

Should workers producing a manufactured item in a Southern plant get a smaller hourly wage than a worker in a Northern plant performing an identical job?

Those who defend the doctrine of a North-South differential and a lower wage rate in Southern industry put great emphasis on the South's need for outside capital to start new industries and make new jobs.

"The wage differential against its unskilled and semi-skilled labor provides an industrially underdeveloped region with one important means of attracting extra-regional capital" is the way Dr. John V. Van Sickle, professor of economics at Wabash College, puts it.

Dr. Richard A. Lester, formerly of Duke University and now a professor of economics at Princeton, comments that true North-South differentials are hard to determine because of differences in skills, in the size of cities where jobs are located, and other factors.

DIFFERENTIAL NARROWING

"The narrowing of the North-South differential has generally been more marked during the past two decades," says Dr. Lester. "In some industries (lumber, furniture and blast furnaces), the ratio of Southern-Northern wage scales appears not to have changed much either way during the last half century."

Expansion of industry in the South; development of national minimum wage patterns under the National Recovery Administration, the Fair Labor Standards Act and the National War Labor Board; the trend toward national wage policies for national industries operating both in the North and South; union policies and the tighter labor market during the war—all, Dr. Lester reports, have contributed to the narrowing of

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Recent wage adjustments in the South are developing some interesting new patterns.

For instance, some of the skilled steel mill workers in Birmingham, Ala., get a higher hourly rate than skilled workers in the same type of job in Pittsburgh.

In the pulp and paper industry, some semi-skilled and skilled workers make more per hour than the national average. On this, BLS comments that "the relatively high average earnings in the Southeastern and Southwestern regions reflect more extensive use of large and high-speed machines than in the Northern regions, thus counteracting the lower rate paid for unskilled labor."

Southern plants in such industries as furniture, hosiery, cotton textiles, pulp and paper and rubber tend to be more modern than their counterparts outside the region, says Dr. Lester. In addition, he reports that the amount of electrical energy used per man hour in Southern industry is higher than in the North.

Looking ahead, wages rates in the South probably will first get on a par with comparable wages in the North. Then, in the interest of a stable labor market, regional differentials may start disappearing as the percentage of skilled workers in the South increases. Along with this development, there may be many new instances in the future where the old North-South differential will be turned upside down.

VII. Women Workers

Apparently no one knows exactly how many women are employed in Southern industry, not even the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

Nationally, more than 3 million women held production jobs in 1947. The proportion of women in the postwar factory labor force was about one-fourth, or approximately the same as prewar. However, women workers held 40 out

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From the employer's point of view, planning agencies suggest that from now on there probably will be a surplus of women workers in centers of heavy industry—such as Birmingham, Ala., while there may be a shortage of women workers in towns having industries which produce only soft goods.

One other general observation made by both employers and union officials in the South is this: As times get better and the pay check is adequate to meet expenses, the youngsters quit work first, leaving only the father and mother employed. Then the mother withdraws from the labor market. In depression days, economic necessity forces men, women and children to look for outside work.

(Next week Article No. 13 digs deep into the foreign trade situation, finds the South lagging behind the nation in exports, while its major ports are doing better.)

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WOOLENS—WORSTEDS

Year-End Market Strong

By CHAS. E. B. DICKINSON

CONDITIONS in the New York woolens market this week were those dictated by year-end considerations. Broadly speaking, the situation is strong and the business for the first eight months of next year is a foregone conclusion. The only fly in the ointment is the extraordinary situation in gabardines. That, of course, covers the first half of the year pretty thoroughly.

It has been shown how memorandums placed by buyers for goods for the third quarter practically insure that period. Actually, some of the actual placing of orders will begin by the chains in January. These buyers are inclined to say they will not pay any more than they pay now, but that is recognized for what it is worth. If they want goods, they will probably pay the price.

Manufacturers of cloth have also been worrying about those same prices because of the situation that has been precipitated by the buying of yarns and having gabardines made on a commission weaving basis. Not that there is anything wrong with this, but that gabardines are among the hardest fabrics to make, and those who are expert at the work are limited in number. That, of course, is why those who could not get enough from regular sources, undertook the methods referred to.

BUYERS MADE TO PAUSE

The actual effect of this has been to raise prices of worsted yarns to an almost prohibitive point. It has made buyers pause in their attitude, but it is not apparent yet that there can be any reaction from this point. The situation seems pretty well in hand until it is necessary to take up matters for spring, 1949.

From a business point of view, there has been comparatively little done. Year-end inventory, "lifo," has absorbed the attention of the majority and the rest is for the coming weeks to care for. There is a continuation of the hectic demand for fine goods and no one seems to fear the ability of the average worker to pay the prices. It is noted that some better grade houses have an almost new list of customers, made up largely of those who had always wanted a fine suit, but considered it out of reach.

There is a different attitude toward wool goods than there was at the beginning of the year. Even then the better grades were in demand. Few have realized with regard to the lower grades of woolens that the merchandising of all wool textiles has undergone a marked change and that several resignations in the last few years have been regarded as indicating this, and that rather than devote years to changing their whole attitude toward merchandising, these officials yielded the reins to others.

The majority are practically writing off the lower grades, anyway, until the urgency is greater. The renewal of the demand for coverts was one of the extraordinary happenings of the latter part of the year. However, in the finer makes, the demand has continued all along.

OVERCOATINGS SOUGHT

Overcoatings have been sought with a great deal of interest. In reality, there has not been a good overcoat demand for several years. That is frequently the case in that field. Certain houses found the demand interesting at the year-end, notwithstanding the holidays.

The majority of buyers made no mention of prices beyond the statement, "You will, of course, be on the market." This meant that merchandise once more is in the ascendant and that buyers have been more concerned about getting goods, or assuring themselves that they will be taken care of, than they have been about prices, because they knew sellers could not afford to be wrong.

This situation is the direct result of the manner in which the situation boomeranged against the attitude of the merchandise man earlier in the year and the latter part of the preceding year. It left buyers short of merchandise at the most important time of the year and confirmed them in their determination not to be similarly caught again.

New prices are now in effect on imported goods, but the differences are not too great. The question has arisen concerning the rate of sterling in international exchange. It is probable that this possibility has been covered in the arrangements for handling the whole matter.

No matter how efficiently and intelligently an individual merchant conducts his particular establishment, unit sales volume is largely a matter beyond his control. A high unit sales volume which translated means more customers buying more goods is synonymous with real prosperity. The fundamental factors are obviously a state of high national prosperity, a balance between wages and prices, a high standard of living, and a reasonable supply of merchandise.

—Louis Rothschild, National Association of Retail Clothiers and Furnishers

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Expansions, Renovations

Retailers

Goldstein-Migel Co., Waco, Tex.: Plans a $250,000 expansion program including a new men's sportswear department and enlarged men's clothing, furnishings and hat sections.

Columbia Dry Goods Co., Houston, Tex.: Has purchased L. Froug, Inc., Pine Bluff, Ark., and plans to renovate it.

Thrifty Department Store, Greenville, Ala.: Has completed an expansion program, doubling the floor space.

Henry A. Hurst, Inc., Philadelphia: Will open a Hollywood, Fla., linen shop, Hollywood Beach Hotel, Jan. 5.

Blackburn Bros., Amarillo, Tex.: Has finished a seven-year expansion program; store now has 29,400 square feet of floor space.

B. Lowenstein & Bros., Memphis, Tenn.: To construct a modern, fully equipped, air-conditioned suburban department store, in eastern section of city.

Kistler Collister Store, Albuquerque, N. M.: Has remodeled its quarters to include a new men's department.

Manufacturers

Gold-Tex Fabrics Corp., Rock Hill, S. C.: Plans to erect a new garment factory here for manufacture of finished garments.

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Talon, Inc., Los Angeles: Has moved into new quarters, 1800

Market Trends

WOOLS AND YARNS

A Most Successful Year

	Dec. 31 1947	Dec. 24 1947	Dec. 31 1946	Dec. 24 1938
Fine combing Territory	1.27	1.27	1.17-1.21	72-74
Fine combing Delaine	1.27-1.32	1.27-1.32	1.18-1.21	73-75
Type 61, Australian 64/70s, clean in bond	1.26	1.26	—	—
Type 78, Australian 64s, clean in bond	1.21	1.21	—	—
Montevideo 53/60s	1.22-1.24	1.22-1.24	1.13-1.16	57-59
Futures				Tops
March	1.21.2	1.20.5	96.5	—
May	1.19	1.18.5	95.5	—
July	1.17.5	1.17	95.5	—
March	1.12.5	—	92	—

By M. C. WALSH, JR.

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The Government's decision to core all lots of CCC wool of 5,000 pounds or more caused a great deal of delay in getting financial returns to the growers; and then, many of the shrinkage results appeared to be way out of line to the experienced eyes of many wool experts. The tariff question was another thing that went on most of the year, and

On the other hand, the strong and constant demand for fine wools enabled the majority of houses to clean up many lots that were considered unsalable, due mainly to low shrinkages and high clean prices, and they can now enter the new year without having too much of a Government stockpile over their heads.

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Early in the season the buying limits were too low to secure much quantity, but as the year progressed the buying limits were raised and dealers were able to fill their orders.

In spite of all the trials and tribulations that wool men had to cope with during the year, the consensus among the leaders is that 1947 can be considered

eight months of next year is a foregone conclusion. The only fly in the ointment is the extraordinary situation in gabardines. That, of course, covers the first half of the year pretty thoroughly.

It has been shown how memorandums placed by buyers for goods for the third quarter practically insure that period. Actually, some of the actual placing of orders will begin by the chains in January. These buyers are inclined to say they will not pay any more than they pay now, but that is recognized for what it is worth. If they want goods, they will probably pay the price.

Manufacturers of cloth have also been worrying about those same prices because of the situation that has been precipitated by the buying of yarns and having gabardines made on a commission weaving basis. Not that there is anything wrong with this, but that gabardines are among the hardest fabrics to make, and those who are expert at the work are limited in number. That, of course, is why those who could not get enough from regular sources, undertook the methods referred to.

BUYERS MADE TO PAUSE

The actual effect of this has been to raise prices of worsted yarns to an almost prohibitive point. It has made buyers pause in their attitude, but it is not apparent yet that there can be any reaction from this point. The situation seems pretty well in hand until it is necessary to take up matters for spring, 1949.

From a business point of view, there has been comparatively little done. Year-end inventory, "lifo," has absorbed the attention of the majority and the rest is for the coming weeks to care for. There is a continuation of the hectic demand for fine goods and no one seems to fear the ability of the average worker to pay the prices. It is noted that some better grade houses have an almost new list of customers, made up largely of those who had always wanted a fine suit, but considered it out of reach.

There is a different attitude toward wool goods than there was at the beginning of the year. Even then the better grades were in demand. Few have realized with regard to the lower grades of woolens that the merchandising of all wool textiles has undergone a marked change and that several resignations in the last few years have been regarded as indicating this, and that rather than devote years to changing their whole attitude toward merchandising, these officials yielded the reins to others.

The majority are practically writing off the lower grades, anyway, until the urgency is greater. The renewal of the demand for coverts was one of the extraordinary happenings of the latter part of the year. However, in the finer makes, the demand has continued all along.

OVERCOATINGS SOUGHT

Overcoatings have been sought with a great deal of interest. In reality, there has not been a good overcoat demand for several years. That is frequently the case in that field. Certain houses found the demand interesting at the year-end, notwithstanding the holidays.

The majority of buyers made no mention of prices beyond the statement, "You will, of course, be on the market." This meant that merchandise once more is in the ascendant and that buyers have been more concerned about getting goods, or assuring themselves that they will be taken care of, than they have been about prices, because they knew sellers could not afford to be wrong.

This situation is the direct result of the manner in which the situation boomeranged against the attitude of the merchandise man earlier in the year and the latter part of the preceding year. It left buyers short of merchandise at the most important time of the year and confirmed them in their determination not to be similarly caught again.

New prices are now in effect on imported goods, but the differences are not too great. The question has arisen concerning the rate of sterling in international exchange. It is probable that this possibility has been covered in the arrangements for handling the whole matter.

synonymous with real prosperity. The fundamental factors are obviously a state of high national prosperity, a balance between wages and prices, a high standard of living, and a reasonable supply of merchandise.

—Louis Rothschild, National Association of Retail Clothiers and Furnishers

Expansions, Renovations

Retailers

Goldstein-Migel Co., Waco, Tex.: Plans a $250,000 expansion program including a new men's sportswear department and enlarged men's clothing, furnishings and hat sections.

Columbia Dry Goods Co., Houston, Tex.: Has purchased L. Froug, Inc., Pine Bluff, Ark., and plans to renovate it.

Thrifty Department Store, Greenville, Ala.: Has completed an expansion program, doubling the floor space.

Henry A. Hurst, Inc., Philadelphia: Will open a Hollywood, Fla., linen shop, Hollywood Beach Hotel, Jan. 5.

Blackburn Bros., Amarillo, Tex.: Has finished a seven-year expansion program; store now has 29,400 square feet of floor space.

B. Lowenstein & Bros., Memphis, Tenn.: To construct a modern, fully equipped, air-conditioned suburban department store, in eastern section of city.

Kistler Collister Store, Albuquerque, N. M.: Has remodeled its quarters to include a new men's department.

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Gold-Tex Fabrics Corp., Rock Hill, S. C.: Plans to erect a new garment factory here for manufacture of finished garments.

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Talon, Inc., Los Angeles: Has moved into new quarters, 1800 South Hill street, occupying entire floor of two-story building; second floor to be occupied by a subsidiary corporation being formed to handle sales and distribution of Talon products for local retail stores.

Bloom Mills, Inc., Gastonia, N. C.: Has formed Bloom Mills of Lancaster, Ltd., to take over operations of the former Conestogo Cotton Mills, Lancaster, Pa.

Spruce Pine Hosiery Co., Spruce Pine, N. C.: Expects completion and occupancy of the new building within 60 days.

Skyland Hosiery Mills, Inc., Asheville, N. C.: Will begin construction shortly of a plant on western border of Asheville; a six-year building program costing about $1,200,000.

Bur-Con Hosiery Mills, Inc., Asheboro, N. C.: Plans to lease building formerly occupied by Stratford Hosiery Corp., here; to begin moving offices and plant to Burlington.

Mills

Carter Fabrics Corp.: Has purchased Lola Mills, Inc., Stanley, N. C.

Flightex Fabrics, Inc.: Plans to open a Connecticut mill for manufacture of airplane cloth; will contain 60 to 70 looms.

Miscellaneous

American Thread Co.: Plans to establish a large Atlanta office and storage warehouse, 1049 West Peachtree street; to provide company with 25,000 square feet of sales and service space; to be completed in May.

Southern Standard Mill Supply Co., Charlotte, N. C.: Plans to construct an $80,000 building to be utilized as a southern distribution center, office and plant, South Tryon and Dunavent streets.

Daniels Nathanson Co., Boston: Has moved into new offices, 286 Congress street.

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On the other hand, the strong and constant demand for fine wools enabled the majority of houses to clean up many lots that were considered unsalable, due mainly to low shrinkages and high clean prices, and they can now enter the new year without having too much of a Government stockpile over their heads.

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In spite of all the trials and tribulations that wool men had to cope with during the year, the consensus among the leaders is that 1947 can be considered the most successful in the long history of the trade.

HAYWARD-SCHUSTER CO., INC. 51 MADISON AVE. WOOLENS V. W. GOTTSCHLING SELLING AGENT

Rittenberg Brothers Woolens 235 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Woolens & Worsteds L. BACHMANN & CO. INC. Selling Agents 257 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK

TRUE PAL FABRICS PLAY BOY VII. DUNN WOOLEN MILLS Dunn Textile Company, Inc. 51 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

COLEMAN & COMPANY EST. — FACTORS — 1912 468 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK CITY

Hamburger 23 E. 17 St. N. Y. WOOLEN COMPANY, INC. WOOLENS AND WORSTEDS

THE KENT MFG. CO. KENT-HAMPTON SALES, INC. 51 Madison Avenue, New York HAMPTON LOOMS OF VIRGINIA ESTABLISHED 1882

Hayward WOOLEN COMPANY EAST DOUGLAS, MASSACHUSETTS J. G. Jacob, Selling Agent SALES OFFICE: 450 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

OPEN TO BUY $1,000,000 MEN'S WEAR

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FAITH for fine coatings FAITH MILLS, INC. 51 Madison Ave., New York 10 Averill Park, New York

WATCH FOR LIMERICK'S LIMERICK EACH TUESDAY

MALDEN MILLS KNIT COATINGS SALES OFF. 200 FIFTH AVE., N. Y.

Your Choice for VALUE! HOUGHTON wools, noils, TOPS HOUGHTON WOOL CO. 253 Summer St. Boston

SRC project — readings on the South

February 3, 1948

Mr. Tarleton Collier
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Tarleton:

Cullen Gosnell and I are talking about putting together a book of readings on Southern matters for a college text. We are allowing some space for the press in the South.

Does your memory happen to contain a reference to some quite good article printed in the last three or four years that summarizes the past, problems, and possibilities before the press of the South?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

SRC projects — Reading on the South

BARRY BINGHAM, President
MARK F. ETHRIDGE, Publisher
LISLE BAKER, JR., Vice Pres. & Treas.

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES
LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

FEB 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

February 15, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Pardon me for not responding earlier to your inquiry as to an article on the press of the South. Each day I would look at your letter, cudgel my brain to produce an answer, and then lay it aside (you letter, not my brain) for further cidgelling. At last I give up, finding no recollection.

My only suggestion is a contact with Mr. Walter C. Johnson, executive secretary of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, P.O.Box 1059, Chattanooga 1, Tenn. This orginzation is quite assiduous in recording material of this sort, its frequent bulletins touching on editorials, speeches, publications, etc. Its archives should be productive -- speeches of presidents, guest lecturers, and others.

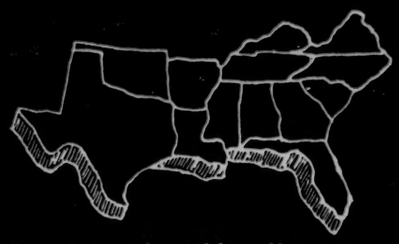
If I may help you further, or at all, please command me.

Yours sincerely,

Tarleton Collier

Tarleton Collier

RESOURCE-USE EDUCATION



"Toward more effective educational use of research on southern resources and problems"

February, 1948 Volume III, No. 2

School, Community Resources Featured In School Executive

"School and Community Resources" is the subject featured in the January, 1948, special issue of *The School Executive* magazine. Reprints of this issue are now available through the offices of The Division of Research Interpretation, Box 1078, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

This issue was devoted to developing understanding and use of human, natural and social resources in the school program. Major emphasis is placed on techniques which may be employed. The monthly "Salute" of the magazine was directed toward the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, for its work in resource-use education.

The special issue was a cooperative project of *The School Executive* and the University of North Carolina Division of Research Interpretation. A group of social scientists and educators prepared articles for the issue, emphasizing various phases of resource use in school and community. The contributors included L. D. Haskew, Maurice F. Seay, George F. Gant, Marshall E. Dimock, Lowry Nelson, Harold F. Clark, Ronald Lippitt, Rupert B. Vance, Theodore D. Rice, and John E. Ivey, Jr.

Gordon R. Clapp, Chairman of the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority, wrote an introduction for the issue. The keynote editorial was written by Walter D. Cocking, Chairman of the Board of Editors of the American School Publishing Company.

Reprints of the issue include the forty pages of articles and illustrations dealing with school and community resources which appeared in the original issue. They may be ordered from the Division at a cost of 25 cents for single copies, 15 cents per copy for orders of 10 to 99 copies, and 12 cents per copy for orders of 100 or more.

In This Issue . . .

The readers of *Resource-Use Education* have asked, on many occasions, for a concise bibliography of the more important books, pamphlets, and bulletins dealing with various phases of resource-use education. Such a bibliography is presented in this issue, on pages 2, 3, and 4. It was compiled by Harry B. Williams, Jr., of the University of North Carolina, and William J. McGlothlin, Associate Secretary of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education, and Chief of the Training and Educational Relations Division, TVA.

Statewide SSWC Projects Continue

State committees of the Southern States Work Conference Resource-Use Education Project are continuing the development of statewide projects and preparing for participation in the next two major steps in the program. These steps are the Work Conference on Resource-Use Education at Chapel Hill in March, and the Southern States Work Conference at Daytona Beach in early June.

The regional steering committee, meeting in Louisville in November, agreed that an outline of suggested questions on school program, teacher education, and school administration would be prepared by the regional chairmen and co-chairmen, to be used as a guide in recording and analyzing experiences in resource-use education. State committees are revising this outline to fit their own needs and will use it in preparing descriptions of school and college programs in resource-use education.

The descriptive materials prepared by the state committees will be used at Daytona Beach to develop more complete suggestions and guides for

See "SSWC", Page 4.

Work Conference Plans Developed

Plans are being completed for the Work Conference on Resource-Use Education to be held at Chapel Hill, N. C., March 21-26. Participants, selected by Chief State School Officers throughout the South, are taking part in the planning of the conference, which will be centered around the resource-use needs and interests of southern educators.

Prior to the conference, participants in each state will hold state meetings to plan the conference activities of their groups. Conferees will take part in discussion sessions with basic interest groups of their own selection, with their state groups, and in special information and skill clinics to be conducted by specialists in various phases of resource-use education.

Work conference participants will include representatives from each southern state department of education, two workshop directors from each state, and the chairmen of the various Southern States Work Conference Resource-Use Education Project groups.

The Work Conference is being sponsored jointly by the Southern Council of Chief State School Officers and the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education.

Resource Use Featured In Two Publications

"Resource-Use Education: A Tool for Regional Development," is the title of a recently published pamphlet, copies of which are now available. The pamphlet is a reprint of an article by John E. Ivey, Jr., which appeared in the November-December issue of *The High School Journal.*

The pamphlet offers a definition of resource-use education, and a discussion of its purposes. Copies may be obtained from the Executive Secretary, Committee on Southern Region-

See "Publications," Page 4.

A Bibliography for Resource-Use Education

I. Regional References

Aderhold, O. C., and Others. "School Leaders Manual: Program of Educational Development for Georgia." Atlanta: Education Panel, Georgia State Department of Education, 1947.

The Manual brings together a wealth of suggestive and source materials as a guide for educational planning and development by superintendents, principals, teachers, and leading lay citizens. Suggestions on philosophy, procedures and methods of initiating programs are followed by detailed guides for help in developing specific programs. Extensive bibliographies are included.

Ivey, John E., Jr. "Channeling Research Into Education." A Report of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education. Washington: The American Council on Education, 1944.

An exploration of the extent to which research on southern resources and problems is being channeled to the people of the region through education. The educational adequacy of materials, channels for distributing materials to the people, and methods for facilitating the flow of research findings into education are discussed. There is a 56-page bibliography on southern resources and problems, pp. 131-187.

Ivey, John E., Jr. "Resource-Use Education: A Tool for Regional Development." Reprinted from THE HIGH SCHOOL JOURNAL, Vol. 30, No. 5 (November-December, 1947). Adapted from article in the 1945 Official Report of the American Association of School Administrators.

Resource-use education and regional development are treated as problems of management, administration, planning, and relationships among agencies and institutions.

Ivey, John E., Jr. and Harry B. Williams (editors). "Education Helps Build a Region." Reprinted from THE HIGH SCHOOL JOURNAL, Vol. 29, No. 3 (May, 1946). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946.

A review of major concepts and programs in resource-use education in the South. The major topics covered by the sixteen contributors are "framework for resource use," "taking facts to the people," and "teachers in action."

"Large Was Our Bounty." 1948 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Washington: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association, 1948.

A review of the history of conservation education and resource-use education. The development of the major concepts and principles is indicated and a general framework for resource-use education is given. Examples of classroom-teaching of resource-use education are given.

Renner, George T. "Conservation of National Resources—An Educational Approach to the Problem." New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1942.

Part I, Facts, Ideas and Objectives, "seeks to point out the specific ideas and motives which must be inculcated in our youth if conservation is ever to become a part of our national mores." *Part II, Outline of Resources, Problems and Proposals,* contains "a resume of the major problems in our use of each of the principal classes of our resources, together with proposed remedial treatments, insofar as they are now known." *Part III, Curriculum, Methods and Materials,* "seeks to sort and evaluate the materials and information available to the teacher and the pupil." Lists of controversial questions and of references for teachers and pupils are given at the end of each chapter.

"School and Community Resources." Reprinted from THE SCHOOL EXECUTIVE, Vol. 67, No. 5 (January 1948).

Outstanding specialists on community resource-use have contributed articles. The writers, all eminent educators and social scientists, have especially emphasized the contributions that the social sciences can make to school programs and better community living.

Sears, Paul B. "Life and Environment." New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939.

"This volume presents in broad relations a survey of man and his society. Plants, animals (including man), soil, air, rain, heat, cold, fire, wind are compounded into a comprehensive and ever-changing world picture. In viewing this picture the reader may identify the changes in progress, and in turn may direct his efforts so as to advance those that are constructive and to resist those that are destructive. It is only in some such setting as this that we may deal effectively with problems of conservation and use of our resources." The author suggests ways in which teachers may use the materials presented and makes suggestions for further reading.

Sears, Paul B., James I. Quillen, and Paul R. Hanna. "This Useful World." New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1941.

This book is written primarily for children of middle and upper-grade reading ability. The approach to the subject matter is unique in that the discussion of various natural resources is centered around the persons in the past and present who work closely with each resource—the hunter, the herder, the farmer, the digger, the trader, the maker. The relationship between man and his physical environment is continually pointed out. "A Chapter for Teachers" suggests ways of using the book and lists visual aids that may be useful in conjunction with it.

Southern States Work Conference on School Administrative Problems. "Building a Better Southern Region through Education." Tallahassee, Florida: Southern States Work Conference on School Administrative Problems, 1945.

An exploration by southern educational leaders of the ways that education can help improve living in the region. Many phases and problems of southern education are discussed in this framework.

Zimmermann, Erich W. "World Resources and Industries: A Functional Appraisal of the Availability of Agricultural and Industrial Resources." New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933.

A basic interpretation of the interrelationships of natural resources and human wants and social objectives. Part One presents a fundamental concept of the function of natural resources as determined by their availability to and use by human beings.

II. Natural Resources

Bruire, Martha Bensley. "Your Forests." New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1945.

The author points out that forests are a renewable resource which must be protected from fire and disease. Attention is called to the many things which forests "give" for man's use. Proper forest management for sustaining the supply of these products at an adequate level is discussed.

Chase, Stuart. "Rich Land, Poor Land." New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936.

This book calls attention to ways in which our land has been so seriously depleted, contrasting present-day depleted areas with the richness of early America. A list of selected readings is included.

Gustafson, A. F., et al. "Conservation in the United States." Ithaca, New York: Comstock Publishing Co., 1944. Pp. 291-376.

This part deals primarily with birds and animals. It includes a discussion of fish and fisheries as well as game and fur resources and conservation of other useful wildlife.

Gustafson, A. F., et al. "Conservation in the United States." Ithaca, New York: Comstock Publishing Company, Inc., 1944. Pp. 379-458.

Part IV of this book discusses the conservation of mineral resources. The first chapter stresses the importance of minerals in

the present day. Subsequent chapters deal specifically with "The Metals," "Coal," "Petroleum and Natural Gas," and "The Nonmetallic Minerals." It includes materials on metallic and nonmetallic mineral resources as well as information on coal and oil.

Gabrielson, Ira N. "Wildlife Conservation." New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941.

The first seven chapters of this book emphasize the relationship between soil, water, forests and wildlife showing how the use we make of one resource vitally affects one or more of the others. The remaining chapters deal with specific problems of certain groups of wildlife classified according to man's interest in them rather than on a purely biological basis. Three basic concepts are set forth as fundamental to present wildlife and forest conservation programs, and indirectly of all others: "(1) that soil, water, forest and wildlife conservation are only parts of one inseparable program; (2) that wildlife must have an environment suited to its needs if it is to survive; and (3) that any use that is made of any living resource must be limited to not more than the annual increase if the essential seed stock is to be continually available."

Humphreys, W. J. "Ways of the Weather." Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Jacques Cottell Press, 1942.

A comprehensive discussion of atmospheric conditions and their effect upon climate. It is not the sort of book to be read from cover to cover, but rather to be used as a reference about wind, rain, temperature, etc.

Lord, Russell. "Behold Our Land." Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938.

The author says that in this book he has "undertaken to write a ground-line narrative of conquest and losses on the body of our land. It tells how long the weather takes to make a yielding soil; how rapidly nearly any soil, manhandled, may be lost to human use; and what, with great stretches of American soil washing or blowing out from under us, we have hastily developed as measures of defensive husbandry."

Mickey, Karl, B. "Man and the Soil." Chicago: International Harvester Company, 1945.

A brief, non-technical introduction to the study of soil conservation.

Person, H. S. "Little Waters, a Study of Headwater Streams and Other Little Waters, Their Use and Relations to the Land." With the cooperation of E. J. Coil and R. T. Beall, Rural Electrification Administration. For Soil Conservation Service, Resettlement Administration, Rural Electrification Administration. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1936.

The nature of water resources and the ways they are so closely inter-related to other natural resources. Particular attention is given to the relationship between water and land.

Read, Thomas T. "Our Mineral Civilization." New York: The Century Company, 1932.

A rather detailed presentation of how the manufacture and use of our modern conveniences depend upon mineral resources. "The Magic Carpet" refers to modern transportation; "The Skeleton of Modern Industry," to steel. "The Mighty Midgets" are the many minerals which we take for granted without thought of their importance in every day living: salt, tungsten, etc.

Since it was published in 1932, this book does not include the effect of World War II on mineral resources.

III. Human and Social Resources

Blackwell, Gordon W. "Toward Community Understanding." Washington: American Council on Education, 1943.

A study and appraisal of teacher education programs focused upon community understanding and development.

Chapin, F. Stuart, Jr. "Communities for Living." Prepared for the Advisory Panel on Regional Materials of Instruction for the Tennessee Valley. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1941.

A knowledge of community planning is essential to the wise use of urban land for happy, healthful living. This booklet is a non-technical description of the subject prepared particularly for use in schools. It contains a supplementary list of suggested questions for each chapter; suggested activities; projects and field trips. Supplementary reading lists for both teachers and pupils are included.

Churchill, Henry S. "The City Is the People." New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1945.

This book points out that city planning is not new. Planning of cities in ancient times and in early American days is discussed briefly. The remainder of the book deals with present day problems which exist in cities and ways in which these problems may be solved.

Hanna, Paul R. "Youth Serves the Community." New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936.

This book describes specific projects which have been actually carried out by children and youth to improve such phases of community life as public safety, community health, civic beauty, etc. The appendix provides a selected bibliography of related materials.

Lilienthal, David E. "TVA-Democracy on the March." New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.

A description of the Tennessee Valley Authority program as "decentralized administration of centralized authority." Scientific principles of resource development and democratic principles of the relations between experts and citizens are woven together to present the basis for democratic government action at the grass roots.

Mickey, Karl B. "Health from the Ground Up." Chicago: International Harvester Co., 1946.

The author attempts to trace the relationship between soil and human health. Evidence for the hypothesis that soil composition and quality influence human health through nutrition is reviewed and explained.

National Park Service. "A Study of the Park and Recreation Problem of the United States." Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1941.

This publication is concerned with "all kinds of outdoor recreation. Its purpose is to present an over-all picture of recreational needs and of the methods by which it appears that public agencies must move to meet them, if they are to be met satisfactorily." It includes chapters on "Recreational Habits and Needs," "Aspects of Recreational Planning," "Present Public Outdoor Recreational Facilities," "Administration," "Financing," and "Legislation." In addition almost the last one-half of the publication is devoted to "A Park and Recreational Land Plan for the United States." A large part of this is devoted to a listing of data on parks, by states.

Ogden, Jean and Jess. "Small Communities in Action." New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946.

Many programs of citizen action to improve community living are described. Different community approaches to better living and techniques of social action in the community are illustrated by these stories. They are about southern communities.

Olsen, Edward G. "School & Community. The Philosophy, Procedures, & Problems of Community Study and Service Through Schools and Colleges." New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945.

A description of the community school as a life-centered school in which young people learn responsible social living by uniting learning with the life processes in community, state, region, nation and world. Ten "bridges" between school and community are listed. Practical problems are thoroughly discussed and ten basic principles are presented as guideposts for community school programs.

The Southern Rural Life Conference. "The School and the Changing Pattern of Country Life." Nashville, Tenn.: The Southern Rural Life Conference, 1943.

The problems of southern rural life and their implications for the educational programs of the schools and other major institutions.

Vance, Rupert B. "All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South." Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945.

A thorough study and appraisal of population composition and trends in the South. The concept of human resources is developed and an attempt is made to measure the cultural adequacy of the people.

IV. Southern Resources and Problems

Cash, W. J. "The Mind of the South." New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941.

An historical treatment of the development of southern attitudes, social values, and social institutions. The interaction of natural environment and culture in producing ways of living is discussed.

Couch, W. T. (editor). "Culture in the South." Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935.

Interpretations by scholars and experts of many aspects of past and present southern life and institutions. Problems and trends of regional culture are described.

Dickens, Dorothy. "Wanted: A Healthy South." Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, Inc., 1946.

An illustrated pamphlet presenting "symptoms, causes, and recommendations" on the health of the people of the South.

Herring, Harriet L. "Southern Industry and Regional Development." Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940.

A study of southern resources and industries and of possibilities for further industrial and regional development.

Johnson, Gerald W. "The Wasted Land." Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938.

"Wasted men, wasted money and wasted time"—these are problems of the South which must be solved in order to develop the region to a higher level than it has ever known. The challenge of resource use to the people of the South is described.

National Resources Planning Board. "Regional Planning: Part XI—The Southeast." Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1942.

The impact of the war on the southern economy. Basic consideration is given to problems and opportunities for future regional development of human and physical resources.

Odum, Howard W. "Southern Regions of the United States." Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936.

An extensive statistical and descriptive treatment of the conditions and problems of economic and social life in the southern United States. An interpretative composite picture of the region is presented in Part One. Bibliography, pp. 605-620.

Odum, Howard W. "The Way of the South." New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947.

An interpretation of life, people, and problems in the South, within the framework of the natural region.

The development of southern attitudes and institutions is traced.

Raper, Arthur. "Machines in the Cotton Field." Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, Inc., 1946.

An illustrated pamphlet presenting a discussion of the human aspects of cotton economy and the probable effects of mechanization of cotton culture upon human resources in the South.

Southern Regional Council. "Wanted: An Educated South." Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, Inc., 1947.

An illustrated pamphlet describing the status of southern education in relation to the educational needs of the southern population. Causes and possible methods of improvement are treated.

Vance, Rupert B. "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation." Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, Inc., 1946.

An illustrated pamphlet presenting a summary of the author's southern population study, *All These People.*

V. Bibliographies

Brearley, H. C. and Marian Tippet (editors). "The Rural South: A Reading Guide for Community Readers." Nashville, Tennessee: The Southern Rural Life Council, 1946.

A selected annotated bibliography of books and materials on many aspects of southern life. Topics covered are: Pictures of Southern Life, The Land, The Community, Farming and the Farmer, Special Groups, The School, The Church, Health, Assets & Liabilities, Rural Problems, Source Materials & Forthcoming Volumes.

Tanksley, Mary Ann. "Your Region's Resources." Nashville, Tenn.: Regional Materials Service, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1947.

A comprehensive annotated bibliography of bulletins, pamphlets and books on resource-use principles and problems. Resources of the South are emphasized. Bulletins and pamphlets are classified under "Natural Resources" and "Human & Social Resources". Books are classified under "Elementary and Intermediate Grades", "High School", and Adults".

SSWC

school programs in resource-use education and for defining further areas of study.

State chairmen are working with state members of the SSWC executive committee on plans for representation in the Daytona Beach meeting. The regional steering committee recommended that each state plan to have at least four persons at Daytona to participate in the resource-use project.

Publications

al Studies and Education, Box 1078, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Exploring The South, a volume on regional resource use, written at the eighth grade level, is now in press. Written by Rupert B. Vance, John E. Ivey, Jr., and Marjorie Bond, the volume appeared last year in experimental form. Now revised, it is being published by the University of North Carolina Press.

A NEWSLETTER published by

THE COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

of the American Council on Education

Maurice F. Seay, *Chairman*
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Erich W. Zimmermann
George F. Zook, *ex-officio*

John E. Ivey, Jr., *Executive Secretary*, Box 1078, Chapel Hill, N. C.
W. J. McGlothlin, *Associate Secretary*

SRC project -
Readings on the South

March 1, 1948

Mr. Walter C. Johnson
Executive Secretary
Southern Newspaper Publishers Association
P.O. Box 1059, Chattanooga 1, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The Southern Regional Council and Professor Cullen Gosnell of Emory University are working on the joint compiling of a book of readings on the South for use as a college text. We are planning a section on the press in the South.

Have you, in your work, run across a really good article written in the past few years that summarizes the history, problems, and future possibilities of the Southern press?

If you have, we would appreciate very much your sending us the necessary information about where it can be found.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

SRC Projects
Readings
the South

March 10, 1948

Mr. Walter C. Johnson
Southern Newspaper Publishers Association
P.O. Box 1569
Chattanooga 1, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We appreciate very much your interest and cooperation in our project of compiling a book of readings on the South. Thank you for sending us the anniversary issue of Editor and Publisher.

We despair of finding a truly comprehensive article on the history, problems, and possibilities of the Southern press. If you should happen upon something, please let us know.

Your book on the making of newsprint from Southern pine sounds like a worthwhile undertaking.

Thank you again for your help and interest. We will be happy to send you a copy of our book when it is published.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

SOUTHERN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

CHATTANOOGA 2, TENN.
312 Ochs Building
Phone 7-2839

DALLAS 2, TEXAS
723 Texas Bank Bldg.
Phone Central-8880

CHATTANOOGA 1, TENNESSEE
POST-OFFICE BOX 1569

March 4, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 5 9
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Although there is on file in the Southern Newspaper Library more than 600 books on journalism and related subjects, I can't recall one that summarizes the history, problems, and future possibilities of the Southern press. I am, however, requesting our librarian to check on my statement.

Even though your proposed book of readings on the South are intended for use as a college text, we are greatly interested in the undertaking and would like to cooperate in the assembling of data. We could, if you like, carry an item in one of our Editorial Series Bulletins regarding your undertaking and ask publishers and editors either to contribute anything they have on the press in the South or tell where it can be found.

In connection with the Fortieth Anniversary of our Association, Editor and Publisher issued a special section in which was printed a number of articles dealing with the South and Southern newspapers. I happen to have an extra copy and am mailing it to you under another cover. It is barely possible that you will find in this some facts that may prove helpful.

In recent months I have been completing with the assistance of a former newspaperman a book "Out of the Woods" which deals with the making of newsprint from Southern pine. Considerable space is given to the late Dr. Charles H. Herty and the movement that led to the erection at Lufkin, Texas of the first newsprint mill in the South. We will not be able to complete the book until we can carry some more definite information in it regarding the $32,000,000 newsprint mill in Alabama, which like the first, is sponsored by our Association.

If I had a clearer understanding of just what is contemplated other than the brief references in your letter, there is a possibility that I would be able to lend some help, especially on the history of the Southern press. I am intensely interested in your project and if the order for a couple of the books will lend encouragement, you may enter an order for one copy for the Southern Newspaper Library and another copy for the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association.

Yours very truly

Walter C. Johnson

WCJ/K

Walter C. Johnson

SRC - Projects - Readings on the South

March 15, 1948

Dr. Calvin B. Hoover
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Hoover:

Professor Cullen Gosnell of Emory University and the Southern Regional Council are collaborating on the preparation of a college textbook of readings on the South.

As a possible source of material, we have been very much interested in the study on migration which the Committee of the South has made. Would you be able to tell us when this study will be available?

We are also anxious to see the article which the Committee published on State Planning Boards in the Southern states. We would appreciate any information you could give us about where it could be found.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SRC - Projects - Reading in-lieu of Sent

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800 TWENTY-FIRST STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
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DIRECTOR

Box 4855, Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina
March 20, 1948

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

In answer to your letter of March 15th, the study on migration will probably not be ready until the end of the current year. The study on state planning boards has not actually been published yet. You might obtain information with respect to its actual date of publication from Dr. Albert Lepawsky, Drawer I, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, University, Alabama. I believe a preliminary condensation is to be published in one of the learned journals soon and Dr. Lepawsky may be able to give you information about this.

Sincerely yours,

Calvin B. Hoover

Calvin B. Hoover
Director of Research
Committee of the South

CBH/wb

SRC Project
Pa. Cyc

March 23, 1948

Saturday Evening Post
Reference Department
Independence Square
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sirs:

If available, please send us a reprint of the article by Hodding Carter, entitled "Chip on Our Shoulder down South", published in your magazine in the issue of November 2, 1946. If a reprint is not available, do you have a copy of that issue of the magazine which you could send us?

Please bill us for the necessary charges.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SRC Projects - Readings

March 23, 1948

Dr. Rupert P. Vance
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Vance:

Dr. Mitchell and Professor Cullen Gosnell of Emory University are collaborating on the preparation of a college textbook of readings in the contemporary South. They want to include in the book a section on planning in the South, but good material has been hard to find. Dr. Mitchell has suggested that I write you for advice.

What we need is a good article on the general concept of regional planning for the South and/or a similar article on TVA. The material we have found so far has been either too general or too local and special in emphasis.

Do you know of such an article? Also, do you possibly know where we might obtain a really good map or an article analyzing the river systems of the South?

We will greatly appreciate any help you can give us.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SRC Project - Reading

March 23, 1948

Mr. John Ivey
Resource-Use Education
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ivey:

Dr. Mitchell and Professor Cullen Gosnell of Emory University are collaborating on the preparation of a college textbook of readings in the contemporary South. They want to include in the book a section on planning in the South, but good material has been hard to find. Dr. Mitchell has suggested that I write you for advice.

What we need is a good article on the general concept of regional planning for the South and/or a similar article on TVA. The material we have found so far is too local and special in emphasis. If you have any suggestions, we would be most appreciative.

Also, do you possibly know where we might obtain a really good map or an article analyzing the river systems of the South?

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SRC Project - Pending

March 23, 1948

The Hon. George A. Dondero
Chairman, Committee on Public Works
The House of Representative
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Please send us three (3) copies of the complete hearings recently held before your Committee on the Clarks Hill (Georgia) Project on the Savannah River.

We are making an intensive study of economic and natural resources in the South and would like the copies of the hearings requested above ~~above~~ for use in our research.

Thank you very much.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Projects: Readings on the South

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

March 24, 1948

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

We are glad to have your inquiry of March 23 about planning material for possible inclusion in the textbook of readings in which Drs. Mitchell and Gosnell are interested. I understand that our Division of Regional Studies has already been in correspondence with Dr. Gosnell, though not on the specific topics mentioned in your letter. We shall be glad to look further into the matter of good material and write you later. Offhand, I cannot refer you to anything which would seem suitable for your purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Mary U. Rothrock

Mary U. Rothrock
Specialist in Library Service
Training and Educational
Relations Branch

SRC Projects - Reading

March 23, 1948

Miss Mary U. Rothrock
Library TVA
Bank of Commerce
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Rothrock:

Dr. George S. Mitchell, the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and Professor Cullen Gosnell of Emory University, are collaborating on the preparation of a college textbook of readings in the contemporary South. They want to include a section on planning in the South in the book, but good material has been hard to find. Dr. Mitchell has suggested that I write you for advice.

What we need is a good article on the general concept of regional planning for the South and/or a similar article on TVA. The material we have found so far is too local and special in emphasis.

Do you know of such an article? Also, do you possibly know where we might obtain a really good map or an article analyzing the river systems of the South?

We will appreciate very much any help you can give us.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS

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COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 29, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 31 1948
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Attention: Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

The printed copies of the hearings on H. R. 3826 (Clark Hill), requested in your letter of March 23, will not be available for distribution for some time.

You will receive the three printed copies as soon as they come to the committee from the Government Printing Office.

Very sincerely yours,

Geo. A. Dondero

George A. Dondero, M. C.
Chairman

GAD/rfm

SOUTHERN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

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312 Dome Building
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Office of
WALTER C. JOHNSON,
Secretary-Manager

March 31, 1948

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The accompanying copy of communication was sent to more than one hundred editors of key newspapers in our membership. So far I haven't received as much as one reply and it is apparent that they haven't the knowledge of any good articles that summarizes the history, problems and future possibilities of the Southern press.

Although I sent you the April 10, 1943 issue of Editor and Publisher, featuring the Fortieth Anniversary of SNPA, there is a possibility that Editor and Publisher may have in their files some data that may prove helpful to you. They have a splendid librarian who is always cooperative in any request for research. I suggest that you write James Wright Brown, President, Editor and Publisher, 1700 Times Building, New York, and get Mr. Brown interested, and I am sure if you can sell him on the idea he can be most helpful to you. You can tell him that you are writing at my request.

Yours very truly,

Walter C. Johnson

Walter C. Johnson

WCJ:ams

PRINTED ON PAPER MADE FROM VIRGIN LINEN FLAX AT THE
ECUSTA PAPER CORP., PISGAH FOREST, NORTH CAROLINA

SOUTHERN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

March 17, 1948

TO EDITORS SNPA PAPERS:

George S. Mitchell, executive director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia, informs me that the Council and Professor Cullen Gosnell of Emory University are working on the joint compiling of a book of readings on the South for use as a college text. They are planning to include in the book a section on the press in the South.

I have been asked if in my work I have run across a really good article written in the past few years that summarizes the history, problems and future possibilities of the Southern press. My reply was that although there are more than 1600 books in the Southern Newspaper Library dealing with the newspapers and related subjects, I can't recall one that contains anything regarding the Southern press. I am, however, having our librarian check this statement as there is a possibility that one or more books carry a chapter or two about the Southern press.

If you can recall any recent articles on the subjects or books containing something that will be helpful to the professor at Emory University, won't you please write me. I believe you will agree it is a project that calls for the cooperation of publishers and editors of Southern newspapers.

I have sent Mr. Mitchell the special section of Editor & Publisher of April 10, 1943, featuring the Fortieth Anniversary of SNPA. It contains much historical matter regarding the South and Southern newspapers. The lead story by Arthur Robb is especially good and is titled "War Has Given The South Its 'Industrial Revolution' - New South Foreseen by Henry W. Grady 54 Years Ago at Last Near Realization."

Yours very truly,

Walter C. Johnson

Walter C. Johnson

Excerpts

24-5 (1 page) - gen. result of slavery

31-2 (1 page) - arg. will be econ.

40-45 (5 pp.) - Objects of arg. (vs. deception, persuade to abolish slave labor).
3. agric. ↓
Whites (non-slaves) enslaved by oligarchy

48-49 (1 page) - Poverty of S. agric. - dep. of S on N. w/c slavery.

(total) 52-55 (2½ pages) - cotton profits exagg. - unprofitable to S.

78-86 (6 pp.) - Summary - total wealth etc. - N. vs. S. -

92-3 (1 page) - " (general) "

120-121 (1½ pp.) - appeal to white non-slaveholders.

155-158 (2½ pp.)
158-163 (5½ pp.) } - Author's plan for abolition. Coop. of all white non-slaveholders

Helper

[About 27 pp]

Chap. II. Southern
Testimony vs. Slavery

Washington
Jefferson
Madison
Monroe
Henry
Randolph
Clay
Benton
Mason
McDowell (Va. Gov., 1832

Chap. IV. Northern
Testimony [vs. Slavery]

Franklin
Jay
Adams
Webster
Clinton
Abolitionists

Chap. I - Ec. (agric.) arg.

21 - 25 - N > S econ. - ; vs. slavery
31 - 32 - ec. argument of author - not moralete
40 - 45 - slavery non-profitable - enslaves poor whites
46 - 49 - Summary re agric. Northern profits, ~~Southern poverty~~
54 - 55 - cotton unprofitable comparatively
79 - 86 } Summary figures + arguments
120 - 121 } Appeal to non-slaveholders

(about 25 pp)

Chap. II. Abolition Plan

155 - 163 : Author's plan + summary
166 argument. Coop. of poor whites + all non-slaveholders.
1856 : Emancipation + remun. of slaves → benefit N's + whites
National unity paramount.

(about 12 pp)

Chap. V. ~~Testimony of the Nations~~

England
Ireland
Scotland
France
Germany
Italy
Greece

Chapter VI. Testimony of the Churches

Presbyterian } Churches to which
Episcopal } slaveholders mostly
Baptist } belong -
Methodist }
Catholic }

- other sects abolitionist completely -

Chapter VII. Bible Testimony

Chap. VIII. Free Figures + Slave

("Commerce, Manufactures, Internal Improvements, Education + Religion" - 281).
(Mostly figures)

Chap IX. Commercial Cities - Southern Commerce.

Comparison of pops, assessed val. of real + personal property in N + S cities
Wealth per capita

Chap. X. Facts + Arguments by the Wayside.

Legislative acts vs. slavery
Condition of poor whites

Chap. XI. Southern Literature.

Inferiority a/c slavery → lack of educ, ignorance, + lack of free speech + press.

Addrs —
sheet for each absent item
check outline items we have sent

READINGS IN THE CONTEMPORARY SOUTH

OUTLINE OF MATERIALS

* - Section not completed

I. INTRODUCTION (AND MAP OF REGION)

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A. Excerpts from: Helper, Hinton Rowan. The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It. New York (Burdick Brothers), 1857 edition. (About 25 pp.)

III. THE SOUTH: ECONOMIC PROBLEM NUMBER ONE

A. Report of the President's Committee on Economic Conditions in the South, 1937. (About 30-35 pp.)

B. Ethridge, Mark. "The Second Reconstruction." New South, Vol. 2, No. 2, February 1947. (About 6 pp.)

IV. RESOURCES.

A. General.

1. Vance, Rupert B. Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. 1946. (20 pp.)

ordered

2. Arnall, Ellis G. "Southern Frontier." Atlantic Monthly, September 1946. (About 8 pp.)

*B. Natural

out of print — not at Emory

1. National Resources Planning Board. Regional Planning: Part XI * The Southeast. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1942. (Excerpt summarizing natural resources in the Southeast, pp. 13-17.)

2. National Resources Planning Board. Regional Planning: Part - The Southwest. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1942. (Excerpt summarizing natural resources in the Southwest, pp. .)

C. Human

1. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. Labor in the South. Bulletin #898. Washington, D.C., 1947. Chap. II, "Labor Supply in the South", pp. 16-26.

*V. AGRICULTURE

A. Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy. Excerpts, pp. 39-45, 47-55, 58-61. (Washington, DC, February, 1937.)

B. Drucker, Peter. "Exit King Cotton." Harpers, May, 1946.

C. Callaway ~~[illegible]~~, Cason J. A Definite Plan for Georgia Agriculture. Atlanta, Ga., 1944.

D. Raper, Arthur. Machines in the Cotton Fields. Southern Regional Council. Atlanta, Ga., 1946. (About 16 pp.) [Or, instead, excerpts from: Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Cotton of the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, Eightieth Congress, First Session. Study of Agricultural and Economic Problems of the Cotton Belt. Washington, D.C., 1947.]

*VI. INDUSTRY

A. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. Labor in the South. Bulletin #898. Washington, D. C., 1947. Chap. I, "The Rise of Industry in the South", pp. 3-15.

B. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. Labor in the South. Bulletin #898. Washington, D.C., 1947. Chap. III, "Employment in Southern Manufactures", pp. 27-39.

C. Ferris, John P. "Industrial Development in the Southeast." Mechanical Engineering, Sept. 1946. Excerpts.

D. Daily News Record (Fairchild Publications). #16, "Cotton Textile Industry". 31 January 1948. Excerpts.

*VII. COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION

A. "Freight Rate Battle." Fortune, October 1944, pp. 148-154.

B. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. Labor in the South. Bulletin #898. Washington, D.C., 1947. Chap. XII, "Cooperatives in the South", pp. 177-181.

C. Mezerik, A.G. Revolt of the South and West. New York, 1946. Chapter on milk bottle monopoly.

D. Ellis Arnall's brief for the Georgia freight rate case.

E. Berge, Wendell. "Monopoly and the South." Southern Economic Journal, Vol. 13, pp. 360-369 (April, 1947).

F. Daily News Record. #8 - "Railroads", Dec. 6, 1947; and #13 - "Foreign Trade", Jan. 10, 1948. Excerpts.

VIII. LABOR

A. Fortune, "Labor Drives South", November, 1946, pp. 134-40, 230-37.

B. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. Labor in the South. Bulletin #898. Washington, D.C., 1947. Chap. V, "Regional Wage Differentials," pp. 56-69; Chap. IX, "State Labor Legislation in the South," pp. 118-137; and Chap. XI, "Development of Trade-Unionism in the South," pp. 149-176.

*IX. INCOME

A. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. Labor in

the South. Bulletin #898. Washington, D.C., 1947. Chap. IV, "Income in the South," pp. 40-55.

*X. CREDIT AND CAPITAL

A. Bryan, Malcolm. The Supply of Funds in the South, 1946. Atlanta, Ga., 1946. (About 6 pp.)

B. Daily News Record, Nov. 29, 1947. #7 - "Resources for Financing Industry in the South." Excerpts.

*XI. POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT.

A. 'To Secure These Rights'. A Digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Southern Regional Council. Atlanta, Ga., 1948. (About 25 pp.)

B. Simkins, F.B. The South, Old and New. New York, 1947. Excerpt on Southern demagogues from Chap. XXV, "Twentieth-Century Politics," pp. 438-444.

C. Jackson, Luther P. Study of voting restrictions in the Southern states. Forthcoming publication of the Southern Regional Council.

D. Legal brief for the Georgia County Unit Suit, 1946.

E. Nixon, H.C. "Southern Legislation and Legislatures." Journal of Politics, May, 1948. (Forthcoming)

XII. RACE.

A. Carter, Hodding. "Chip on Our Shoulder Down South". Saturday Evening Post, Nov. 2, 1946.

B. Articles from Survey Graphic, January 1947, Special Issue on Segregation.

1. Cushman, Robert E. "The Laws of the Land". (About 8-9 pp.)

2. Wirth, Louis. "The Price of Prejudice." (About 5 pp.)

3. McWilliams, Carey. "Spectrum of Segregation." (About 6 pp.)

4. Reid, Ira De A. "Southern Ways." (About 6-7 pp.)

C. Hughes, W. Hardin. Economic Value of the Negro to the South. Southern Regional Council, 1945. Excerpts.

XIII. EDUCATION

A. Wanted: An Educated South. Southern Regional Council, 1945.

B. NEA figures, state-by-state, for 1939-40 and 1946-47, on cost per pupil, etc. (From New York Times, Feb. 21, 1948.)

XIV. HOUSING

A. HOUSING in the South. Forthcoming public
Regional Council. (About 25 pp.)

B. Excerpts from the survey made by the Sociol
University, of the Crew-Formwalt area of Atl
(About 3-4 pp.)

XV. HEALTH

A. Dickens, Dorothy. Wanted: A Healthy South. S
Council, 1946. (About 23 pp.)

B. The Condition of our Rights. Southern Regional Cou
Excerpts, pp. 34-37. Revised

C. Nixon, H.C. "The Tennessee Valley: A Recreation Dom . Papers of the Institute of Research + Training in the Social Sciences, #9. Vanderbilt Univ. Press, Nashville, June, 1945.

*XVI. PLANNING

A. National Resources Planning Board. Regional Planning: Part XI, The Southeast. U.S. Government Printing Office, Wash ngton, D.C., 1942.

1. "Introduction", pp. 8-10. (Concept of planning.)

2. "Summary of Major Recommendations", pp. 1-7.

B. Same excerpts from the NRPB volume on the Southwest.

Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

* - to be read and checked

~~Minor article on Recreation?~~
Alex Heard

WORKING OUTLINE

I. INTRODUCTION (AND MAP OF REGION).

GSM II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

✓Excerpts from Helper

III. ECONOMIC PROBLEM #1.

✓a. Report of the President's Committee on Economic Conditions in the South, 1937.
✓b. Ethridge, Mark. "The Second Reconstruction". New South, Vol. 2, No.2, Feb. 1947, (6 pp.)

IV. RESOURCES

GSM a. General
✓1. Vance, Rupert B. ✓Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. SRC, 1946. (About 20 pp., omitting cuts.)
✓2. Arnall, Ellis G. "Southern Frontier". Atlantic Monthly, Sept. 1946. (About 8 pp.)
✓*3. "New Southern Resources". Yale Review, Sept, 1946.

GSM b. Natural.
✓*1. Fairchild series - # 6 - Power + Fuel (22 Nov 47)
2. NRPB, 1942 — pp. 13-17

Get SPW NRPB report

~~c. Economic.~~

c. Human
✓1. BLS, US Dept of Labor. Labor in the South. Bulletin #898, Washington DC, 1947. Chap. II, "Labor Supply in the South", pp. 16-26.
*~~2. "Want to Go South, Young Man?" Sat. Eve. Post, June 8, 1946~~ (on migration). SPW written for copy, 29 Nov.
*3. Ctee of the South - study on migration (to be published the end of 1948.)

V. AGRICULTURE

✓a. 1937 Report - Pres. Committee. "Farm Tenancy". Excerpts, pp. 39-45, 47-55, 58-61
~~xxxxxxxx~~
✓b. Drucker, Peter. "Exit King Cotton". Harpers, May 1946
check Pace Ctee — ~~c. Raper, Arthur. ✓Machines in the Cotton Field. SRC, 1946.~~
*d. ~~"Revolution in Cotton", Colliers, July 21, 1945.~~
~~*e. "Sad Plight of Cotton", Sat Eve Post, Dec. 8, 1945.~~
✓*f. Info. from Callaway farms - Callaway art.
*g. Info. from USDA on agricultural processing industries.
✓ ~~h. Fairchild series - # 11 - Changing Agric. of the South (27 Dec 47)~~

VI. INDUSTRY

*a. Ferris, John P. "Industrial Development in the Southeast". Mechanical Engineering, Sept 1946.
*b. Information on the paper and pulp industry. (Union Bag & Paper Corp., Savannah)
*c. Articles in the Fairchild publications series on the South.
*d. ~~"The Deep South Looks Up". Fortune, July 1943.~~ ~~war emphasis - dated - parts usable?~~
*e. ~~"Land of Promise". University System of Georgia, State Engineering Experiment Station Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 1, Jan. 1940. (re industrialization)~~
*f. ~~"Prime Movers for Southern Industry". University System of Georgia, State Engineering Experiment Station Bulletin, Vol. II, No.1, Jan. 1940.~~
*g. Labor in the South, Chap I, "The Rise of Industry in the South", 3-15.
*h. Labor in the South, Chap III, "Employment in Southern Manufactures", 27-39.
~~*i. Mitchell, Broadus, The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South. Baltimore (Johns Hopkins Press), 1921. Excerpts.~~
good *j. Bonham, H.D. "Prospect for Heavy Industry in the South." Southern Economic Journal. Vol. 13, 395-403, Apr. 1947.
~~*k. "Industry's Big Gains in the South". U.S. Labor News. July 1946.~~
~~*l. "Will the Machine Ruin the South?" Sat. Eve. Post. May 31, 1947.~~
*m. "Decentralization". American Mag. Jan. 1946.
~~*n. "The Comers and their Cotton Mills." Fortune. May 1944.~~ (parts are usable)
#5 - Gen. industrial development (15 Nov 47)
#15 - Textiles + apparel (24 Jan 48)
#16 - Cotton textiles (31 Jan 48)
#4 - Taxes + Community Devel. Corps. (Promotion of Industry) (8 Nov 47)
#9 - Industrial Research (13 Dec 47)

VII. COMMERCE AND [redacted] TRANSPORTATION

Mezerik.
*a. "Freight Rate Battle." Fortune. Oct 1944, pp. 148-154.
*b. "Cooperatives in the South", Labor in the South, Chap. XII, 177-181.
*c. Information from Morris Mitchell, Sec. of the S.E. Coop. League.
good *d. Berge, Wendall. "Monopoly and the South". Southern Economic Journal. Vol. 13, 360-69. April 1947.
*e. Fairchild publications series on the South.
~~*f. Kline, Henry B. "Freight Rates: The Interregional Tariff Issue." Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville 4, Tenn., 1942. (out of print)~~
~~*g. Voetle, Alvin W., and Kline, Henry B. "Freight Rates and the South". Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville 4, Tenn., 1943. (available)~~
#8 - RR's (6 Dec 47)
~~#10 - Moto. freight (20 Dec 47)~~
#13 - Foreign trade (10 Jan 48)
} parts
Arnall's brief - ft. rates

VIII. Labor
IX. Income
X. Credit + Capital
XI. Politics + Govt.
XII.

9SM [redacted]. RACE

*a. Carter, Hodding. "Chip on our Shoulder Down South". Sat. Eve. Post. Nov. 2, 1946. Have written SEP for copy
b. Articles from Survey Graphic, Jan 1947, Special Issue on Segregation.
1. Cushman, Robert E. "The Laws of the Land". (About 8-9 pp. - overall legal and political review.)
2. Wirth, Louis. "The Price of ~~[illegible]~~ Prejudice". (About 5 pp.) (Econ. and social viewpoint)
3. McWilliams, Carey. "Spectrum of Segregation". (About 6 pp. - policy of Federal govt. toward minorities)
4. Reid, Ira De A. "Southern Ways". (About 6-7 pp. - Southern law and custom re Negro-white relations)

~~?5. Henderson, J. Lewis. "In the Cotton Delta." (About 8-9 pp. - economic - plantation system and the Negro.)~~

c. Hughes, W. Hardin. Economic Value of the Negro to the South. SRC, 1945.

~~XIII.~~ EDUCATION

a. Wanted: An Educated South. SRC, 1947.
b. NEA figures on cost per pupil etc. - from NY Times, 21 Feb 48. (Figs. for 1939-40 and 1946-47.)

9SM ~~VIII.~~ LABOR

a. Labor in the South:
Chap. V, "Regional Wage Differentials", 56-69.
~~Chap.VI, "Wages in Specific Industries in the South", 70-95.~~
Chap.IX, "State Labor Legislation in the South", 118-130.
Chap.XI, "Development of Trade-Unionism in the South", 149-176.
*b. "Effectiveness of Factory Labor: South-North Comparisons". Jour. Pol. Econ. Feb. 1946.
c. "Labor Drives South". Fortune. Nov. 1946.
*d. Fairchild publications series on the South - Labor article. #12 (3 Jan 48)
*e. Lester, R.A. "Southern Wage Differentials: Development, Analysis, and Implications." Southern Economic Journal. Vol. 13, 386-94, Apr. 1947.
~~*f. Rostas, L. "Productivity of Labour in the Cotton Industry". Economic Journal. Vol. 55, 192-205, June 1945.~~

9SM ~~XI.~~ XIV. HOUSING

a. SRC pamphlet on Housing in the South.
b. Report on Emory University survey of Atlanta - see Mr. Wiggins, Soc. Dept.
~~*c. Fairchild Series - # 16 - Labor & the Mill Village (4 Feb 48)~~

9SM ~~XII.~~ XV. HEALTH

a. Dickens, Dorothy. Wanted: A Healthy South. SRC, 1946. (About 23 pp.)
* b. SRC - "From the Files" - pp. 34-37, revised?

~~Olsen~~ ~~Wayman~~ ~~XIII.~~ IX. INCOME

a. Labor in the South, Chap. IV, "Income in the South", pp. 40-55.
b. Heer, Clarence. Income & Wages in the South, Chapel Hill, 1929 - for discussion.

X. CREDIT AND CAPITAL

a. Bryan, Malcolm. The Supply of Funds in the South, 1946. Atlanta, Ga., 1946.

b. Fairchild series - #7, "Resources for Financing Industry in the South". (29 Nov 47)

~~c. Memphis - Urban & Speech Letters~~.

XI. POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT.

a. SRC Digest, To Secure These Rights. 1948

*b. SRC - "From the Files" - excerpts from revised version.

*c. Simkins, FB. The South, Old and New. NY, 1947. Except on Southern demagogues from Chap. XXV, "Twentieth-Century Politics," pp. 438-444.

d. Ga. County Unit Suit - brief.

e. Committee of Editors and Writers in the South. Voting Restrictions in the 13 Southern States. 1944.
(Or - preferably - Luther P. Jackson study.)

f. Ulmer art. on S. Legislatures - Jour. Pol. May '48

g. Clarks Hill hearings - House Ctee on Pub. Wks. (G. A. Dondero, Ch.) - written 23 Mar for 3 copies (Ulmer, Posnell, GSM)

~~GSM XII. PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION~~

~~a. Johnsen, Charles B. Into the Main Stream. Chapel Hill, 1947. Excerpt on press attitudes toward Negroes, pp. 198-204.~~

~~b. The Negro Press, SRC, 1947.~~

~~*c. Selection of representative editorials.~~

GSM XVI. PLANNING

f. Lepawsky, Albert. Art. on Govt'al planning in the South. J. Pol. 14 May '48

a. Vance, R.B. "Human Resources and Public Policy: An Essay toward Regional-National Planning." Social Forces, Oct. 1945, Vol. 22, 20-25. (Very general - on policy level - usable?)

~~*b. Van Sickle, John V. "Public Works, Economic Stabilization, and the Rural South". Vanderbilt Univ. Press, Nashville 4, Tenn., 1945.~~

*c. Committee of the South - article critical of Southern state planning boards - not yet published. Written Dr. Lepawsky, Univ. of Fla. - 23 Mar 48 (as per Horner)

*d. TVA material - TVA
1. Check Lilienthal, Democracy on the March, NY, 1944.
2. Write TVA and Chapel Hill (Ivey)(Vance) - written 23 Mar 48
*3. "TVA Rescues the Farmer", New Republic. Sept 15, 1945.
*4. "TVA Pioneers", New Rep., Sept 30, 1946.

NRPB, Reg. Planning Pt. II The SE June 1942 Introd. & Readings.

? 5. McPherson, W.K. "Industrial & Business Development in the Tennessee Valley". The Tennessee Engineer, Feb. '47 — covers resources, necessary planning & coordination - good graphs & charts on occupations, wages, & economic trends.

? 6. Tenn. State Planning Comm. Local Planning in Tenn, 1946-47. (1st section - usable as local example?)

Agric.

Farms - marginal areas

Human resources } conservat.

phys. resources }

farm labor

marketing dist.

Forestry dev.

Water Resources Dev.

Bus. & Ind. Dev - Manuf, financing

Educ. Dev.

Pub. Health Dev.

Housing Dev.

Recreational Dev.

Govt & Pub. Admin.

Material to Get for Looseleaf

Section

III. A. Report of the Pres. Ctee on Ec. Conds. in the South, 1937.

IV. A ordered 2 April ~~Arnall, "Southern Frontier", Atlantic Monthly, Sept. '46~~

IV. B. 1) NRPB. Regional Planning: Part XI – The Southeast. 1942 – GPO – 55¢

ordered 2 April GPO

2) NRPB – Ditto – Southwest.

V. B. ordered 2 April ~~Drucker – "Exit King Cotton" – Harpers May '46~~

C D. Pace Ctee Hearings – 1942 – excerpts.

~~VI. D. Daily News Record – #16 – "Cotton Textiles" – 31 Jan 48 – (Gosnell has)~~

VII. A. C Fortune Oct '44 – Ft. Rate Battle

~~C. Mezerik – from Alex Miller~~

~~D. Arnall. Ft. Rate Brief~~

ordered 2 Apr '48 ~~Berge – monopoly art. – S.E.J. Apr. '47~~

~~Daily News Record – #8 "Railroads" & #13 – "For. Trade – (Gosnell has)~~

X B. ~~Daily News Record – #7 "Resources for Financing S. Ind." (29 Nov 47) – (Gosnell)~~

(over)

XI. C. gsM Jackson - voting study
(Wittins) ~~co County unit suit brief~~
~~co Nixon article on legislatures.~~

XII. A. ~~Carter - "Chip on Our Shoulder"~~ (ordered from SCP)
B. ~~Survey Graphic, Jan 47 - Spec. Issue~~
~~ordered 2 April~~

XIII. B. co NEA figs. - NYT 21 Feb 48 - library - Apr. 1st

XIV. A. Housing - SRC

SRC Readings

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

April 1, 1948

Miss Jane P. Simpson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Simpson:

Mr. Vance has discussed your letter with me and asked me to write about the readings in planning. Dr. T. J. Woofter had a early article on the TVA in, I believe, the American Journal of Sociology. If that could be brought up to date, it would make a very good chapter. Possibly, your best material on planning for the South would come from Regional Report No. 9 of the National Resources Planning Board. This was published from the Atlanta office just before the Board folded up. It is really doubtful if any one article could fill your needs without a great deal of synthesis and rewriting.

check back

A good map of the river systems of the South can be obtained from the United States Geological Survey. The enclosed announcement from the SASI may also suggest some leads.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Spence

Mary Spence, Secretary
Dr. Rupert B. Vance

Enclosure

3-22-48

Studies of Southern Resources

Prepared by the
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
for the
Southern Association of Science and Industry

1. FORESTRY IN THE SOUTH
   C. F. Korstian, School of Forestry, Duke University, Durham, N. C. (Chairman of SASI Committee on Forestry which developed Part I, "A Program of Forestry for the South.")
   Lee James, Southeastern Forest Experiment Station, Asheville, N. C. (Author of Part II, "Forest Resources and Major Forest Industries of the South.")

2. RESOURCES FOR SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT
   Harriet L. Herring, Research Associate, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

3. RESEARCH IN SOUTHERN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT
   Edith Webb Williams, Formerly Research Associate, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

4. WILDLIFE RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH
   Walter P. Taylor, Texas Cooperative Wildlife Research Unit, Texas A & M College, College Station, Texas.

5. FISHERY RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH
   Lionel A. Walford, Fish and Wildlife Service, Washington, D. C.

6. SOILS OF THE SOUTH
   Roy W. Simonson, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 210 New Sprankle Building, Knoxville 11, Tenn.
   J. W. Moon, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 210 New Sprankle Building, Knoxville 11, Tenn.

7. GOVERNMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE SOUTH
   Paul W. Wager, Research Professor, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

8. CLIMATE IN THE SOUTHERN REGION
   J. B. Kincer, Retired, U. S. Weather Bureau, Washington, D. C.

9. MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH
   W. F. Prouty, Department of Geology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. (An SASI Committee may be asked to prepare Part II of this monograph.)

10. NATURAL RECREATIONAL RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH
    Harold D. Meyer, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
    Nancy Jefferis, 300 Price Street, West Chester, Penn.

11. THE SOUTH'S HUMAN RESOURCES
    Rupert B. Vance, Kenan Research Professor, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

12. SOUTHERN OFFERING: THE RESOURCES OF A LOVELY LAND; THE COST OF THEIR WASTE
    Howard W. Odum, Kenan Research Professor, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

NOTE: Miss Natalie Smith, Southern Association of Science and Industry, Hotel Murphy, Richmond, Virginia, can provide information concerning cost of the monographs and will handle orders.

Vol. 1 NOVEMBER 1, 1947 No. 5

FIRST OF 12 MONOGRAPHS ON SOUTHERN RESOURCES WILL BE PRINTED IN JANUARY

MONOGRAPHS BY TITLE

Following is a list of the monographs, and their authors, in the order in which they are scheduled to appear.

1. FORESTRY IN THE SOUTH—Dean C. F. Korstian and Dr. Lee M. James.

2. RESOURCES FOR SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT—Miss Harriet L. Herring.

3. RESEARCH IN SOUTHERN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT—Dr. Edith Webb Williams.

4. WILDLIFE RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH—Dr. Walter P. Taylor.

5. FISHERY RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH—Lionel A. Walford.

6. SOILS OF THE SOUTH—Dr. Roy W. Somonson and J. W. Moon.

7. GOVERNMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE SOUTH—Dr. Paul W. Wager.

8. CLIMATE IN THE SOUTHERN REGION—Dr. J. B. Kincer.

9. MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH—Dr. W. F. Prouty.

10. NATURAL RECREATIONAL RESOURCES OF THE SOUTH—Dr. Harold D. Meyer and Miss Nancy Jefferis.

11. THE SOUTH'S HUMAN RESOURCES—Dr. Rupert B. Vance.

12. SOUTHERN OFFERING: THE RESOURCES OF A LOVELY LAND—Dr. Howard W. Odum.

The efforts of scores of the South's top research, education and business leaders have gone into the planning preparation and publication of 12 monographs on Southern resources. Years of preparatory work has been done by the SASI on this series of booklets on the basic resources of the South. Final arrangements have been made by the SASI committee in charge of the monographs, headed by Dr. Gordon W. Blackwell, and the Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia, for the publication of the material.

The first monograph scheduled to come from the press will appear by January 1, 1948. Entitled "Forestry in the South", it is the work of Dean C. F. Korstian, School of Forestry, Duke University, and Dr. Lee James, Southeastern Forest Experiment Station, Asheville, North Carolina. Present plans call for the remaining 11 to appear at monthly intervals.

The price of the monographs has not been determined, nor can it be until all the manuscripts have been turned in to the printers. Since most of the monographs are not of full book length, paper covers will be used with a distinctive cover design for the series and varying colors for each monograph. A format of 6 by 9 inches is being considered.

There will be no royalties to authors. Dr. Blackwell has pointed out that this is not a money-making project for anyone. Staff members of the University of North Carolina's Institute for Research in Social Science, of which Dr. Blackwell is director, are aiding the committee in editing the manuscripts and getting them ready for the printer. Particular attention is being paid to uniformity of the series.

Advance order blanks on the series will be available at an early date, and copies will be sent to the membership of SASI.

QUARTERLY REPORT OF THE SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY
Editor — Edward P. Brady, P. O. Box 952, Charleston, S. C.
S.A.S.I. Headquarters—Hotel Murphy Richmond 19, Va.

MEET THE AUTHORS

Dr. C. F. Korstian, (Forestry in the South-part I), dean of the School of Forestry, Duke University, author, editor, educator and community leader, received his M.F. degree from the University of Nebraska in 1913 and his M.A. in 1924 from Southeastern Christian College. He was a research fellow at Yale University, where he received his Ph.D. in 1926. He has had wide experience with colleges, universities, and with governmental agencies such as the department of agriculture. He holds or has held offices in a half-dozen professional societies and has been editor of the Ecologial Monographs since 1933.

Dr. Lee M. James, (Forestry in the South-part II), was graduated from the Pennsylvainia State College after majoring in forestry. He received his M.F. in forestry and Ph.D. in economics and forestry from the University of Michigan. He has had eight years experience with the U. S. Forest Service, chiefly in the South. He is a member of the Society of American Foresters, American Economic Association, and Southern Economic Association.

Dr. Edith Webb Williams, (Research in Southern Regional Development) former research associate, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, is at present residing in Syracuse, N. Y. She received her A.B. degree from the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, her A.M. degree from the University of North Carolina, and her Ph.D. from Cornell University. In addition to her research experience with the Institute, she has worked with the TVA, the Research Division of the Works Progress Administration, and the New York City Committee for Mental Hygiene. She has taught at Hofstra College, Hempstead, N. Y., and the University of South Carolina.

Dr. Walter P. Taylor, (Wildlife Resources of the South) is a member of the fish and wildlife service of the U. S. Department of the Interior. He is with the Texas Cooperative Wildlife Research Unit, in College Station, Texas. He majored in zoology and was graduated with a B.S. degree from University of California in 1911 and received his Ph.D. in 1914. He is an authority on mammals and birds, and has both headed research projects and taught the subject during his long and active career. He has specialized in the study of the distribution and ecology of mammals and birds and the biology of farm, forest and grazing range.

Dr. Roy W. Simonson, (Soils of the South) of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, has his roots in the soil of America, as well as having soil as his particular field of endeavor. He was born and reared on a wheat farm in Rolette County, North Dakota. He worked both as a farm hand and as a farmer before he began his college career. He received his B.S. degree in agriculture from the North Dakota Agricultural College in 1934. Following his graduation he worked with the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station. He then studied at the University of Wisconsin, where he received his Ph.D. in 1938. He has taught at Iowa State College. Since 1943 he has been working in the Southern states with the division of soil survey, Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils and Agricultural Engineering, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

J. W. Moon, (Soils of the South) of the U. S. Department, of Agriculture, is a soil scientist with the division of soil survey of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils and Agricultural Engineering. He is the author of some 15 papers in his field. He was born and reared on a farm near Bowman, Georgia. He attended the University of Georgia and was graduated with a B.S. degree in 1923. His main work has been the supervising of a detailed soil survey of the Tennessee Valley.

Dr. J. B. Kincer (Climate in the Southern Region) entered the U. S. Weather Bureau service as assistant observer in 1905, and retired recently as principal meteorologist and chief of the division of climate and crop weather. He is a fellow in the American Association for the Advancement of Scienc and the American Meteorological Society, of which he was president in 1936-37. Author of many publications on weather, he is a member of the Association of American Geographers, the American Geophysical Union, the International Climatological Commission, and the International Commission on Agricultural Meteorology.

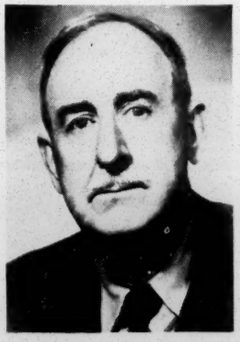
Dr. Paul W. Wager, (Government and Natural Resources in the South), is research professor at the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. He re-

ceived his B.S. degree from Hobart College, in 1917, and his A.M. degree from Haverford College in 1920. He took graduate work at the University of North Carolina, where he received his Ph.D. degree in 1927. In addition to his teaching experience, he has served as taxation economist for the forest service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, regional assistant of the land policy committee of the AAA, and regional chief of the land use planning section, Bureau of Agricultural Economy. Author of many books and pamphlets in his field, he has also had experience in public administration.

Dr. W. F. Prouty, (Mineral Resources of the South) head of the department of geology of the University of North Carolina, has been active in the field of geology in the South since 1906. Having received his Ph.D. degree that year from the Graduate School at Johns Hopkins, where he had been a fellow in geology, he went to Alabama as an assistant to the Alabama Geological Survey. In 1911 he became head of the department of geology at the University of Alabama. He went with the University of North Carolina in 1919. Dr. Prouty has published many scientific article and bulletins, particularly in the fields of economic and structural geology, as well as paleontology.

Dr. Harold D. Meyer, (Natural Recreational Resources of the South), is professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, and director of the North Carolina Recreation Commission. He is president of the American Recreation Society, chief of the Bureau of Recreation of the University of North Carolina, a member of the National Recreation Policies Committee, and national chairman of the Conference on State Recreation. He is also chairman of the College Conference on Training of Recreation Leaders, and is on the national board of the Camp Fire Girls, National Council of Boy Scouts, and Regional Council of Girl Scouts. He is on the editorial board of "Youth Leaders Digest" and "School Activities". He is a noted author and lecturer.

Miss Nancy Jefferis, (National Recreational Resources of the South) a personnel director, received her B.A. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1943. She majored in Sociology and received her M.A. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1946. She has had experience with the American Red Cross.



Dr. Howard W. Odum, (Southern offering: The Resources of a Lovely Land) Kenan Research Professor, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, has long been identified with progressive thinking in the South. He is the author of no less than 22 volumes dealing with the South and social problems in general. His productive and varied career has seen him head of schools and institutes, as well as active in research and teaching. He has received top honors from universities and from professional societies. More than once he has been called to Washington to assist with the work of presidential commissions. He has served as president of a half-dozen societies and organizations. A graduate of Emory College, where he received the A.B. degree in 1904, he holds a Ph.D. from Columbia University and from Clark University, and LL.D. from Emory University, a Litt.D. from the College of the Ozarks, and LL.D. from Harvard University, and an L.H.D. from Clark.

Dr. Rupert B. Vance, (The South's Human Resources), is Kenan Research Professor at the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina.

Miss Harriet L. Herring, (Resources for Southern Industrial Development), research associate, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, is a graduate of Meredith College, where she received her A.B. degree in 1913. She received her M.A. degree in 1918 from Radcliffe College, and went on to graduate study at Bryn Mawr College and the University of North Carolina. Author of books, pamphlets and articles dealing with regional resources, labor relations, welfare work and other subjects, she has had a wealth of practical experience with social service organizations, planning boards, governmental agencies, and other organizations. She has been teaching industrial community development in the University of North Carolina since 1935.

Monograph Committee Personnel

Dr. Gordon W. Blackwell, who is editing the series, is director of the University of North Carolina's Institute for Research in Social Sciences. He is a nationally-known specialist in community service. A native of South Carolina, he is a pioneer in the study of rural sociology and institutions. He is a graduate of Furman University, holds an M.A. degree from the University of North Carolina and both an M.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard

University. Last year Dr. Blackwell was selected by the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education to summarize the work of that committee's experiments in a half-hundred colleges experimenting in the teaching of the social sciences. His work was published in a volume entitled "Community Understanding".

Members of the committee in charge of publishing the monographs include, in addition to Dr. Blackwell, Lloyd C. Bird, president of Phipps & Bird, Inc.; Dr. Wortley F. Rudd, retired, dean of the School of Pharmacy, Medical College of Virginia; Robert F. Nelson, SASI public relations counsel, and Edward S. Harlow, of American Tobacco Co.'s research staff.

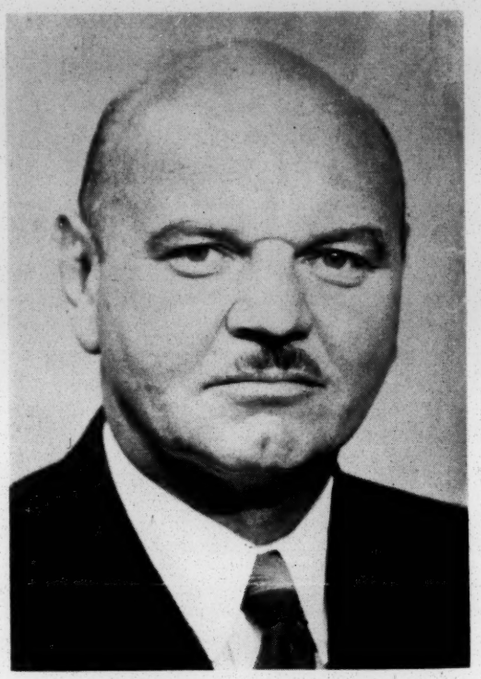
CONSERVATION CONFERENCE

A southwide conservation conference will be held at the hotel Chamberlin, Old Point Comfort, Virginia, January 11, 12, and 13, 1948. Cecil F. DeLaBarre, of Blacksburg, Virginia, chairman of the SASI conservation committee, will head the three-day meeting.

The purpose of the conference is to boost the use and halt the abuse of the natural resources of the South. Planned to cover soils, waters, forests, minerals, wildlife and marine resources of fourteen Southern states, the conference is geared to devise workable programs of conservation for each of these resources and to focus general attention on them.

"Every inhabitant of the South, the private citizen as well as the property owner and the industrialist, has a stake in the region's resources, and it is the responsibility as well as the privilege of each one to have a voice in determining a conservation policy for the South," Mr. DeLaBarre declared.

Homer M. Pace, SASI president, has emphasized that the conference is open to the public and has urged everyone to attend and to take part in the proceedings. "European countries," Mr. Pace said, "have been forced the hard way to see the economic significance of conservation, and have imposed effective but stringent measures to prevent total depletion of their natural resources. The South because of its abundance and the advances made in recent years in principles of conservation, can be made a horn of plenty, which will be replenished as used."



C. F. DeLaBarre

DIXIE HANDBOOK

The editor of the Quarterly planned an article on Southern research institutions. He found it ready-made on page 6 of the last issue of the Dixie Handbook. In addition, the listing of Southern research facilities on page 85 of the same issue was carefully and comprehensively put together. It is more complete than the listings run in this Quarterly to date.

So, rather than duplicate effort, arrangements were made to furnish each SASI member with a copy of the magazine as an enclosure to the Quarterly. The DIXIE, which is also issued on a quarterly schedule, is available on a suscription basis. It is edited by Frederick H. McDonald, outstanding authority on community development work and author of a standard text in the field. Offices are in The Peoples Building, Charleston 3, S. C.

THREE CONFERENCES SCHEDULED

The 1948 program of the Association includes the following conferences:

CONSERVATION: Chamberlain Hotel, Old Point Comfort, Virginia, January 11, 12 and 13, 1948. Program to be arranged by the SASI conservation committee. Chairman—Professor Cecil F. DeLaBarre, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia.

EDUCATION: The educational conference and annual meeting of the SASI will coincide. They will be held in Miami, Florida, on May 2 to 4, 1948. Program to be arranged by SASI committee on education, headed by Thomas C. Boushall, president of the Bank of Virginia, Richmond.

RESEARCH: A southwide research conference is scheduled for October 10, 11, and 12, 1948, in Chattanooga Tennessee. The program will be arranged by Dr. Raymond B. Seymour, director, Industrial Research Institute, University of Chattanooga.

NEW BOARD MEMBERS

Eleven of the new members of the board of trustees of the SASI recently announced include Carl B. Fritsche, of Tuscaloosa, vice president and manager of the plastics division, Reichhold Chemicals, Inc.; Dr. E. Willard Berry, of Durham, head of the department of Geology, Duke University; Robert S. Kerr, of Oklahoma City, former governor of Oklahoma; H. F. Willkie, of Louisville, vice president of Distillers Corporation, Seagrams, Ltd.; J.F. Whitescarver, division manager, U. S. Industrial Chemicals, Inc., Baltimore; R. B. Crawford, president, Kilcare Laundry, Farmville, Va.; Ashley C. Tobias, president, Palmetto State Life Insurance Co., Columbia, S. C.; Col. E. W. Palmer, president, Kingsport Press, Inc., Kingsport, Tenn.; Leroy Holt, general staff manager-sales, Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Co., Birmingham; and Dr. George L. Cross, president, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.

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April 1, 1948

Dr. Albert Lepawsky
Bureau of Public Administration
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Dr. Lepawsky:

Thank you for your letter of March 26. Your forthcoming article on governmental planning in the South sounds as though it may be the kind of article for which we have been looking. We have had trouble finding a broad, fairly general article treating the concept of planning and its application in the South. We would like very much to see a copy of yours when one is available. We also appreciate your offer to send us, if you are able to do so, a copy of the Committee of the South study on state planning.

The book of readings is still in the preliminary stages. The enclosed outline and list of selections is tentative and incomplete, since we are still looking for material and we have not yet requested permission from the contributors. The book is intended for use as a textbook in college courses dealing with the contemporary South. We would like very much to have any comments, suggestions, or criticisms which you would care to make.

We trust that this is the information you desired.

Thank you very much for your interest and help.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

READINGS IN THE CONTEMPORARY SOUTH

Preliminary Outline

I. Introduction(and map of region)
II. Historical Background
    A. Excerpts from Helper, H.R. The Impending Crisis of the South. New York, 1857.
III. The South: Economic Problem Number One
    A. Report of the President's Committee on Economic Conditions in the South, 1937.
    BB. Ethridge, Mark. "The Second Reconstruction". New South (Southern Regional Council), February 1947.
IV. Resources
    A. General
        1. Vance, Rupert B. Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation. SRC, 1946.
        2. Arnall, Ellis G. "Southern Frontier". Atlantic Monthly, September 1946.
    B. Natural
        1. NRPB. Regional Planning: Part XI - The Southeast. 1942. (Excerpt summarizing natural resources in the Southeast, pp. 13-17.)
        2. Same excerpt from NRPB volume on the Southwest if available.
    C. Human
        1. Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Labor. Labor in the South. Bulletin #898. Washington, 1947. Chap. II, "Labor Supply in the South", pp. 16-26.
V. Agriculture
    A. Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy. Washington, 1937. Excerpts.
    B. Drucker, Peter. "Exit King Cotton". Harpers, May 1946.
    C. Callaway, Cason J. A Definite Plan for Georgia Agriculture. Atlanta, Ga., 1944.
    D. Raper, Arthur. Machines in the Cotton Fields. SRC, 1946. (Or, instead, excerpts from the Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Cotton of the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives: Study of Agricultural and Economic Problems of the Cotton Belt. Eightieth Congress, First Session, Washington, 1947.)
VI. Industry
    A. BLS. Labor in the South. Chap. I, "The Rise of Industry in the South", pp. 3-15.
    B. Ibid., Chap. III, "Employment in Southern Manufactures", pp. 27-39.
    C. "Cotton Textile Industry". Daily News Record (Fairchild Publications), Jan. 31, 1948. Excerpts.
    D. Ferris, John P. "Industrial Development in the Southeast." Mechanical Engineering, September 1946. Excerpts.
VII. Commerce and Transportation
    A. "Freight Rate Battle". Fortune, October 1944.
    B. Ellis Arnall's brief for the Georgia freight rate case.
    C. Berge, Wendell. "Monopoly and the South". Southern Economic Journal, April 1947.
    D. Mezerik, A.G. Revolt of the South and the West. New York, 194 . Excerpt on milk bottle monopoly.

E. "Railroads". Daily News Record, Dec. 6, 1947. Excerpts.
F. "Foreign Trade". Daily News Record. Jan. 10, 1948. Excerpts.
G. BLS. Labor in the South. Chap. XII, "Cooperatives in the South", pp. 177-181.

VIII. Labor
A. BLS. Labor in the South. Chap. V, "Regional Wage Differentials", pp. 56-69.
B. Ibid., Chap. IX, "State Labor Legislation in the South", pp. 118-137.
C. Ibid., Chap. XI, "Development of Trade-Unionism in the South", pp. 149-176.
D. "Labor Drives South". Fortune. November 1946.

IX. Income
A. BLS. Labor in the South. Chap. IV, "Income in the South", pp. 40-55.

X. Credit and Capital
A. Bryan, Malcolm. The Supply of Funds in the South. Atlanta, Ga., 1946.
B. "Resources for Financing Industry in the South". Daily News Redord, Nov. 29, 1947. Excerpts.

XI. Politics and Government
A. 'To Secure These Rights'. SRC Digest of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. 1948.
B. Simkins, F.B. The South, Old and New. New York, 1947. Excerpt on Southern demagogues from Chap. XXV, "Twentieth-Century Politics," pp. 438-444.
C. Jackson, Luther P. Study of voting restrictions in the Southern states. Forthcoming publication of the SRC.
D. Legal brief for the Georgia county unit suit, 1946.
E. Nixon, H.C. "Southern Legislation and Legislatures". Journal of Politics, May 1948 (forthcoming).

XII. Race
A. Carter, Hodding. "Chip on our Shoulder Down South". Saturday Evening Post, Nov. 2, 1946.
B. Articles from Survey Graphic, January 1947, special issue on "Segregation":
1. Cushman, Robert E. "The Laws of the Land".
2. Wirth, Louis. "The Price of Prejudice."
3. McWilliams, Carey. "Spectrum of Segregation".
4. Reid, Ira De A. "Southern Ways".
C. Hughes, W. Hardin. Economic Value of the Negro to the South. SRC, 1945. Excerpts (revised version if available).

XIII. Education
A. Wanted: An Educated South. SRC, 1945.
(Supplemented by NEA figures, state by state, for 1939-1940 and 19467-1947, on cost per pupil, etc. (From New York Times, Feb. 21, 1948.)

XIV. Housing
A. Housing in the South. SRC, 1948 (Forthcoming publication.
B. Excerpts from the survey made by the Sociology Department, Emory University, of the Crew-Formwalt slum area of Atlanta, 1948.

XV. Health

A. Dickens, Dorothy. Wanted: A Healthy South. SRC, 1946.

B. The Conditon of Our Rights. SRC, 1948. Excerpts, pp. 34-47.

XVI. Planning

A. NRPB. Regional Planning: Part XI - The Southeast. 1942.
Excerpts, pp. 8-10, concept of planning.
pp. 1-7, summary of recommendations.

B. Same excerpts from NRPB volume on the Southwest, if available.

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

March 26, 1948

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

The study of state planning mentioned by Dr. Hoover is now in the process of completion, and by about April 5 will be placed in the hands of the Subcommittee of the Committee of the South which is responsibile for the study. It may be another month before it is cleared through the Subcommittee at which time I might be able to get a copy to you. I have a better suggestion for your consideration meanwhile, and that is an article I have written on governmental planning in the South generally, not merely state planning, which will appear in the May issue of the Journal of Politics. From what you tell me of your book of readings, I think the broader article would be more suitable. However, before I would suggest the use of either, I would very much like to know what the outline of the entire book is to be and who the contributors are.

Sincerely yours,

Albert Lepawsky

Albert Lepawsky

AL:aw/b

SRC Project
Readings in the South

March 23, 1948

Dr. Albert Lepawsky
Drawer 1, Bureau of Public Administration
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Dr. Lepawsky:

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and Professor Cullen Gosnell of Emory University are collaborating on the preparation of a college textbook of readings in the contemporary South. They want to include in the book a section on planning in the South.

We have been very much interested in the forthcoming study on state planning boards which the Committee of the South has done, and Dr. Calvin B. Hoover has suggested that we write you for information about a preliminary condensation which is to be published soon.

We will appreciate any information you can give us about where we may be able to obtain a copy.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SRC - Readings

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

April 6, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

In connection with Miss Simpson's request I just happened to think that Albert S. Keister did a wonderful chapter on "Planning for the South" in the commemorative volume of North Carolina Woman's College that was published by our press several years ago. If you and Gosnell can't use this, why not try your hand at adapting a chapter from J. B. VanSickle's Planning for the South (Vanderbilt, 1943)? I used both of these barefacedly and unashamed in my last chapter.

Cordially yours,

Rupert B. Vance

RUPERT B. VANCE
Kenan Professor of Sociology

RBV:ch

SR "Readings ..."

April 9, 1948

Professor Cullen Gosnell
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Cullen:

The professor of sociology at Berea College, Mr. M. D. Oyler, whom I talked with the other day, is very much interested in the forthcoming (?) volume on "Readings in Southern Whatever It Is."

He said he would like to be notified when it comes out.

You stick this in your files and I will stick a copy in my files and maybe he will get notified.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Readings

April 16, 1948

Dr. Albert S. Keister
The Woman's College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Keister:

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and Professor Cullen Gosnell of Emory University, are collaborating on the preparation of a college textbook of readings in the contemporary South. They want to include a section on planning in the South, but good material has been hard to find, especially something that is not too local and special in emphasis.

Dr. Rupert Vance tells us that you did a wonderful chapter on "Planning for the South" in a commemorative volume of the Woman's College published by the University of North Carolina several years ago. He did not give us more exact information, and we have been unable to find the book. We would appreciate very much your giving us the title and date of publication. Or, was this material ever published in article form, which might be easier for us to find here in Atlanta?

If you have any other suggestions for possible material on planning in the South, we would be most grateful for them.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

930 - Readings

April 16, 1948

Dr. Rupert B. Vance
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Vance:

Thank you very much for your helpful suggestions of material in planning in the South for our book of readings. We are looking into the articles you suggested as possibilities, and we hope we will find something we can use without rewriting.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SRC - Readings in the South

THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

April 20, 1948

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Answering your inquiry of April 16, I imagine what Dr. Vance referred to is the essay I contributed to the Semi-Centennial Volume of Social Science Essays. I am enclosing a reprint. You will note that the references were not reprinted in this pamphlet, but I have stuck them in the back.

I hope this is what you want.

Cordially yours,

A. S. Keister
Economics Department
Woman's College, UNC

ASK:lm

Enclosure

SRC - Readings in the South

COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN REGIONAL STUDIES AND EDUCATION

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

JOHN E. IVEY, JR.,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

W. J. MCGLOTHLIN,
ASSOCIATE SECRETARY

OFFICES AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

May 11, 1948

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Under separate cover we are sending a copy of "Education Helps Build A Region" and "Resource Use Education: A Tool For Regional Development." For a general article relative to TVA, please refer to page 107, by W. J. McGlothlin and Gordon Clapp, in "Education Helps Build A Region." The second pamphlet will give you a general concept of regional planning in the South.

We regret also that we have no suggestions to offer relative to a good map or an article analyzing the river systems of the South. If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Ivey, Jr.
Executive Secretary

JEI:p

COMMITTEE MEMBERS
MAURICE F. SEAY, *Chairman*

GORDON W. BLACKWELL
JOHN E. BREWTON
FELTON G. CLARK
A. C. FLORA
GEORGE E. GANT
EDGAR L. MORPHET
F. D. PATTERSON
RUSSELL S. POOR
ROY W. ROBERTS
GEORGE B. ZEHMER
GEORGE F. ZOOK, *ex officio*

SPC - Readings in the South

11 June 1948

Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Emory University
Emory, Georgia

Dear Dr. Gosnell:

Here at last are the Clark Hill Power Project Hearings which we requested so long ago. I am enclosing the copy you requested.

I hope that the Hearings will give you the information you wanted for the book of Readings.

Sincerely yours,

Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SRC - Readings in the South

June 29, 1948

Professor Cullen Gosnell
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Cullen:

I was in Chapel Hill last Tuesday.

Mr. H. D. White, who is making the end paper maps, had completed the relief and rivers and had sent me a draft of the sub-regions. Relief and rivers fine; sub-regions bum.

I recommend using Woofter's sub-regions as in a USDA map of 1940. My further view is that we should use the relief and rivers map as a single map to go in front end papers, and that we should have a sub-regions map, minus relief and rivers, for the back end paper. That will cost more for another plate.

I paid him fifty dollars on account out of my own personal GSM money, and directed him to complete the relief and rivers map. Later on, if we want the sub-regions map, we will tell him so and he will do it.

I then explored again the UNC Press. I was shown to a Miss Payne, who confessed to being a competent button-pusher thereabouts, and I begged her to push the buttons and get our manuscript read and opined upon against Miss Cowles' coming back July 6. She declared she would.

That's where we stand.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:eb

SRC - Readings in the South

August 3, 1948

Miss Porter Cowles
University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Cowles:

How do we stand on the Gosnell-Mitchell collection?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

SRC - Readings in the South

August 11, 1948

Mr. Dan White
P. O. Box 1073
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. White:

With reluctance I let pass the date noted on my calendar for getting in touch with you about the map. I did so because I have not been able to get word from the University of North Carolina Press as to whether they want the manuscript or not. But that makes no difference to our need for a map.

Therefore, go ahead and do a completed, ready-to-use, inked in copy of the thirteen Southern states, with contours and rivers.

The longer I look at the map of the rural cultural regions, the less I am satisfied with it. It is going to be quite a task to do a map that reflects the real regions. So let's not try it now.

We will use the one map that you are doing for front and back end papers.

Finish the job and send me the bill.

We are both grateful for your kind help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:eb

copy to Mr. Cullen Gosnell

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

P.O. Box 1078
Chapel Hill, N.C.
August 9, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is to summarize our standing on the mapwork for your book. I have all but finished the map depicting the 13 southern states with contours and rivers. I am now ready to work on the endsheet for the back of the book i.e. the sub-regions.

I shall go ahead and draw the outline of the 13 states in ink and be prepared to put in the subregions when you give me the information.

I will be leaving Chapel Hill for Madison, Wisconsin about Sept. 4 so must complete this work before that date.

Therefore I would very much appreciate your sending me your designations of subregions or, if you are going to be up this way, bringing me the information.

You have paid me $50.00 and I shall send you a bill for the difference upon completion of the two maps. I shall appreciate your prompt attention to this matter since I have less than a month here in Chapel Hill.

Very Sincerely
Don White

SPC - Readings in the South

August 16, 1948

Mr. Cullen Gosnell
R. F. D. 3
Hogansville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gosnell:

I called Chapel Hill yesterday afternoon and in the lucheon absence of Miss Cowles talked with an assistant to her. The assistant fetched the roster sheet of outstanding manuscripts, and scanning it, reported that our manuscript was still out with a (faculty) reader. She said that already she had pressed him quite to the limit of courtesy, but that the best she could expect was that when the rush of his summer session duties was over, he would turn in his report. I produced such urgings and expostulations as were again at the limit of courtesy, but all she would do was repeat her story. Summer session, I learned, is over late this month.

She said that if we wanted the manuscript returned to us, we could get it. I judged it wisest to leave it with them, but I will abide by whatever you wish done.

She was reasonably apologetic.

It appears that Miss Cowles duly returned July 6, but has had another intervening trip since then.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:jdh

SRC - Readings in the South

August 26, 1948

Mr. Don White
P. O. Box 1078
Chapel Hill
North Carolina

Dear Mr. White:

I found the map here in fine order and faultless, painstaking and imaginative in execution. Thank you and those who helped you for it.

Here is a check for the last amount owed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure: check

GSM:eb

PO Box 1078
Chapel Hill, N.C.
August 23, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
AUG 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Michell:

I have sent the completed map for use as endsheet under seperate cover. I hope you find it satisfactory. I am quite sure it will show up to better advantage in reduction i.e. the contours & rivers will make a pattern more obviously seen.

Please find enclosed bill for balance due.

Thank you for the opportunity to share in your interesting work.

Very truly yours
Don White

H. D. White
P.O. Box 1078 Chapel Hill, N.C.

Work Record ~ Job No. _____

EXPENSES			CHARGES		
1 sheet Strathmore paper		35	TIME: 55½ Hours at 2.00 per hr.	$ 111	—
1 sheet large zip-a-tone	1	64	Hours at per hr.		
2 sheets small zip-a-tone	1	00	Hours at per hr.		
			EXPENSE:		
	$ 2	99	paid June 22	2 50	99
Estimate and Terms			TOTAL due	$ 63	99

Client Dr. Geo. S. Mitchell

Date Ordered Sketch Wanted Finished Work Wanted

Deliveries

Description and Remarks Map of 13 So. states with State lines, relief, rivers. To be used as Endsheet.

SPC - Readings in the South project

15 November 1948

Dr. Albert Lepawsky
Bureau of Public Administration
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Dr. Lepawsky:

Dr. Mitchell has seen, via Dr. Cullen Gosnell, the reprint of your article on Government Planning in the South which you sent him for possible use in the book of readings on the South which he and Dr. Gosnell are preparing.

Dr. Mitchell was most interested in it and asked me to write you requesting one or two extra copies if you have them to spare. If they are available, he will appreciate very much your sending them to him.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SRC - Readings in the South

16 November 1948

Mississippi Agricultural and
Industrial Board
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Sirs:

The Southern Regional Council, in collaboration with Dr. Cullen Gosnell of Emory University, is preparing a book of readings on the contemporary South, to be used as a college textbook. We have been interested in what we have read of a study made in 1944 for the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta by Ernest J. Hopkins entitled Mississippi's BAWI Plan, An Experiment in Industrial Subsidization, but we have been unable to obtain a copy.

Would your agency have an extra copy of this report which you could send us? We shall very much appreciate a copy if one is available.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

SRC - Readings in the South

November 17, 1948

Mr. Michael H. Harper
Associate Editor
College Department
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Harper:

Sorry about the Readings in the Contemporary South, but I appreciate your going with such care into it.

We will try the University of North Carolina Press and see if they can be persuaded to get it out.

I am glad the matter brought me again into association with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

November 5, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am afraid we are not in a position to offer you a contract for publication of Readings in the Contemporary South at the present time and I am returning the manuscript to you today. I am sorry to have held the manuscript so long. We did not question the value of your idea but I have been waiting for reports from our southern salesmen as to the textbook market possibilities. They report interest among teachers but that college bookstore managers find that students seldom actually buy books of readings even though they may be "required" texts. Needless to say we are sorry to have to reach such a decision.

I hope you will stop in if you get to New York again. Ed Tyler or I will always be here and glad to see you.

Very sincerely yours,

Michael H. Harper

Michael H. Harper
Associate Editor
College Department

MHH/ja

CABLE ADDRESS : HARPSAM · TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

SRC - Readings in the South

MISSISSIPPI
AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL BOARD

4TH FLOOR NEW CAPITOL
JACKSON 106, MISSISSIPPI

December 3, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

It is with regret that we advise you that we do not have an extra copy of the Federal Reserve Bank Report on the Mississippi BAWI Plan. Our supply was exhausted about a year ago and we have been unable to secure additional copies other than the one we have on file.

Cordially yours,

W. E. Barksdale

W. E. Barksdale
Director

WEB:bjg

SRC - Readings in the South

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

December 9, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 13 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

Dr. Lepawsky has asked me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 15 requesting copies of his article on Government Planning in the South.

I am pleased to enclose the two copies with the hope that Dr. Mitchell will find them useful.

Sincerely yours,

Kay Flood

Kay Flood
Secretary to Dr. Lepawsky

SRC - Readings in the South File Copy

CLARK HILL POWER PROJECT, GEORGIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA

No. 22

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. R. 3826

A BILL TO AUTHORIZE AND DIRECT THE FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION TO GRANT A LICENSE TO THE SAVANNAH RIVER ELECTRIC CO. TO CONSTRUCT, OWN, OPERATE, AND MAINTAIN THE POWERHOUSE OF THE CLARK HILL RESERVOIR PROJECT

MARCH 1, 2, 3, 1948

Printed for the use of the Committee on Public Works

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
74885 WASHINGTON : 1948

NOTE: Her post card and copy of reply sent to Cullen Gosnell. Tickler set up for NOVEMBER 10, 1949.

SRC Readings in Southern

April 11, 1949

Miss Ruth Ames, Librarian
The Reporter
220 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Ames:

Cullen Gosnell and I are vigorously trying to find a publisher for Readings on the New South.

We have noted your interest and will tell you about it when, as, and if we can get it printed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Political Science 220

Parallel Reading

Introduction

1. General - natural resources - industry - human resources

Odum, Howard, Southern Regions, pp. 22-39, 69-87
pp. 87-99

2. General - what are chief underlying causes of the South's condition?

Mezerik, A. G., Revolt of the South and West

Webb, W. P., Divided We Stand

Arnall, Ellis, The Shore Dimly Seen

Cash, W. J., The Mind of the South

Kennedy, Stetson, Southern Exposure

Woodward, Vann, Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel

Odum, H., Southern Regions, pp. 141-153

I. Natural Resources

Odum, H., Southern Regions, ch. IV

Hartman, W. A., Georgia Land Use Problems

Johnson, Gerald W., The Wasted Land

Parker, A., The South, Its Economic Geographic Development

II. Human Resources

Odum, H., Southern Regions, ch. VIII

Dollard, J., Caste and Class in a Southern Town

Raper, Arthur, Preface to Peasantry

Raper, Arthur, Sharecroppers All

Vance, Rupert, Human Geography of the South

Kendrick and Arnett, The South Looks at its Past

III. Education

Dabney, C. W., Universal Education in the South

Kilpatrick, W.M., Our Educational Tasks as Illustrated in the Changing South

Sharp, L. A., The Present Status of Rural Teachers in the South

Wilson, Louis R., County Library Service in the South

Odum, H., Southern Regions, pp. 502-525

IV. Health

Pamphlet: New South vol. I No. 6 "Wanted A Healthy South" published by the Southern Regional Council (SRC)

Pamphlet: National Emergency Council, Report on Economic Conditions of the South, section 7

V. Public and Private Income

Pamphlet: Vance, Rupert, Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation

Heer, Clarence, Income and Wages in the South

Sewell, W. A., A Memorandum on Research in Income

Odum, H., Southern Regions, Ch. VII, ch.I. pp. 125-135

VI. Agriculture

Pamphlet: Raper, Arthur, Machines in the Cotton Fields

Dickson, Harris, The Story of King Cotton

Cauley, T. J., Agrarianism

Johnson, C., The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy

Odum, H., Southern Regions, ch VI.

VII. Industry

Mitchell, B., The Industrial Revolution in the South

Hood, Robin, Industrial Social Services in the South

(Note: also see various publications of the State Engineering Experiment Station of the Georgia School of Technology and publications of state agricultural and industrial boards)

VIII. Labor

Berglund, A., Labor in the Industrial South

Blanchard, P., Labor in Southern Cotton Mills

Davidson, E., Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States

Tippett, T., When Southern Labor Stirs

IX. Race Relations

Clayton, H., Black Workers and the New Union

Lewinson, P., Race, Class and Party: Negro History

Raper, Arthur, The Tragedy of Lynching

X. Politics and Government

Bevins, E., Local Government in the South and Southwest

Dabney, Virginius, Liberalism in the South

Michie, A. A., Dixie Demagogues

CHAPEL HILL BOOK

About 50 printed pages per topic

G. to Chapel Hill ad get them to work up new map of So. Regions

Race

folkways, inhibitions, good practices, survey graphic Cushman article

Cvil Rights

Agriculture

Labor GSM light, CG heavy

Housing

Health

Press

TVA

Introduction, with map of the SE Regions

Resources GSM Gen, not economic and human, see Labor Pamphlet

Harpers, May 46 Exit King Cotton

SEP (general) Chip on our Shoulder, Nov 2, '47

Is the South that Bad Sat Rev. Lit, Apr 13, '46

Historical background, GSM to find a part of Helper

Unionization

South

General

1. Revolution down South — Colliers — 116:17 — July 28 '45
2. South must decide (gov't aid) — Forum — 105:526-7 — Feb. '46
3. Exit King Cotton — Harper, May, '46, p.473, Vol. 192, No. 1152.
4. Is the South that Bad? — Peter F. Drucker — Sat Re. Lit. — Apr 13, '46 — Vol. 29, No. 15, p. 9
5. ~~Souths some encouraging things there — Life — July 29 '46~~ — V. Dabney
6. Southern Frontier — Atlan — Sept. '46, Vol. 178, No. 3, p. 29 — Cornell
7. Southern Liberal — New Rep — Sept 9 '46 - p. 9
8. Southerner looks at the South — N. Y. Times Mag — July 7 - 46 — Hodding Carter
9. Chip on our shoulder down South - Sat Eve Post — Nov 2, 46 — write H.C. for copy
10. ~~Way of the South — Newsweek — June 2 '47~~

Natural Resources

1. Lost Coast oil still sought off Carolina shores

   Sci Am July '46

2. Island off Texas coast (with oil) Bus Wk July 20 '46

3. Trees with union hours: Turpentine farming Chr. Sci Mon Mag. Aug 10, '46

4. Unmined coal to be turned for gas Bus Wk Nov. 16, '46

WATER

1. Million wasn't enough; how Lewisburg expanded its water supply Am City Nov. '45
2. More wells and raw water storage Am City Sept '46
3. New Bern finds new well fields Am City Aug '46
4. Tailored water supply (Opelika, Ala.) Am City May '47
5. Part time water filter plant Am City June 47

Agriculture

1. Sad Plight of Cotton — Sat Eve Post — Dec 8 '45
2. Revolution in Cotton — Collier's — July 21 '45
3. Million dollar sharecropper — Collier's — Jan 12 '46
4. TVA rescues the farmer — New Repub — Sept 10 '45 — Resources
5. Meeting Educational Needs — Sch R — June '45
6. Land Laid Waste — Arnall — Atlantic — Oct '46 Vol. 178, No. 4, p 79 - nat. resources?
7. Exit King Cotton — Drucker — Harper, May '46
8. ~~Farm Tour — Rotarian, June '46~~
9. ~~City slickers show these farmers — C. S. Mon Mag — Sept 28 '46~~
10. ~~Strickland Plan — Time Jan 20, '47~~
11. American cotton policy — Fortnightly — Oct 46
12. ~~Jolt to South in cotton's decline — U. S. News — Dec. 6, 46~~
13. ~~South : exiles of the machines — Newswk, Jan 6, 47~~
14. ~~Holiday harvest — Read Digest, May '47~~
15. Portrait of the magic valley — New Repub — Apr 7 '47 — Resources

Labor

1. Florida's anti-labor drive New Rep June 18 '45
2. Effectiveness of factory labor: South - North comparisons J. Pol Econ Feb '46
3. Southern city deals with a problem; C. I. O. Christian Cent Sept. 26 '45
4. Setback for labor law, decision involving Manford Act Bus. Week Apr 14 '45
5. Virginia's state labor Bill Bus Wk Feb 2 '46
6. Tenn. Coal, iron and Ry Co. penalties evaded; NCI effort to discipline participants in an unauthorized strike Bus wk June 23 '45
7. Atomic election: re, Oak Ridge Tenn Bus Wk Aug 10 '46
8. Campaign to organize southern labor Nation Apr 20 '46
9. CIO invades Dixie Sat Eve Post July 20 '46
10. CIO AND Organizing drive Bus Wk Apr 27, '46
11. Dixie battlefield Bus wk May 11 '46
12. Dixie battleground Time, May 20, '46
13. Dixie Campaign Bus Wk Aug 24 '46
14. Drives for union membership. CIO & AFL U. S. News, May 3, '46
15. Holy Crusade Time May 12 '46
16. Jilted Time Sept 2, '46
17. Oak Ridge: union prize Bus Wk, July 20, '46
18. Rival CIO - AFL claims in drives U. S. News Sept 6 '46
19. Small town America Nation, June 8 '46
20. Unions: operation Dixie Newsweek May 6, '46
21. Seas success for CIO Bus Wk June 1 '46
22. Unions come to Oak Ridge Newsweek, June 3, '46
23. Virginia cured walkout Newsweek, Apr 8 '46
24. Louisiana curb; re: outlawing violence and wildcat strikes Bus Wk July 27 '46
25. State labor legislation in the South Mo Labor R Oct. '46
26. Labor drives South Fortune , Nov. '46
27. Virginia law challenged Bus wk Apr 19 '47

Housing

1. ~~Big Florida bang Newsweek~~ Dec 24 '45

2. Savannah Housing Authority Builds new dwellings Am City Apr 46

3. Housing: Dixie's dilemma Colliers Nov 30 '46

Health

1. Fight against syphilis (in B'ham, Ala.) Science News Letter June 23 '45
2. Health campaign in Savannah Science N. L. Nov 3 '45
3. Savannah shows the way (re: T.B. & V. D.) Woman's Home C. Apr '46
4. V. D. tests for the masses (Jefferson Co., Ala) Hygeia March '46
5. Wholesale Blood tests for V. D. (B'ham, Ala.) Am City, Aug '45
6. State participation in the evaluation of local health services (Texas) Am J. Pub Health Mar '46
7. Texas uses DDT in typhus control program Am City Feb '46

Natural Resources

1. Lost Coast oil still sought off Carolina shores

   Sci Am July '46

2. Island off Texas coast (with oil) Bus Wk July 20 '46

3. Trees with union hours: Turpentine farming Chr. Sci Mon Mag. Aug 10, '46

4. Unmined coal to be turned for gas Bus Wk Nov. 16, '46

Tentative Outline

1. Introduction (+ map of the Region of the So)

2. Historical Background

3. Economic Problem #1.
   plus more on the condition (more recent)

4. Resources.
   Natural. [varies]
   Human
   Economic
   Human. Quality migration.

5. Agriculture
   Policies from Pres Rept. Jan. 37. (I've a copy)

6. Industry

7. Commerce + transportation
   pipe lines, etc.
   Inland trade corp.

8. Factors in Race (?)
   ~~[illegible]~~
   Force or Immigration, etc.

9. Education

10. Labor

11. Housing

12. Health.

13. Income. L.W.S. 40-55

14. Credit + Capital

15. Politics + Government - SPC pamphlet for material? Simpkins - Civil Rights digest - Truman message

16. The Press (Public opinion)
    Radio, etc.

17. ~~T.V.A.~~
    Planning
    T.V.A.

~~Call Shriver re Housing~~

Call Prof. Goshell

De. 1621

1) Fortune, Oct 44 - ft. rates
Out of print

2) Ft. rate brief - orig. - cair
get - try ICC, Const. & 12th, NW
(other brief in looseleaf)

3) Pace Ctee Hearings.
Not agric. - where planned
(See notes).

~~4) Drucker - "Want to go South" - industry, not migration - superficial~~

~~5) Drucker, "Exit King Cotton"~~

~~No NRPB volumes - check at Sen. Comm. on Manp~~
~~SEE - 4 articles - monop, agric, & industry~~

Statement
Wm Welch pp 6 - 18
agric.

Pages 5-52 - 60

XX Statement of Wm Welch (18 of Land Program)

7 Industrialization of the South

Pace Cttee Hearings

Industrialization v. The South
(Dean Welch)

Pp. 580 - 601 -
8-point program -
Industry

(from 552-580 is gen.
summary of Southern
econ. - agric., resources, etc.)

Recommendations for
industry

Transp.
Monopoly
Trade Barriers
~~Wages~~

Excerpts from Helper

H's Position

pp. 25-26

pp. 31-32

H's Argument

Decline of Southern Agriculture
Enslavement of Non-Slaveholding Whites
Rule of Oligarchy

pp. 33, 40-45

Econ. Dependence on the North - Figures
Exaggerated Value of Cotton to the South

pp. 48-49

pp. 52-55

Summary: Unprofitability of Slavery

pp. 78-86

pp. 92-93

Appeal to Non-Slaveholders

pp. 120-21

H's Abolition Plan

pp. 154-63

(About 27 pages from book)

SRC Projects- Readings on the South

For correspondence with John Ivey on map for frontispiece,

See Ivey, John.

EXCERPTS FROM: HELPER, HINTON ROWAN. THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH: HOW TO MEET IT. NEW YORK (BURDICK BROTHERS), 1857.

Helper's Position Pp. 25-26

In our opinion, an opinion which has been formed from data obtained by assiduous researches, and comparisons, from laborious investigation, logical reasoning, and earnest reflection, the causes which have impeded the progress and prosperity of the South, which have dwindled our commerce, and other similar pursuits, into the most contemptible insignificance; sunk a large majority of our people in galling poverty and ignorance, rendered a small minority conceited and tyrannical, and driven the rest away from their homes; entailed upon us a humilitating dependence on the Free States; disgraced us in the recesses of our own souls, and brought us under reproach in the eyes of all civilized and enlightened nations—may all be traced to one common source, and there find solution in the most hateful and horrible word, that was ever incorporated into the vocabulary of human economy——Slavery!

Reared amidst the institution of slavery, believing it to be wrong both in principle and in practice, and having seen and felt its evil influences upon individuals, communities and states, we deem it a duty, no less than a privilege, to enter our protest against it, and to use our most strenuous efforts to overturn and abolish it! Then we are an abolitionist? Yes! not merely a freesoiler, but an abolitionist, in the fullest sense of the term. We are not only in favor of keeping slavery out of the territories, but carrying our opposition to the institution a step further, we here unhesitatingly declare ourself in favor of its immediate and unconditional abolition, in every state in this confederacy, where it now exists!

Pp. 31-32 - Proposed Argument.

It is not so much in its moral and religious aspects that we propose to discuss the question of slavery, as in its social and political character and influences. To say nothing of the sin and the shame of slavery, we believe it is a most expensive and unprofitable institution; and if our brethren of the South will but throw aside their unfounded prejudices and preconceived opinions, and give us a fair and patient hearing, we feel confident that we can bring them to the same conclusion. Indeed, we believe we shall be enabled—not alone by our own contributions, but with the aid of incontestable facts and arguments which we shall introduce from other sources —— to convince all true-hearted, candid and intelligent Southerners, who may chance to read our book, (and we hope their name may be legion) that slavery, and nothing but slavery, has retarded the progress and prosperity of our portion of the Union; depopulated and impoverished our cities by forcing the more industrious and enterprising natives of the soil to emigrate to the free states; brought our domain under a sparse and inert population by preventing foreign immigration; made us tributary to the North, and reduced us to the humilitating condition of mere provincial subjects in fact, though not in name. We believe, moreover, that every patriotic Southerner thus convinced will feel it a duty he owes to himself, to his country, and to his God, to become a thorough, inflexible, practical abolitionist.

Helper's Argument-P.33
Decline of Southern Agric.
Enslavement of non-slave holding whites
Rule of oligarchy
Economic supremacy of North

By taking a sort of inventory of the agricultural products of the free and slave States in 1850, we now propose to correct a most extraordinary and mischievous error into which the people of the South have unconsciously fallen. Agriculture, it is well known, is the sole boast of the South; and, strange to say, many pro-slavery Southerners, who, in our latitude, pass for intelligent men, are so puffed up with the idea of our importance in this respect, that they speak of the North as a sterile region, unfit for cultivation, and quite dependent on the South for the necessaries of life! Such rampant ignorance ought to be knocked in the head! We can prove that the North produced greater quantities of bread-stuffs than the South! Figures shall show the facts. Properly, the South has nothing left to boast of; the North has surpassed her in everything, and is going farther and farther ahead of her every day.

Pp 40-45

We have two objects in view; the first is to open the eyes of the non-slaveholders of the South, to the system of deception, that has so long been practiced upon them, and the second is to show slave-holders themselves—we have reference only to those who are not too perverse or ignorant, to perceive naked truths—that free labor is far more respectable, profitable, and productive, than slave labor. In the South, unfortunately, no kind of labor is either free or respectable. Every white man who is under the necessity of earning his bread, by the sweat of his brow, or by manual labor, in any capacity, no matter how unassuming in deportment, or exemplary in morals, is treated as if he was a loathsome beast, and shunned with the utmost disdain. His soul may be the very seat of honor and integrity, yet without slaves—himself a slave—he is accounted as nobody, and would be deemed intolerably presumptuous, if he dated to open his mouth, even so wide as to give faint utterance to a three-lettered monosyllable, like yea or nay, in the presence of an august knight of the whip and lash.

There are few Southerners who will not be astonished at the disclosures of these statistical comparisons, between the free and the slave States. That the astonishment of the more intelligent and patriotic non-slaveholders will be mingled with indignation, is no more than we anticipate. We confess our own surprise, and deep chagrin, at the result of our investigations. Until we examined into the matter, we thought and hoped the South was really ahead of the North in one particular, that of agriculture; but our thoughts have been changed, and our hopes frustrated, for instead of finding ourselves the possessors of a single advantage, we behold our dear native South stripped of every laurel, and sinking deeper and deeper in the depths of poverty and shame; while, at the same time, we see the North, our successful rival, extracting and absorbing the few elements of wealth yet remaining amongst us, and rising higher and higher in the scale of fame, forture, and involnerable power. Thus our disappointment gives way to a feeling of intense mortification, and our soul involuntarily, but justly, we believe, cries out for retribution against the treacherous, slave-driving legislators, who have so basely and unpatriotically neglected the interests of their poor white constituents and bargained away the rights of posterity. Notwithstanding the fact that the white non-slaveholders of the South, are in the majority, as five to one, they have never yet had any part or lot in framing the laws under which they live. There is no legislation except for the benefit of slavery, and slaveholders. As a general rule, poor white persons are regarded with less esteem and attention than negroes, and though the condition of the latter is

wretched beyond description, vast numbers of the former are infinitely worse off. A cunningly devised mockery of freedom is guaranteed to them and that is all. To all intents and purposes they are disfranchised, and outlawed, and the only privileges extended to them, is a shallow and circumscribed participation in the political movements that usher slaveholders into office.

We have not breathed away seven and twenty years in the South, without becoming acquainted with the demagogical manoeuverings of the oligarchy. Their intrigues and tricks of legerdemain are as familiar to us as household words; in vain might the world be ransacked for a more precious junto of flatters and cajolers. It is amusing to ignorance, amazing to credulity, and insulting to intelligence, to hear them in their blattering efforts to mystify and pervert the sacred principles of liberty, and turn the curse of slavery into a blessing. To the illiterate poor whites--made poor and ignorant by the system of slavery--they hold out the idea that slavery is the very bulwark of our liberties, and the foundation of American independence! For hours at a time, day after day, will they expatiate upon the inexpressible beauties and excellencies of this great, free and independent nation; and finally, with the most extravagant gesticulations and rhetorical flourishes, conclude their nonsensical ravings, by attributing all the glory and prosperity of the country, from Maine to Texas, and from Georgia to California, to the "invaluable institutions of the South!" With what patience we could command, we have frequently listened to the incoherent and truth-murdering declamations of these champions of slavery, and, in the absence of a more politic method of giving vent to our disgust and indignation, have involuntarily bit our lips into blisters.

The lords of the lash are not only absolute masters of the blacks, who are bought and sold, and driven about like so many cattle, but they are also the pracles and arbiters of all non-slaveholding whites, whose freedom is merely nominal, and whose unparalleled illiteracy and degradation is purposely and fiendishly perpetuated. How little the "poor white trash," the great majority of the Southern people, know of the real condition of the country is, indeed sadly astonishing. The truth is, they know nothing of public harangues; for the haughty cavaliers of shackles and handcuffs will not degrade themselves by holding private converse with those who have neither dimes nor hereditary rights in human flesh.

Whenever it pleases, and to the extent it pleases, a slaveholder to become communicative, poor whites may hear with fear and trembling, but not speak. They must be as mum asdumb brutes, and stand in awe of their august superiors, or be crushed with stern rebukes, cruel oppressions, or downright violence. If they dare to think for themselves, their thoughts must be forever concealed. The expression of any sentiment at all conflicting with the gospel of slavery, dooms them at once in the community in which they live, and then, whether willing or unwilling, they are obliged to become heroes, martyrs, or exiles. They may thirst for knowledge, but there is no Moses among them to smite it out of the rocks of Horeb. The black veil, through whose almost impenetrable meshes light seldom gleams, has long been pendent over their eyes, and there, with fiendish jealousy, the slave-driving ruffians sedulously guard it. Non-slaveholders are not only kept in ignorance of what is transpiring at the North, but they are continually misinformed of what is going on even in the South. Never were the poorer classes of a people, and those classes so largely in the majority, and all inhabiting the same country, so basely duped, so adroitly swindled, or so damnably outranged.

It is expected that the stupid and sequacious masses, the white victims of slavery, will believe, and, as a general thing, they do believe, whatever the slaveholders tell them; and thus it is that they are cajoled into the notion that they are the freest, happiest and most intelligent people in the world, and are taught to look with prejudice and disapprobation upon every new principle or progresive movement. Thus it is that the South, woefully inert and inventionless, has lagged behind the North, and is now weltering in the cesspool of ignorance and degradation.

(p. 48-49 Economic Dependence upon the North)

Mortifying as the acknowledgment of the fact is to us, it is our unbiased opinion--an opinion which will, we believe, be endorsed by every intelligent person who goes into a careful examination and comparison of all the facts in the case--that the profits arising to the North from the sale of provender and provisions to the South, are far greater than those arising to the South from the sale of cotton, tobacco and breadstuffs to the North. It follows, then, that the agricultural interests of the North being not only equal but actually superior to those of the South, the hundreds of millions of dollars which the commerce and manufactures of the former annually yield, is just so much clear and independent gain over the latter. It follows, also, from a corresponding train or system of deduction, and with all the foregoing facts in view, that the difference between freedom and slavery is simply the difference between sense and nonsense, wisdom and folly, good and evil, right and wrong.

Any observant American, from whatever point of the compass he may hail, who will take the trouble to pass through the Southern markets, both great and small, as we have done, and inquire where this article, that and the other came from, will be utterly astonished at the variety and quantity of Northern agricultural productions kept for sale. And this state of things is growing worse and worse each year. Exclusively agricultural as the South is in her industrial pursuits, she is barely able to support her sparse and degenerate population. Her men and her domestic animals, both dwarfed into shabby objects of commiseration under the blighting effects of slavery, are constantly feeding on the multifarious products of Northern soil. And if the whole truth must be told, we may here add, that these products, like all other articles of merchandize purchased at the North, are generally bought on a credit, and, in a great number of instances, by far too many, never paid for--not, as a general rule, because the purchasers are dishonest or unwilling to pay, but because they are impoverished and depressed by the retrogressive and deadening operations of slavery, that most unprofitable and pernicious institution under which they live.

(pp. 52-55 (Evidence))

We can prove, and we shall now proceed to prove, that the annual hay crop of the free States is worth considerably more in dollars and cents than all the cotton, tobacco, rice, hay, hemp and cane sugar annually produced in the fifteen slave States.

HAY CROP OF THE FREE STATES--1850

12,690,983 tons @ 11,20.....$142,138,998

SUNDRY PRODUCTS OF THE SLAVE STATES--1850

Cotton.....	2,445,779 blaes	@ 32,00.....	$ 78,264,928
Tobacco.....	185,023,906 lbs.	@ 10.....	18,502,390
Rice (rough).....	215,313,497 lbs.	@ 4.....	8,612,539
Hay.....	1,137,784 tons	@ 11,20.....	12,743,180
Hemp.....	34,673 tons	@112,00.....	3,883,376
Cane Sugar.....	237,133,000 lbs.	@ 7.....	16,599,310
			$138,605,723

RECAPITULATION

Hay crop of the free States.....	$142,138,998
Sundry products of the slave States.....	138,605,723
Balance in favor of the free States	$ 3,533,275

There is the account; look at it, and let it stand in attestation of the exalted virtues and surpassing powers of freedom. Scan it well, Messieurs lords of the lash, and learn from

it new lessons of the utter inefficiency, and despicable imbecility of slavery. Examine it minutely, liberty-loving patriots of the North, and behold in it additional evidences of the beauty, grandaur, and super-excellence of free institutions. Treasure it up in your minds, outraged friends and non-slaveholders of the South, and let the recollection of it arouse you to an inflexible determination to extirpate the monstrous enemy that stalks abroad in your land, and to recover the inalienable rights and liberties, which have been filched from you by an unprincipled oligarchy.

In deference to truth, decency and good sense, it is to be hoped that negro-driving politicians will never more have theeffrontery to open their mouths in extolling the agriculturalachievements of slave labor. Especially is it desirable, that, as a simple act of justice to a basely deceived populace, they may cease their stale and senseless harangues on the importance of cotton. The value of cotton to the South, to the North, to the nation, and to the world, has been so grossly exaggerated, and so extensive have been the evils which have resulted in consequence of the extraordinary imisrepresentations concerning it, that we should feel constrained to reporach ourselves for remissness of duty, if we failed to make an attempt to explode the popular error. The figures above show what it is, and what it is not. Recur to them, and learn the facts.

So hyperbolically has the importance of cotton been magnified by certain pro-slavery politicians of the South, that the person who would give credence to all their fustian and bombast, would be under the necessity of believing that the very existence of almost everything, in the heaven above, in the earth beneath, and in the water under the earth, depended on it. The truth is, however, that the cotton crop is of but little value to the South. New England and Old England, by their superior enterprize and sagacity, turn it chiefly to their own advantage. It is carried in their ships, spun in their factories, woven in their looms, insured in their offices, returned again in their own vessells, and, with double freight and the cost of manufacturing added, purchased by the South at a high premium. Of all the parties engaged or interested in its transportation and manufacture, the South is the only one that does not make a profit. Nor does she, as a general thing, make a profit by producing it.

(Pp. 78-86 - Summary--Unprofitability of Slavery, North & South Comparisons)

...We shall (now). . . proceed to compile a couple of tables that will exhibit on a single page the wealth, revenue and expenditure, of the several states of the confederacy. Let it be distinctly understood, however, that in the compilation of these tables, three million two hundred and four thousand three hundred and thirteen negroes are valued as personal property, and credited to the Southern States as if they were so many horses and asses, or bridles and blankets--and that no monetary valuation whatever is placed on any creature, of any age, color, sex or condition, that bears the upright form of man in the free States.

TABLE No. XX

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE WEALTH, REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE FREE STATES
1850

States	Real and Personal Property	Revenue	Expenditure
California	$ 22,161,872	$ 366,825	$ 925,625
Connecticut	155,707,980	150,189	137,326
Illinois	156,265,006	736,030	192,940
Indiana	202,650,264	1,283,064	1,061,605
Iowa	23,714,638	139,681	131,631
Maine	122,777,571	744,879	624,101
Massachusetts	573,342,286	598,170	674,622
Michigan	59,787,255	548,326	431,918
New Hampshire	103,652,835	141,686	149,890
New Jersey	153,151,619	139,166	180,614
New York	1,080,309,216	2,698,310	2,520,932
Ohio	504,726,120	3,016,403	2,736,060
Pennsylvania	729,144,998	7,716,552	6,876,480
Rhode Island	80,508,794	124,944	115,835
Vermont	92,205,049	185,830	183,058
Wisconsin	42,056,595	135,155	136,096
	$4,102,172,108	$18,725,211	$17,076,733

TABLE No. XXI

WEALTH, REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE SLAVE STATES - 1850

States	Real and Personal Property	Revenue	Expenditure
Alabama	$ 228,204,332	$ 658,976	$ 513,599
Arkansas	39,841,025	68,412	74,076
Delaware	18,855,863		
Florida	23,198,734	60,619	55,234
Georgia	355,425,714	1,142,405	597,882
Kentucky	301,628,456	779,293	674,697
Louisiana	233,998,764	1,146,568	1,098,911
Maryland	219,217,364	1,279,953	1,360,458
Mississippi	228,951,130	221,200	223,637
Missouri	137,247,707	326,579	207,656
North Carolina	226,800,472	219,000	228,173
South Carolina	288,257,694	532,152	463,021
Tennessee	207,454,704	502,126	623,625
Texas	55,362,340	140,688	156,622
Virginia	391,646,438	1,265,744	1,272,382
	$2,936,090,737	$ 8,343,715	$ 7,549,933

Entire Wealth of the Free States.....$ 4,102,172,108

Entire Wealth of the Slave States, including Slaves..... 2,936,090,737

Balance in favor of the Free States.....$ 1,166,081,371

What a towering monument to the beauty and glory of Free Labor! What irrefragable evidence of the unequaled efficacy and grandeur of free institutions! These figures are, indeed, too full of meaning to be passed by without comment. The two tables from which they are borrowed are at least a volume within themselves; and, after all the pains we have taken to compile them, we shall perhaps, feel somewhat disappointed if the reader failes to avail himself of the important information they impart.

Human life, in all ages, has been made up of a series of adventures and experiements, and even at this stage of the world's existence, we are almost as destitute of a perfect rule of action, secular or religious, as were theerratic cotemporaries of Noah. It is true, however, that we have made some progress in the right direction; and as it seems to be the tendency of the world to correct itself, we may suppose the future generations will be enabled, by intuition, to discriminate between the true and the false, the good and the bad, and that with the development of this faculty of the mind, error and discord will begin to wane, and finally cease to exist. Of all the experiments that have been tried by the people in America, slavery has proved the most fatal; and the sooner it is abolished the better it will be for us, for posterity, and for the world. One of the evils resulting from it, and that not the least, is apparent in the figures above. Indeed, the unprofitableness of slavery is a monstrous evil, when considered in all its bearings; it makes us poor; poverty makes us ignorant; ignorance makes us wretched; wretchedness makes us wicked, and wickedness leads to the devil!

"Ignorance is the curse of God,
Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven."

Facts truly astounding are disclosed in the two last tables, and we could heartily wish that every intelligent American would commit them to memory. The total value of all the real and personal property of the free States, with an area of only 612,597 square miles, is one billion one hundred and sixty-six million eighty-one thousand three hundred and seventy-one dollars greater than the total value of all the real and personal property, including the price of 3,204,313 negroes, of the slave States, which have an area of 851,508 square miles! But extraordinary as this difference is in favor of the North, it is much less than the true amount. On the authority of Southerners themselves, it is demonstrable beyond the possibility of refutation that the intrinsic value of all the property in the free States is more than three times greater than the intrinsic value of all the slave States.

James Madison, A Southern man, fourth President of the United States, a most correct thinker, and one of the greatest statesmen the country has produced, "Thought it wrong to admit the idea that there could be property in man," and we indorse, to the fullest extent, this opinion of the profound editor of the Federalist. We shall not recognize property in man; the slaves of the South are not worth a groat in any civilized community; no man of genuine decency and refinement would hold them as property on any terms; in the eyes of all enlightened nations and individuals, they are men, not merchandize. Southern pro-slavery politicians, some of whom have not hesitated to buy and sell their own sons and daughters, boast that the slaves of the South are worth sixteen hundred million of dollars, and we have seen the amount estimated as high as two thousand million. Mr. De Bow, the Southern superintendent of the seventh census, informs us that the value of all the property in the slave States,

real and personal, including slaves, was in 1850, only $2,936,090,737; while, according to the same authority the value of all real and personal property in the free States, genuine property, property that is everywhere recognized as property, was, at the same time, $4,102,172,108. Now all we have to do in order to ascertain the real value of all the property of the South, independent of negroes, whose value, if valuable at all, is of a local and precarious character, is to subtract from the sum total of Mr. DeBow's return of the entire wealth of the slave States the estimated value of the slaves themselves; and then, by deducting the difference from the intrinsic value of all the property in the free States, we shall have the exact amount of the overplus of wealth in the glorious land of free soil, free labor, free speech, free presses, and free schools. And now to the task:

Entire Wealth of the Slave States, including Slaves	$2,936,090,737
Estimated Value of the Slaves	1,600,000,000
True Wealth of the Slave States	$1,336,090,737
True Wealth of the Free States	$4,102,172,108
True Wealth of the Slave States	1,336,090,737
Balance in favor of the Free States	$2,766,081,371

There, friends of the South and of the North, you have the conclusion of the whole matter. Liberty and slavery are before you; choose which you will have; as for us, in the memorable language of the immortal Henry, we say, "give us liberty or give us death!" In the great struggle for wealth that has been going on between the two rival systems of free and slave labor, the balance above exhibits the net profits of the former. The struggle on the one side has been calm, aludable, and eminently successful; on the other, it has been attended by tumult, unutterable cruelties and disgraceful failure. We have given the slave drivers every conceivable opportunity to vindicate their domestic policy, but for them to do it is a moral impossibility.

Less than three-quarters of a century ago--say in 1789, for that was about the average time of the abolition of slavery in the Northern States--the South, with advantages in soil, climate, rivers, harbors, minerals, forests, and indeed, almost every other natural resource, began an even race with the North in all the important pursuits of life; and now, in the brief space of scarce three score years and ten, we find her completely distanced, enervated, dejected and dishonored. Slave-drivers are the sole authors of her disgrace; and as they have sown so let them reap.

As we have seen above, a careful and correct inventory of all the real and personal property in the two grand divisions of the country, discloses the astounding fact that, in 1850, the free States were worth precisely two thousand seven hundred and sixty-six million eighty-one thousand three hundred and seventy-one dollars more than the slave States! Twenty-seven hundred and sixty-six million of dollars!--thing of it! What a vast and desirable sum, and how much better off the South would be with it than without it! Such is the enormous amount out of which slavery has defrauded us during the space of sixty-one years--from 1789 to 1850--being an average of forty-five million three hundred and fifty thousand dollars per annum. During the last twenty-five or thirty years, however, our annual losses have been far greater than they were formerly. There has been a gradual increase every year, and now the ratio of increase is almost incredible. No patriotic Southerner can become conversant with the facts without experiencing a feeling of alarm and indignation. Until the North abolished slavery, she had no advantage of us whatever; the South was more than her equal in every respect. But no sooner had she got rid of that hampering and pernicious institution than she began to absorb our wealth, and now it is confidently believed that the merchants and negro-driving pleasure-seekers of the South annually pour one hundred and twenty million of dollars into her coffers! Taking into account, then, the probable amount of money that has been drawn from the South and invested in the North within the last six years, and adding it to the grand balance above--the net profits of the North up to 1850--it may be safely assumed that,

in the present year of grace, 1857, the free States are worth at least thirty-four hundred million of dollars more than the slave States! Let him who dares, gainsay these remarks and calculations; no truthful tongue will deny them; no honorable pen contrivert them.

Pp. 92 - 93

Listen now to the statement of a momentous fact. The value of all the property real and personal, including slaves, in seven slave States, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida and Texas, is less than the real and personal estate, which is unquestionable property, in the single State of New York. Nay, worse; if eight entire slave States, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Maryland, Missouri, Mississippi, Tennessee and Texas, and the District of Columbia--with all their hordes of human merchandize--were put up at auction, New York could buy them all, and then have one hundred and thirty-three millions of dollars left in her pocket! Such is the amazing contrast between freedom and slavery, even in a pecuniary point of view. When we come to compare the North with the South in regard to literature, general intelligence, inventive genius, moral and religious enterprises, the discoveries in medicine, and the progress in the arts and sciences, we shall, in every instance, find the contrast equally great on the side of Liberty.

Pp. 120-121 (Appeal to Non-Slaveholders)

Non-slaveholders of the South! farmers, mechanics and workingmen, we take this occasion to assure you that the slaveholders, the arrogant demagogues whom you have elected to offices of honor and profit, have hoodwinked you, trifled with you, and used you as mere tools for the consummation of their wicked designs. They have purposely kept you in ignorance, and have, by moulding your passions and prejudices to suit themselves, induced you to act in direct opposition to your dearest rights and interests. By a system of the grossest subterfuge and misrepresentation, and in order to avert, for a season, the vengeance that will most assuredly overtake them ere long, they have taught you to hate the abolitionists, who are your best and only true friends. Now, as one of your own number, we appeal to you to join us in our patriotic endeavors to rescue the generous soil of the South from theusurped and desolating control of these political vampires. Once and forever, at least so far as this country is concerned, the infernal question of slavery must be disposed of; a speedy and perfect abolishment of the whole institution is the true policy of the South--and this is the policy which we propose to pursue. Will you aid us, will you assist us, will you be freemen, or will you be slaves? These are questions of vital importance; weigh them well in your minds; come to a prudent and firm decision, and hold yourselves in readiness to act in accordance therewith. You must either be for us or against us--anti-slavery or pro-slavery; it is impossible for you to occupy a neutral ground; it is as certain as fate itself, that if you do not voluntarily oppose the usurpations and outrages of the slavocrats, they will force you into involuntary compliance with their infamous measures.

Pp. 154-163 (Helper's Abolition Plan)

That our plan for the abolition of slavery, is the best that can be devised, we have not the vanity to contend; but that it is a good one, and will do to act upon until a better shall have been suggested, we do firmly and conscientiously believe. Though but little skilled in the delicate art of surgery, we have pretty thoroughly probed slavery, the frightful tumor on the body politic, and have, we think, ascertained the precise remedies requisite for a speedy and perfect cure. Possibly the less ardent friends of freedom may object to our prescription, on the ground that some of its ingredients ~~are to~~ griping, and that it will cost the patient a deal of excruciating pain. But let them remember that the patient is exceedingly refractory, that the case is a desperate one, and that drastic remedies are indispensably necessary. When they shall have invented milder yet equally efficacious ones, it will be time enough to discontinue the use of ours--then no one will be readier than we to discard

the infallible strong recipe for the infallible mild. Not at the persecution of a few thousand slaveholders, but at the restitution of natural rights and prerogatives to several millions of non-slaveholders, do we aim.

Inscribed on the banner, which we herewith unfurl to the world, with the full and fixed determination to stand by it or die by it, unless one of more virtuous efficacy shall be presented, are the mottoes which, in substance, embody the principles, as we conceive, that should govern us in our patriotic warfare against the most subtle and insidious foe that ever menaced the inalienable rights and liberties and dearest interests of America.

1st. Thorough Organization and Independent Political Action on the part of the Non-Slaveholding whites of the South.
2nd. Ineligibility of Slaveholders--Never another vote to the Trafficker in Human Flesh.
3rd. No Co-operation with Slaveholders in Politics--No Fellowship with them in Religion--No Affiliation with them in Society.
4th. No Patronage to Slaveholding Merchants--No Guestship in Slave-waiting Hotels--No Fees to Slaveholding Lawyers--No Employment of Slaveholding Physicians--No Audience to Slaveholding Parsons.
5th. No Recognition of Pro-slavery Men, except as Ruffians, Outlaws and Criminals.
6th. Abrupt Discontinuance of Subscription to Pro-slavery Newspapers.
7th. The Greatest Possible Encouragement to Free White Labor
8th. No more Hiring of Slaves by Non-slaveholders.
9th. Immediate Death to Slavery, or if not immediate, unqualified Proscription of its Advocates during the Period of its Existence.
10th. A Tax of Sixty dollars on every Slaveholder for each and every Negro in Possession at the present time, or at any intermediate time between now and the 4th of July, 1863--said Money to be Applied to the transportation of the Blacks to Liberia, to their Colonization in Central or South America, or to their Comfortable Settlement within the Boundaries of the United States.
11th. An additional Tax of Forty Dollars per annum to be levied annually, on every Slaveholder for each and every Negro found in his possession after the 4th of July, 1863--said Money to be paid into the hands of the Negroes so held in Slavery, or, in cases of death, to their next of kin, and to be used by them at their own option.

This, then, is the outline of our scheme for the abolition of slavery in the Southern States. Let it be acted upon with due promptitutde, and, as certain as truth is mightier than error, fifteen years will not elapse before every foot of territory, from the mouth of the Delaware to the emboguing of the Rio Grande, will glitter with the jewels of freedom. Some time during this year, next, or the year following, let there be a general convention of non-slaveholders from every slave State in the Union, to deliberate on the momentous issues now pending. First, let them adopt measures for holding in restraint the diabolical excesses of the oligarchy; secondly, in order to cast off the thraldom which the infamous slave-power has fastened upon them, and, as the first step necessary to be taken to regain the inalienable rights and liberties with which they were invested by Nature, but of which they have been divested by the accursed dealers in human flesh, let them devise ways and means for the complete annihilation of slavery; thirdly, let them put forth an equitable and comprehensive platform, fully defining their position, and inviting the active sympathy and co-operation of the millions of down-trodden non slaveholders throughout the Southern and Southwestern States. Let all these things be done, not too hastily, but with calmness, deliberation, prudence, and circumspection; if need be, let the delegates to the convention continue in session one or two weeks; only let their labors be wisely and thoroughly performed; let them, on Wednesday morning, present to the poor whites of the South, a well-digested scheme for the reclamation of their ancient rights and prepogatives, and, on the Thursday following, slavery in the United States will be worth absolutely less than nothing; for then, besides being so vile and precarious that nobody will want it, it will be a lasting reproach to those in whose hands it is lodged.

Were it not that other phases of the subject admonish us to be economical of space, we could suggest more than a dozen different plans, either of which, if scrupulously carried out, would lead to a wholesome, speedy, and perfect termination of slavery. Under all the circumstances, however, it might be difficult for us--perhaps it would not be the easiest thing in the world for anybody else--to suggest a better plan than the one above. Let it, or one embodying its principal features, be adopted forthwith, and the last wail of slavery will soon be heard, growing fainter and fainter, till it dies utterly away, to be succeeded by the jubilant shouts of emancipated millions.

Henceforth, let it be distinctly understood that ownership in slaves constitutes ineligibility--that it is a crime, as we verily believe it is, to vote for a slavocrat for any office whatever. Indeed, it is our honest conviction that all the pro-slavery slaveholders, who are alone responsible for the continuance of the baneful institution among us, deserve to be at once reduced to a parallel with the basest criminals that lie fettered within the cells of our public prisons. Beyond the power of computation is the extent of the moral, social, civil, and political evils which they have brought, and are still bringing, on the country. Were it possible that the whole number could be gathered together and transformed into four equal gangs of licenses robbers, ruffians, thieves, and murderers, society, we feel assured, would suffer less from their atrocities then than it does now. Let the wholesome public sentiment of the non-slaveholders be vigilant and persevering in bringing them down to their proper level. Long since, and in the most unjust and cruel manner, have they socially outlawed the non-slaveholders; now security against further oppression, and indemnity for past grievances, make it incumbent on the non-slaveholders to cast them into the identical pit that they dug for their betters--thus teaching them how to catch a Tartar!

At the very moment we write, as has been the case ever since the United States have had a distinct national existence, and as will always continue to be the case, unless right triumphs over wrong, all the civil, political, and other offices, within the gift of the South, are filled with negro-nursed incumbents from the ranks of that execrable band of misanthropes--three hundred and forty-seven thousand in number--who, for the most part, obtain their living by breeding, buying, and selling slaves. The magistrates in the villages, the constables in the districts, the commissioners of the towns, the mayors of the cities, the sheriffs of the counties, the judges of the towns, the mayors of the cities, the judges of the various courts, the members of the legislatures, the governors of the States, the representatives and senators in Congress--are all slaveholders. Nor does the catalogue of their usurpations end here. Through the most heart-sickening arrogance and bribery, they have obtained control of the General Government, and all the consuls, ambassadors, enjoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, who are chosen from the South, and commissioned to foreign countries, are selected with special reference to the purity of their pro-slavery antecedents. If credentials have ever been issued to a single non-slaveholder of the South, we are ignorant of both the fact and the hearsay; indeed, it would be very strange if this much abused class of persons were permitted to hold important offices abroad, when they are not allowed to hold unimportant ones at home.

And, then, there is the Presidency of the United States, which office has been held <u>forty-eight</u> years by slaveholders from the South, and only <u>twenty</u> years by non-slaveholders from the North. Nor is this the full record of oligarchal obtrusion. On an average, the offices of Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of War, Postmaster General and Attorney General, have been under the control of slave-drivers nearly two-thirds of the time. The Chief Justices and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Presidents protem. of the Senate, and the Speakers of the House of Representatives, have, in a large majority of instances, been slave-breeders from the Southern side of the Potomac. Five slaveholding Presidents have been reelected to the chief magistracy of the Republic, while no nonOslaveholder has ever held the office more than a single term. Thus we see plainly that even the non-slaveholders of the North, to whose freedom, energy, enterprise, intelligence, wealth, population, power, progress, and prosperity, our country is almost exclusively indebtedfor its high position among the nations of the earth, have been arrogantly denied a due participation in the honors of federal office. When "the sum of all villainies" shall have ceased to exist, then the rights of the non-slaveholders of the North, of the South, of the East, and of the West, will be duly recognized and respected; not before.

With all our heart, we hope and believe it is the full and fixed determination of a majority of the more intelligent and patriotic citizens of this Republic, that the Presidential chair shall never again be filled by a slavocrat.

Safely may we conclude that the doom of the oligarchy is already sealed with respect to that important and dignified station; it now behooves us to resolve, with equal firmness and effect, that, after a certain period during the next decade of years, no slaveholder shall occupy any position in the Cabinet, that no slave-breeder shall be sent as a diplomatist to any foreign country, that no slavedriver shall be permitted to bring further disgrace on either the Senate or the House of Representatives, that the chief justices, associate justices, and judges of the several courts, the governors of the States, the members of the legislatures, and all the minor functionaries of the land, shall be free from the heinous crime of owenership in man.

For the last sixty-eight years, slaveholders have been the sole and constant representatives of the South, and what have they accomplished? It requires but little time and few words, to tell the story of their indiscreet and unhallowed performances. In fact, with what we have already said, gestures alone would suffice to answer the inquiry. We can make neither a more truthful nor emphatic reply than to point to our thinly inhabited States, to our fields despoiled of their virgin soil, to the despicable price of lands, to our unvisited cities and towns, to our vacant harbors and idle water-power, to the dreary absence of shipping and manufactories, to our unpensioned soldiers of the revolution, to the millions of living monuments of ignorance, to the poverty of the whites, and to the wretchedness of the blacks.

Either directly or indirectly, are slave-driving demagogues, who have ostentatiously set up pretensions to statesmanship responsible for every dishonorable weakness and inequality that exists between the North and the South. Let them shirk the responsibility if they can; but it is morally impossible for them to do so. We know how ready they have always been to cite the numerical strength of the North, as a valid excuse for their inability to procure appropriations from the General Government, for purposes of internal improvement, for the establishment of lines of ocean steamers to South American and European ports, and for the accomplishment of other objects. Before that apology every escapes from their lips again, let them remember that the numerical weakness of the South is wholly atrributable to their own villainous statism. Had the Southern States, in accordance with the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, abolished slavery at the same time the Northern States abolished it, there would have been, long since, and most assuredly at this moment, a larger, wealthier, wiser, and more powerful population, south of Mason and Dixon s line, than there now is north of it. This fact being so well established that no reasonable man denies it, it is evident that the oligarchy will have to devise another suterfuge for even temporary relief.

Until slavery and slaveholders cease to be the only favored objects of legislation in the South, the North will continue to maintain the ascendency in every important particular. With those loathsome objects out of the way, it would not take the non-slaveholders of the South more than a quarter of a century to bring her up, in all respects, to a glorious equality with the North; nor would it take them much longer to surpass the latter, which is the most vigorous and honorable rival that they have in the world. Three quarters of a century hence, if slavery is abolished within the next ten years, as it ought to be, the South will, we believe, be as much greater than the North, as the North is now greater than the South. Three quarters of a century hence, if the South retains slavery, which God forbid! she will be to the North much the same that Poland is to Russia, that Cuba is to Spain, or that Ireland is to England.

What we want and must have, as the only sure means of attaining to a position worthy of Sovereign States in this eminently progressive and utilitarian age, is an energetic, intelligent, enterprising, virtuous, and unshakled population; an untrammeled press, and the Freedom of Speech. For ourselves, as white people, and for the Negroes and other persons of whatever color or condition, we demand all the rights, interests and prepogatives, that are guaranteed to corresponding classes of mankind in the North, in England, in France, in Germany, or in any other civilized and enlightened country. Any proposition that may be offered conceding less than this demand, will be promptly and disdainfully rejected.